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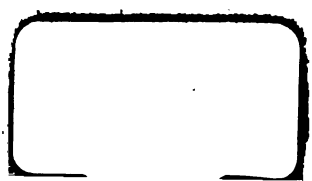
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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL

ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND:

ORIGINALLY FOUNDED AS

The Kilkenny Archæological Society,

IN THE YEAR

M.DCCC.XLIX.

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION,

1870.

If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

VOL. I.—PART I.

FOURTH SERIES.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,

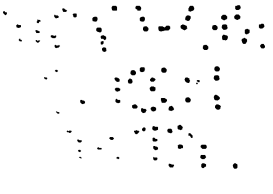
FOR MEMBERS ONLY.

1870.



The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Association, and here printed, except so far as the 10th and 11th General Rules extend.

DUBLIN: PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, BY M. H. GILL.



THE JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL

HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

OF IRELAND,

FOR THE YEAR 1870.

At the ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held at the Museum of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January 5th, 1870;

Colonel The Right Hon. W. F. TIGHE, Patron of the Association, in the Chair:

The Report of the Committee for the year 1869 was read by the Honorary Secretary, as follows:—

"The sanguine expectations, expressed in the Report read at the Annual General Meeting for 1868, regarding the results to be expected from the change of name and constitution of the Association then recommended and subsequently adopted by the Members, have been fully realized. Many parts of Ireland, where its existence was before almost unknown, have been opened to the operations of the Association, and thus its working has attained a truly national character. The Roll of Members comprised on the 31st of December 682 names; of new Members, 73 were elected during the year; and your Committee are enabled thus to congratulate the Members not only on an increase in the numerical strength of the Association, but also on its improved financial position, as most of the new Members pay £1 per annum, whilst the subscription in no case is under 10*s*.

"The national character of the Association has, however, led to still more important and gratifying results. Towards the close of last year a

Memorial[1] signed by your Very Rev. President on behalf of the Association, was laid before the Queen, the prayer of which was graciously received by her Majesty, and her pleasure communicated through the Secretary of State for the Home Department as follows:—

"'WHITEHALL, 27*th December*, 1869.

"'SIR,—I have had the honour to lay before the Queen the Petition of the President and Members of the Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland; and I am to inform you that her Majesty has been graciously pleased to comply with its prayer, and to signify her desire that the Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland be henceforth called "The Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland," and that

[1] The following was the Memorial presented to the Queen:—

"To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty the Humble Memorial of the President and Members of the Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland respectfully sheweth:—

"That this Association was established, according to its 3rd General Rule, 'to preserve, examine, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the History, Manners, Customs, and Arts of our ancestors, more especially as connected with Ireland.'

"That its 8th General Rule excludes 'all matter connected with the religious and political differences which may exist in our country from the Papers to be read, and the Discussions to be held at its Meetings.'

"That this Association may now be looked on as a permanent body, having been instituted in the early part of the year 1849. That it at first consisted of but few persons, and those confined to one locality; but having rapidly extended its influence, and persons of all ranks and classes having contributed to its support, it was resolved at the General Meeting of the Members held in March, 1853, to extend the sphere of its operations. That subsequently the Members having increased to over six hundred in number, residing in all parts of Ireland, a corresponding change of name was felt desirable: accordingly, at the Annual General Meeting of the Members for 1868, it was unanimously resolved that THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY should bear, as its future title, 'THE HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND.'

"That, in the year 1856, His late, ever to be lamented, Royal Highness The Prince Consort, with that recognition of all things tending to promote the good of your Most Gracious Majesty's Realms which distinguished him, gave to this Association his Patronage, and vouchsafed to accept for your Majesty's Private Library its Publications, which your Majesty has since graciously commanded to be forwarded to your Librarian as published; and that your Majesty's Memorialists venture to refer to that series of volumes as evidence of the efficiency of the Association.

"That His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales, following the example of his August Parent, has deigned to accept the office of Patron in Chief of the Association, and permitted his name to be enrolled amongst its Members.

"That a perusal of the List of Members herein enclosed will show that all creeds and classes in Ireland unite in carrying out its objects.

"That, in consideration of the premises, and with a view to promote the future permanency, and ensure a continuance of the prosperity, of the Association, your Memorialists humbly pray that your Most Gracious Majesty may be pleased to order that for the future the Association be called 'THE ROYAL HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND;' and that all Members now on its Roll, and to be hereafter elected, who shall pay a subscription of £1 per annum, and an entrance fee of £2, may and shall be entitled 'Fellows' of the Association; and that the surviving original or founding Members shall be entitled to be so styled without any further payment beyond their ordinary subscriptions. And your Memorialists will ever pray, &c.

"Signed on behalf of
"the Association,
"CHARLES VIGNOLES, D. D.,
"*President.*"

the Members thereof be styled "Fellows of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland."

"'I am Sir,

"'Your obedient servant,

"'H. A. Bruce.

"'Rev. James Graves, *Secretary to the Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.*'

"Your Committee feel assured that these gracious concessions will be most gratefully received by the Association at large; and they would recommend that, by virtue of the powers thus conferred, all the surviving original or Founding Members of the Association should be constituted the first Fellows under the Queen's Letter, no additional payment being required from them; all future Fellows to be elective, and to pay an annual subscription of £1, and an entrance fee of £2.

"In order to carry out the intention of the Queen's Letter in practice, your Committee would recommend that amended General Rules, a draft of which will be submitted to the meeting, should be adopted as the future constitution of the Association.

"The increase in the Members of the Association, together with the copies presented to the large number of cognate learned societies for the publications of which your 'Journal' is exchanged, having nearly exhausted the large impression of 800 copies of the new series commenced in 1868, and as a still further demand may be confidently expected, your Committee recommend that a fresh issue should commence with the year 1870, to consist of 1000 copies, and that this series should be entitled 'The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.'

"Your Committee are happy to be able to report that Miss Stokes has kindly consented to edit, for the Association, the late Dr. Petrie's drawings of Christian Inscriptions in Ireland before the twelfth century, with aid from Dr. Reeves. A portion of this work, which will be fully and most expensively illustrated, is intended to form the Annual Volume for 1870, and it is hoped will be generally subscribed for by the Members of the Association.

"It may be worth placing on record that your Association has during the past year caused type to be cast to enable the ancient Irish cryptic character known as *Ogham Creabh* to be 'set up' by the printer. You can thus claim to be the first to cast *Ogham type*—every representation of this character hitherto attempted by any individual or society having been effected by engraving, or very imperfectly by means of the 'rules' and 'hyphens' used in ordinary Roman type.

"During the past year your Committee has originated a movement to secure for the Library of the Association a large and valuable collection of archæological drawings and sketches—the result of the life-long labours of your late lamented Associate, George Victor Du Noyer, Esq. Your Committee rejoice to say that the price fixed on these drawings by the friends of Mrs. Du Noyer has already been paid, and the collection handed over to your Secretary. From the liberal response already received from the Members, your Committee trust that, when next they report to the Association, they shall be enabled to state that the sum presented to Mrs. Du Noyer considerably exceeded the stipulated price,

and will prove the high estimation which her late distinguished husband won for himself by his disinterested labours in the cause of Irish Archæology.

"The thanks of the Association are due to Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., for aid in the illustration of the 'Journal' by the presentation of a large number of woodcuts needed to complete Dineley's Tour in Ireland in the time of Charles II.

"During the past year not only your Association, but Celtic and Historic Archæology and Literature in general, has suffered an irreparable loss by the death of the Rev. James Henthorn Todd, S. F. T. C. D. It would be out of place here to enlarge on merits so well known to the literary world as are those of Dr. Todd, but it may be allowed your Committee to place on record the interest which that eminent scholar ever exhibited in the welfare of this Association. He joined its ranks on its first formation, when it had to contend with many difficulties; he rejoiced in its successful progress; and to your Secretary, in his office as Editor of your 'Journal,' the aid of his accurate and varied knowledge was ever cheerfully imparted, even when suffering under his last and fatal illness. Your Committee have also to record with regret the removal by death of two old and zealous members—Major Elliott, of Rathcurby; and Thomas L. Cooke, Esq., of Parsonstown."

The Chairman and Members present expressed much gratification at the honour done by Her Majesty to the Association, and the Report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

The following resolution was then passed unanimously:—

"Resolved—That the Annual Report be printed, and that we hereby express the deep sense of our gratitude to Her Majesty the Queen for the favours she has so graciously conferred on this Association."

The draft of the Amended General Rules was then submitted to the Meeting, and unanimously adopted, as follows:—

General Rules of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.

1. The Royal Historical and Archæological Association is instituted to preserve, examine and illustrate all Ancient Monuments of the History, Language, Arts, Manners and Customs of the past, more especially as connected with Ireland.

2. The Association shall consist of Fellows and Members. All the original or Founding Members, as enumerated in the Report read at the Annual General Meeting of January, 1869, are hereby constituted Fellows of the Association without any additional payment, or the form of election. For the future all Fellows to be elective; each to pay, on

election, an Entrance Fee of £2, and an Annual Subscription of £1. Those Members who now pay £1 per annum may on payment of the Entrance Fee be elected Fellows. The Members shall be elective, and shall pay 10*s*. per annum without any entrance fee. All subscriptions shall be payable in advance, on election, or on the first day of January in each year, and may be compounded for by the payment of £10.

3. The Fellows shall be entitled to receive the Quarterly Journal and Annual Volume of the Association. The Members shall be entitled to receive the Journal, and may obtain the Annual Volume on payment of 10*s*. additional.

4. The Fellows of the Association who are not in arrear shall alone have the privilege of voting in cases where the Ballot is called for.

5. The permanent Honorary Officers of the Association shall consist of a Patron in Chief, Patrons, President and Vice Presidents, two General Secretaries, Treasurer, Curator and Provincial Secretaries. All Lieutenants of Counties to become Patrons, *ex-officio*, on election. The existing Officers to continue, and vacancies to be filled up as they occur.

6. Local Secretaries shall be obtained throughout the Country, who shall be requested to inform the Association of all Antiquarian Remains discovered in their districts, to investigate Local History and Traditions, and to give notice of all injury likely to be inflicted on Monuments of Antiquity, in order that the influence of the Association may be exerted to preserve them.

7. A Committee of Twelve (exclusive of the Patrons, President and Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and General Secretaries, who shall be *ex-officio* Members of the Committee,) shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting held in the January of each year, for the transaction of the ordinary business of the Association; such Committee to meet, if necessary, on the last Wednesday of each month, and at such other times as may be deemed advisable.

8. The Association shall meet on the first Wednesday of January, April, July, and October, when Papers and Correspondence on Historical and Archæological subjects shall be read, and objects of Antiquarian interest exhibited.

9. The Transactions of the several Meetings, forming a Quarterly Journal, shall be printed and supplied to all Fellows and Members not in arrear. If the funds of the Association permit, an Annual Volume shall also be printed, and supplied to all Fellows, and to such Members as shall subscribe specially for it.

10. All matter concerned with the religious and political differences which may exist in our country shall be excluded from the Papers to be read and the Discussions held at those Meetings; such matter being foreign to the objects of this Association, and calculated to disturb the harmony which is essential to its success.

11. It shall be the duty of the Committee to revise all Papers which are to be read to the Association, to ascertain that they are in all respects unobjectionable, and, in particular, that they are in accordance with the preceding rule.

12. The Accounts of the Association shall be audited at the second General Meeting in each year.

13. The sums paid by Life Members, and the Entrance Fees of Fellows, shall be invested in the name of two Trustrees to be elected by the Fellows, in whom shall be vested all the property of the Association, and who shall pay over the interest of all invested moneys to the Treasurer. In case of a vacancy in the Trustees occurring, a new Trustee shall be elected with as little delay as possible.

14. These Rules shall not be altered or amended, except at an Annual General Meeting of the Association, and after three months' notice.

The following list comprised the names of the surviving original Members, numbering thirty-seven, now by the second Rule constituted the first or Founding Fellows of the Association :—

The Right Hon. the Earl of Bandon ; Lord James Wandesforde Butler ; the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin ; Sir John Power, Bart. ; Colonel the Right Hon. W. F. Tighe ; the Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory ; Rev. Michael Birch, P. P. ; Thomas Bradley, M.D., Michael Cahill, J. P. ; Peter Connellan, D. L. ; Henry Flood ; Rev. Luke Fowler, A. M. ; Rev. James Graves, A. M. ; John Newport Greene, J. P. ; Joseph Greene ; William Hanford-Flood, D. L. ; Rev. S. C. Harpur, A. M. ; Rev. John L. Irwin, A. M. ; John James, M. D. ; Lewis Kinchela, M. D. ; Joseph Lalor, M. D. ; John Lindsay, Barrister-at-Law ; Rev. Joseph Moore, P. P. ; Rev. Philip Moore, P. P. ; T. E. Murphy ; Matthew O'Donnell, Q. C. ; J. G. A. Prim ; James G. Robertson ; Rev. James Ryan, R. C. C. ; Edmund Smithwick, J. P. ; Miles Sterling, M. D. ; James B. St. John, LL. D. ; Peter Strange, J. P. ; Charles Tarrant, C. E. ; James M. Tidmarsh, J. P. ; Rev. Charles A. Vignoles, A. M. ; and John Walsh, J. P.

It being necessary to nominate two Trustees under the thirteenth Rule, the names of two Members of the Committee—John James, Esq., M. D., and Peter Burtchaell, Esq., C. E.—were suggested, and both gentlemen, who were present at the Meeting, having consented to act, they were unanimously elected the first Trustees of the Association.

The Treasurer having laid before the Members the balance sheet of the Accounts for the year 1868, Messrs. James G. Robertson and P. A. Aylward, were requested to act as Auditors, and make their report at the next General Meeting.

The Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, 1870-71.

PATRONS, OFFICERS, AND FELLOWS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Patron in Chief,

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

Patrons.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ABERCORN, Lieut. and Custos Rot. of Co. Donegal.
THE MOST HONORABLE THE MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF BESSBOROUGH, Lieut. and Custos Rot. of Co. Carlow.
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT, Lieut. and Custos Rot. of Co. Tyrone.
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN, Lieut. and Custos Rot. of Co. Limerick.
THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT LISMORE, Lieut. and Custos Rot. of Co. Tipperary.
THE RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF OSSORY, FERNS, AND LEIGHLIN.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD CAREW, Lieut. and Custos Rot. of Co. Wexford.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD CASTLETOWN OF UPPER OSSORY, Lieut. and Custos Rot. of Queen's County.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD INCHIQUIN, Lieut. and Custos Rot. of Co. Clare.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD RATHDONNELL, Lieut. and Custos Rot. of Co. Louth.
COLONEL THE RIGHT HON. W. F. F. TIGHE, Lieut. and Custos Rot. of Co. Kilkenny.

President.

THE VERY REV. CHARLES VIGNOLES, D. D., DEAN OF OSSORY.

Treasurer.

REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B., M. R. I. A.

Honorary Secretaries.

REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B., M. R. I. A. | JOHN G. AUGUSTUS PRIM.

Honorary Curator of the Museum and Library, Kilkenny.

JAMES G. ROBERTSON, Architect.

Committee.

J. S. BLAKE, J.P., Bar.-at-Law.
R. R. BRASH, Architect.
PETER BURTCHAEL, C.E.
BARRY DELANY, M.D., C.M.
REV. LUKE FOWLER, A.M.
JOHN JAMES, L.R.C.S.I.
ROBERT MALCOMSON, A.M.
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MATTHEW O'DONNELL, Q.C.
REV. JOHN O'HANLON, R.C.C.
C. D. PURDON, M.B., F.R.C.S.I.
J. G. ROBERTSON, Architect.

Hon. Provincial Secretaries.

Leinster.—Rev. James Graves, and J. G. A. Prim. Kilkenny.
Ulster. — C. Delacherois Purdon, M.B., F.R.C.S.I. Belfast.
Munster.—Richard Caulfield, LL.D. Cork.
Connaught. — George H. Kinahan, M.R.I.A. Recess, Connemara.

Hon. Local Secretaries.

Belfast.—C. D. Purdon, M.B., F.R.C.S.I.
Carlow.—Robert Malcomson, A.M.
Cashel.—J. Davis White.
Cork.—R. R. Brash, Architect.
Doneraile.—Rev. Samuel Hayman, A.M.
Dundalk.—Rev. George H. Read, A.M.
Enniscorthy.—A. W. Mahony.
Enniskillen.—W. F. Wakeman.
Johnstown.—Rev. Philip Moore, P.P.
Limerick.—Maurice Lenihan, M.R.I.A.
Londonderry City.—C. W. Dugan, A.M.
Londonderry County.—Robt. Given, J.P., Coleraine.
Waterford.—James Budd.
Wexford.—Capt. Beauchamp Colclough.
Youghal.—Edward Fitzgerald.

Fellows of the Association.

The Original or Founding Fellows are distinguished by an asterisk.

*Bandon, Right Hon. the Earl of, D.L., D.C.L. Castle Bernard, Bandon.
*Birch, Rev. Michael, P.P. Muckalee, Castlecomer.
*Bradley, Thomas, M.R.C.S. Kells Grange, Stoneyford.
Brash, R. Rolt, Architect, M.R.I.A. Sunday's Well, Cork.
*Butler, Right Hon. Lord James Wandesforde. Drumcondra Castle, Dublin.
*Cahill, Michael, J.P., Barrister-at-Law. Ballyconra House, Ballyragget.
Carolan, Nicholas. Seatown-place, Dundalk.
Castletown, of Upper Ossory, Right Hon. Lord, L. and C.R. of Queen's Co. Lisduff; Errill, Templemore.
Close, Rev. Maxwell H., M.A., M.R.I.A. Newtown Park, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
*Connellan, Peter, D.L. Coolmore, Thomastown.
Colles, Rev. Goddard Richards Purefoy, LL.D. Chipping Norton, Oxon.
Colles, John Armstrong Purefoy, M.D., F.R.C.S.I., L.K.Q.C.P.I.; Surgeon, Bengal Army. 45, Park-avenue, Sandymount, Dublin.
Cooper, Lt.-Col. Edward, D.L. Markree, Collooney.
Courtenaye, Albert. Bank House, Clogheen.
Currey, F.E., J.P. Lismore Castle, Lismore.
Dames, R.S. Longworth, A.B., Barrister-at-Law. 32, Upper Mount-street, Dublin.
Darby, Rev. J. Lovet, A.M. Chester.
Digges, Joseph. Lincoln-place, Dublin.
Dunne, Right Hon. General, D.L., M.R.I.A., Brittas, Clonaslea, Queen's Co.
Ennis, Nicholas. Claremont, Julianstown, Co. Meath.
Farrell, James B., M.I.C.E. Strandfield, Wexford.
Fitzgibbon, Abraham, C.E., M.R.I.A. The Rookery, Stanmore, Middlesex.
Fitzpatrick, The Hon. B.E.B. Lisduff, Errill, Templemore.
*Flood, Henry. Viewmount, Whitehall, Kilkenny.
*Fowler, Rev. Luke, A.M. Wellbrook, Freshford.

Geoghegan, A. Gerald. Somerset House, London.
Gort, Right Hon. Lord. 10, Warwick-square, London, S. W.
*Graves, Rev. James, A. B., M. R. I. A. Inisnag, Stoneyford.
*Greene, Joseph. Lakeview, Kilkenny.
*Hanford-Flood, William, D. L. Farmley, Kilkenny, and Woollas Hall, Worcestershire.
*Harpur, Rev. S. Colville, A. M. Aghaboe Glebe, Ballacolla.
Hill, John, C. E. Ennis, Co. Clare.
*Irwin, Rev. J. Lewis, A, M., Hillsborough, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
*James, John, L. R. C. S. I. Butler House, Kilkenny.
James, Rev. Thomas, F. S. A. Netherthong Vicarage, Huddersfield.
*Kinchela, Lewis C., M. D., L. R. C. S. I. Kilkenny.
*Lalor, Joseph, M. D., L. R. C. S. I., Resident Physician, Richmond Lunatic Asylum, Dublin.
Langton, Captain H. M. F. Junior United Service Club, Charles-street, London.
Langtrey, George. Mountcharles, Belfast.
Larcom, General, the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Askew, Bart., K. C. B., LL. D., F. R. S., M. R. I. A. Heathfield, Fareham, Hants.
Lenihan, Maurice, J. P., M. R. I. A. Patrick-street, Limerick.
Leonard, W. Benjamin. 14, Hume-street, Dublin.
Lynn, William Henry, F. R. I. B. A., A. R. H. A., &c. 3, Crumlin-terrace, Belfast.
Malcomson, Robert, A. M. Carlow.
Malone, Rev. Sylvester, R. C. C. Newmarket-on-Fergus.
Mayler, J. Ennis. Harristown, Balmitty, Co. Wexford.
Molloy, William R., A. M. Mullingar.
*Moore, Rev. Philip, P. P Johnstown.
*Murphy, T. E. Patrick-street, Kilkenny.
*O'Donnell, Matthew, Q. C., J. P. 36, Mountjoy-square, Dublin.
*Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin, Right Rev. James Thomas O'Brien, Bishop of. The Palace, Kilkenny.
*Ossory, the Very Rev. Charles Vignoles, Dean of. The Deanery, Kilkenny.
*Power, Sir John, Bart. Kilfane, Thomastown.
*Prim, John G. A. Kilkenny.
Reade, Rev. G. H., A. M. The Rectory, Iniskeen, Dundalk.
Robertson, E. Stanley. Civil Service, Bengal.
*Robertson, James G., Architect. Prior's Orchard, Kilkenny.
Rowan, D. J., C. E. Athlone.
*Ryan, Rev. James, P. P. Durrow, Queen's County.
Shine, Eugene. Seville Lodge, Kilkenny.
Shirley, Evelyn Philip, M. A., D. L., F. S. A. Lower Eatington Park, Stratford-on-Avon; and Loughfea, Carrickmacross.
Sloane, John S., C. E., M. R. I. A. Woodlands, Fairview, Dublin.
*Smithwick, Edmond, J. P. Kilcreen, Kilkenny.
Somerville, John. Gilford House, Sandymount-square, Dublin.
*Sterling, Miles, L. R. C. S. I. Thomastown.
Stewart, George. Enniskillen.
*St. John, James B., LL. D. Hermitage, Kilkenny.
*Strange, Peter, J. P. Aylwardstown, Waterford.
*Tarrant, Charles, C. E. Swiss Cottage, Waterford.
*Tidmarsh, J. M,, J. P. The Crescent, Limerick.
*Tighe, Colonel, the Right Hon. William F. Fownes, L. and C. R. of Co. Kilkenny. Woodstock, Inistiogue.
*Vignoles, Rev. Charles Alexander, A. M. Clonmacnois Glebe, Athlone.
Waldron, Laurence, D. L. 38, Rutland-square, West, Dublin.
*Walsh, John, J. P. Fanningstown, Piltown.
Watson, Thomas. 13, Orchard-street, Londonderry.
Whitty, Richard L. 24, Upper Merrion-street, Dublin.

Societies in Connexion.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND: London.
ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BUCKINGHAM: Aylesbury.
ARCHITECTURAL, ARCH. AND HIST. SOC. FOR THE Co., CITY, &c., OF CHESTER: Chester.
BEDFORDSHIRE ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY: Bedford.
BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION: London.
CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.
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M. de la Ponce. Saumur, France.
M. le Colonel O'Shee. Pontoise, France.

N. B. The Fellows and Members of the Association are particularly requested to communicate to the Honorary Secretaries any corrections in the Lists which they may consider necessary.

GENERAL RULES

OF THE

Royal Historical & Archæological Association of Ireland,

As amended at the Annual General Meeting of 1870.

1. The Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland is instituted to preserve, examine, and illustrate all Ancient Monuments of the History, Language, Arts, Manners, and Customs of the past, as connected with Ireland.

2. The Association shall consist of Fellows and Members. All the Original or Founding Members, as enumerated in the Report read at the Annual General Meeting of January, 1869, are hereby constituted Fellows of the Association without any additional payment, or the form of election. For the future all Fellows to be elective; each to pay, on election, an Entrance Fee of £2, and an Annual Subscription of £1. Those Members who shall pay £1 per annum may, on payment of the Entrance Fee, be elected Fellows. The Members shall be elective, and shall pay 10s. per annum without any entrance fee. All subscriptions shall be payable in advance, on the first day of January in each year, or on election, and may be compounded for by the payment of £10.

3. The Fellows shall be entitled to receive the Quarterly Journal and Annual Volume of the Association. The Members shall be entitled to receive the Journal, and may obtain the Annual Volume on payment of 10s. additional.

4. The Fellows of the Association who are not in arrear shall alone have the privilege of voting in cases where the Ballot is called for.

5. The permanent Honorary Officers of the Association shall consist of a Patron-in-Chief, Patrons, President and Vice-Presidents, two General Secretaries, Treasurer, Curator, and Provincial Secretaries. All Lieutenants of Counties to be Patrons, *ex-officio*, on election. The existing Officers to continue, and vacancies to be filled up as they occur.

6. Local Secretaries shall be obtained throughout the Country, who shall be requested to inform the Association of all Antiquarian Remains discovered in their districts, to investigate Local History and Traditions, and to give notice of all injury likely to be inflicted on Monuments of Antiquity, in order that the influence of the Association may be exerted to preserve them.

7. A Committee of Twelve (exclusive of the Patrons, President, and Vice-President, Treasurer, and General Secretaries, who shall be EX-OFFICIO Members of the Committee), shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting held in the January of each year, for the transaction of the ordinary business of the Association; such Committee to meet, if necessary, on the last Wednesday of each month, and at such other times as may be deemed advisable.

8. The Association shall meet on the first Wednesday of January, April, July, and October, when Papers and Correspondence on Historical and Archæological subjects shall be read, and objects of Antiquarian interest exhibited.

9. The transactions of the several Meetings, forming a Quarterly Journal, shall be printed and supplied to all Fellows and Members not in arrear. If the funds of the Association permit, an Annual Volume shall also be printed, and supplied to all Fellows, and to such Members as shall subscribe specially for it.

10. All matter concerned with the Religious and Political Differences which may exist in our Country shall be excluded from the Papers to be read and the Discussions held at those Meetings; such matter being foreign to the objects of this Association, and calculated to disturb the harmony which is essential to its success.

11. It shall be the duty of the Committee to revise all Papers which are to be read to the Association, to ascertain that they are in all respects unobjectionable, and, in particular, that they are in accordance with the preceding rule.

12. The Accounts of the Association shall be audited at the second General Meeting in each year.

13. The sums paid by Life Members, and the Entrance Fees of Fellows, shall be invested in the name of two Trustees to be elected by the Fellows, in whom shall be vested all the property of the Association, and who shall pay over the interest of all invested moneys to the Treasurer. In case of a vacancy in the Trustees occurring, a new Trustee shall be elected with as little delay as possible.

14. These rules shall not be altered or amended, except at an Annual General Meeting of the Association, and after three months' notice.

There being no vacancy in the Committee of the past year, it was resolved that they be re-elected to serve for the year 1870.

The following are the names of the Officers and Committee of the Association :—

President.—The Very Rev. Charles Vignoles, D. D., Dean of Ossory.

Treasurer.—Rev. James Graves, A. B., M. R. I. A.

Honorary Secretaries.—Rev. James Graves, A. B.; John G. Augustus Prim.

Honorary Curator of the Museum and Library, Kilkenny.—James G. Robertson, Architect.

Committee.—J. S. Blake, J. P., Barrister-at-Law; Richard Rolt Brash, Architect; Peter Burtchael, C. E.; Barry Delany, M. D.; Rev. Luke Fowler, A. M.; John James, L. R. C. S. I.; Robert Malcolmson, A. M.; Rev. Philip Moore, P. P.; Matthew O'Donnell, Q. C.; Rev. John O'Hanlon, R. C. C.; C. Delacherois Purdon, M. D.; J. G. Robertson, Architect.

Honorary Provincial Secretaries.—Leinster, Rev. James Graves; and J. G. A. Prim, Kilkenny; *Ulster*, C. Delacherois Purdon, M. D., Belfast; *Munster*, Richard Caulfield, LL. D., Cork; *Connaught*, George H. Kinahan, M. R. I. A., Recess, Connemara.

Regulations for the custody and management of the Du Noyer Drawings were proposed by Mr. George H. Kinahan, Honorary Provincial Secretary for Connaught, and were adopted as follows :—

"1. That the drawings of our late distinguished Associate be entitled 'The Du Noyer Drawings.'

"2. That no one be allowed to borrow any of the volumes of the Du Noyer Drawings, or remove them out of the custody of the officers of the Association, except by special leave of the Committee.

"3. That facilities be given to Fellows and Members of the Association, and to others introduced by them, to copy the sketches for Archæological purposes. All such copies, whether published or otherwise, to be acknowledged as 'taken from the Du Noyer Drawings by permission of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.'"

The following resolution was then unanimously agreed to :—

"That a vote of thanks be given to the non-Members of this Association who have aided in the purchase of the Du Noyer Drawings, and especially to Mr. Du Noyer's colleagues of the Geological Survey of Great Britain and Ireland."

The following Fellows were proposed, and elected :—

The Right Hon. Lord Castletown of Upper Ossory : proposed by the Hon. B. E. B. Fitzpatrick ; the Rev. Goddard Richards Purefoy Colles, LL. D., Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire : proposed by Dr. J. A. Purefoy Colles ; and William B. Leonard, Geological Survey of Ireland, Kingscourt, Co. Cavan : proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

Two Members of the Association were admitted to Fellowships, on payment of the entrance fee, viz., General the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Larcom, Bart., K.C.B., LL.D., F. R. S., M. R. I. A., Woodslee, Wimbledon, London ; and John S. Sloane, M. R. I. A., Engineer Irish Lights Department, Woodlands, Fair View, Dublin : proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

The following new Members were elected :—

Sir Charles Compton W. Domvile, Bart., Santry Court, Co. Dublin ; Mons. Henri Gaidoz, Editor of the *Revue Celtique*, 32, Rue Madame, Paris ; Miss M'Dougall, Hollybrook park, Raheny ; and John G. Adair, Bellegrove, Monasterevan : proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

The Rev. Edward Rowan, R. C. C., St. Kevin's, Glendalough : proposed by Mr. W. Williams.

Oliver J. Burke, Barrister-at-Law, 22, Gardiner's-place, Dublin : proposed by Mr. C. H. Foot, Barrister-at-Law.

The Rev. John Grainger, M. A., Broughshane, Co. Antrim : proposed by the Rev. B. H. Blacker.

The Rev. William Handcock, Ballyknocking, Kilsheelan : proposed by Mr. Matthew R. Weld.

Joseph Digges, 27, Lincoln-place, Dublin : proposed by Mr. W. Lawless.

John Thomas Banks, M.D., President King's and Queen's College of Physicians, Dublin : proposed by Joseph Lalor, M. D.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

"Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," Vol. VII., Part 1 ; and "Records of the Priory of the Isle of May :" presented by the Society.

"The Archæological Journal," published under the direction of the Central Committee of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, No. 103 : presented by the Institute.

"Journal of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland," Vol. II., Part 2, new series : presented by the Society.

"Archæologia Cambrensis," third series, No. 60 : presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

"Sussex Archæological Collections," Vol. XXI. : presented by the Sussex Archæological Society.

"Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire," new series, Vol. VIII. : presented by the Society.

"The Journal of the British Archæological Association," for September, 1869 : presented by the Association.

"Records of Buckinghamshire," Vol. III., No. 8 : presented by the Architectural and Archæological Society of the County of Buckingham.

"Inedited Contributions to the History of Northumberland," Parts 1 and 2 : presented by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

"Surrey Archæological Collections," Vol. IV. : presented by the Surrey Archæological Society.

"Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution," 2 vols., for the years 1866 and 1867 ; also the Records of the Sanitary Commission issued by the United States Government during the late War, viz. :—"U. S. Sanitary Commission, Purposes and Works," 1863 ; "U. S. Sanitary Commission, Works and Purposes," 1864 ; "History of the Brooklyn and Long Island Fair," 1864 ; "Memorial of the Great Central Fair, Philadelphia, Pa.," 1864 ; "Record of the Metropolitan Fair, New York," 1867 ; "History of the United States Sanitary Commission, 1868 :" presented by the Institution.

"The Carlow College Magazine," Nos. 6–9, inclusive : presented by the Editor.

"First Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Re-

cords in Ireland," 1869 : presented by the Deputy Keeper of the Records.

A fragment of an ancient sculptured bowl, or mortar, of Kilkenny marble, which had formed an ordinary building stone in a house on his land, held from W. Flood, Esq., J. P., Paulstown Castle, recently taken down. The house had been inhabited by the family of the donor "for seven generations" : presented by Mr. John Larkin, Collumbkill, county of Kilkenny.

Two Tradesmen's Tokens of the seventeenth century ; one the penny of Thomas Adams, Kilkenny, 1659 ; the legend and device on the other not quite clear : presented by Mr. Bracken, C. I., on the part of Subconstables Hunt and Burke, R. I. Constabulary.

"Descriptive Remarks on Illuminations in certain Ancient Irish Manuscripts," published by the Society of Antiquaries of London : presented by the Rev. James Graves, on the part of Miss Stokes. Mr. Graves said that the magnificent folio before the meeting was a private copy of the description of some matchless specimens of ancient Celtic Art, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, from the pen of their late Associate, the Rev. Dr. Todd. The plates were facsimiles of illuminations in the "Book of Kells," the "Garland of Howth," and the "Psalter of Ricemarch." The drawings for these plates, printed at Berlin in chromolithography, exactly reproducing the originals, had been exquisitely executed by Miss Stokes ; indeed, to use the words of a recent reviewer, "so faithful to the original, and so wonderfully minute in detail are her illuminated drawings, that Dr. Stewart, in the 'Sculptured Stones of Scotland,' says (Vol. II., pref. p. lxxxi., n.), 'the mantle of the early illuminators has fallen on Miss Stokes.' Of the facsimile of the opening page of the Book of Kells, which formed the principal illustration of the work, that lady wrote :—

"I should like to have the monogram of the name of Christ, which is in itself an epitome as well of the art as of the faith of ancient Ireland, framed and hanging on the walls of the Libraries of such Societies as yours, where men may see it, who still care for the art and the faith it symbolizes ; and that it may 'be for a sign unto them' of what was done and felt in the seventh century, in Ireland."

A special vote of thanks was passed to Miss Stokes for her presentation, and it was resolved to carry out her wishes.

The Earl of Charlemont, through Mr. J. P. Prendergast, contributed an original letter from amongst his family papers, on the subject of the fatal duel between Harry Flood and James Agar which lately had occupied the attention of the Association (see vol. i., third series, p. 234. Though the letter, as Mr. Prendergast observed, did not add much to the details already given, it was of interest as being the succinct account furnished the next day after the duel, to the dearest friend of Flood, by one engaged in the unhappy affair, it having been written by Mr. Gervase Parker Bushe, Flood's second, to Lord Charlemont, the present Earl's grandfather. By the endorsement it appeared the date was August 26th, 1769. The letter was as follows :

"My dear Lord,—You will excuse my taking the liberty of informing you of the particulars of Mr. Agar of Ringwood's death, and of our friend Flood's behaviour. The first part of the account is addressed only to your Lordship, and such as you think worthy of *confidence;* the latter may be made as public as you please.

"On Thursday Mr. Agar sent Mr. Roth to Flood to demand a case of pistols which one Keogh had lost at Burnchurch last October, and which Flood had frequently, within these ten months, declared that he had not. Flood returned the answer which he had so frequently made, and added that Mr. Agar might ask George Hewitson, his mother's servant. This Mr. Agar would not do, but desired Mr. Flood to meet him, and to name time and place. Flood assured Mr. Roth that he apprehended that was Mr. Agar, the challenger's, privilege, and that he would meet Mr. Agar when and where he pleased. We heard no more of it on that day; but the next day (yesterday), at one o'clock, he received a message to meet Mr. Agar directly in Dunmore Park. We were there in an hour, and Mr. Agar just afterwards. Mr. Roth, a man of great worth, did all he could to persuade Mr. Agar to think better of it, and used every argument to persuade him that he was not bound in honour to send any challenge; but the unfortunate gentleman was so infatuated that he was even going to quarrel with his friend for attempting to prevent him. Mr. Roth and I were not without hopes of reconciling them, even when at Dunmore; and I told Mr. Agar that he had brought the affair upon himself without any reason, and that his honour had not called upon him to send any message. Mr. Roth also did everything to persuade him of his error, but he seemed to have an infatuated determination to fight. When the ground was measured, and they each had their pistols, Mr. Agar questioned Flood about the pistols again, and in a threatening and offensive manner. Flood very deliberately answered him to this *purport*—'You know I will not answer you whilst you ask in that manner.' I then said to Agar something to this *purport*—'Why will you bring this upon yourself? Why

will not you ask in another manner?' But he went immediately to his ground, and laid down one pistol, and rested the other on his arm to take his aim. Both Mr. Roth and I called on him loudly to fire fair; he then took another posture. What follows is the purport of Mr. Roth's and my account to the coroner, in which no circumstance disagrees, and this is for the public:—

"[They stood at about fourteen yards: Mr. Agar fired first, and missed; he then took up a second pistol, and said to Mr. Flood, 'Fire, you scoundrel!' Flood then presented his pistol (which he had held with the muzzle upwards), and instantly shot Agar above the *left* breast. The ball went through his body, and he died in about five minutes, without speaking. N. B.—Mr. Agar was left-handed.]

"Flood showed the most amiable concern, and rode off for a surgeon. It is fortunate for him that such a gentleman as Mr. Roth was concerned, as that gentleman does the most ample justice to Mr. Flood's character, and still acts, as he had done throughout, with the most entire honour and good sense. In justice to the living, both he and I have declared that no man could have sought his own death more than Mr. Agar. Indeed, nothing could equal his infatuation, for the cause of the challenging which he alleged was wonderfully frivolous; and if it were an offence, it was precisely as much an offence any day these ten months as it was at the moment of resenting it. The coroner's inquest brought their verdict, specially reciting that he was killed at Dunmore by a bullet, as appears more fully by the examination of Mr. Roth and Mr. B. The matter was properly represented to Mr. Agar, of Gowran, who has made a proper declaration of his sense of it, and has disdained any unworthy rancour or resentment. But the case is the plainest in the world. No man ever was more compelled to defend his honour and his person, and no man ever did it with more temper and steady courage than Mr. Flood. The offence is bailable, but I believe there will be no necessity, nor no warrant, as there is not a doubt about his conduct. I do not mention any of the previous circumstances, except with some caution, as they are not material to Flood's vindication, and as seconds should be careful not to bring an accusation upon themselves. I should be happy to receive a line to inform me that this letter has not miscarried; but I hope you will not hurt your eyes by writing much, as I know it is both painful and ruinous to them.

"I am, my dear Lord,

"Your sincerely affectionate, humble servant.

"Kilfane, near Gowran, Saturday.

"Mary presents her compliments, along with mine, to your Lordship and Lady Charlemont."

Mr. Prim remarked that there was also a letter extant from Mr. G. P. Bushe, to Henry Grattan, written a couple of days after the duel, and giving a detail of the fatal occurrence. Lord Charlemont's letter, however, was of greater interest; it had never before been made public, while that to which he (Mr. Prim) now alluded was printed in the memoir of Grattan written by his son.

Dr. Caulfield contributed the following contemporary

account of an expedition undertaken by Lord Deputy Sydney to attack a crannog in a lough near Omagh, which was interesting as showing to what a late period these lake dwellings were used. The documents were copied by Dr. Caulfield at the Public Record Office, London :—

"During a late visit to the Public Record Office, London, Mr. H. Hamilton kindly called my attention to the following document, which gives an interesting account of an attack on a Crannog which was occupied by some of the forces of Shane O'Neil. The attempt seems to have failed in consequence of the fireworks having got damp from the water—the bridge, which floated on barrels, after the manner of a pontoon, having been partly immersed from the too great number of anxious assailants. The entire of the narrative of this expedition, which issued from the town of Drogheda, 17th September, 1566, is very interesting, and illustrates the means adopted at that period of bringing the Irish under subjection to British rule. The places mentioned can still be traced on the map of Ireland, and the observations are remarkable for their accuracy. Shane's residence was at Benburb, about five miles north of Armagh, and here he held his court; the names of his Secretary and Judge appear subscribed to a bond, of which the following is a brief abstract, entered into for £1000 to the Queen's use, if he should not perform his promises to Sir T. Cusacke to restore the Cathedral of Armagh to Divine Service: 'hoc est ad divinum cultum, mortuorum sepulturam. Et ut ab antiquo est Metropolitica et Cathedralis Ecclesia ac Primacialis totius Hibernicæ, ita in futurum, perpetuis temporibus duraturis permanebit in ea conditione, quod ego in eodem statu permittam et sinam continuare, &c. Et polliceor per meam fidem et juramentum meorumque subditorum coram Omnipotente Deo et dicto Magistro Thoma Cusac quod non solum non impediam cultum divinum in dicta Ecclesia, &c. dabo operam ut augebatur decor et venustas dictæ Ecclesiæ ad preces effundendas ad D. M. O., &c. Ego huic scripturæ manum et signetum meum apposui et mei subditi et nobiles et populi astantes, &c. Scriptus in loco nomine Beind Borb, xvi Nov. 1563. Terence, Dean of Armagh; Sir Patrick Dorelle, Chantor of Armagh; Owen O'Hagan, O'Neill's Secretary; Vllialmus Flemin, Judge[1] of Tyrone; and Jacobus, Official of Armagh.' The following letter from Lord Treasurer Winchester to the Lord Deputy announces the death of this troublesome chieftain: 'After my right hearty commendations to your good Lordship, I understand by Ralph Knight, your servant, that Shane O'Nell is called from this present life, whereof he hath cause to rejoice, being called from ill doing; and the Queens Majesty and her Graces subjects also good cause to rejoice to be delivered of such an evil man; and for mine own part, although I be sore for the evil doing of the man, yet I am also glad he is delivered from his evil doings, and specially for that your Lordships

[1] Mr. Hamilton says, "It is clear that he was a Judge of the Brehon law, and not of the Queen's Statutes; for, on the 11th of the previous September, Shane O'Neill wrote to the Queen from his camp at Drum Cru—'Sed non audeo omittere statuta et ordinationes meorum predecessorum, cum adhuc nec ipse nec mei subditi experti sumus in jure et statutis vestri regni.'" "Cal. S. P. Irel." Vol. I., p. xxiii.

trouble is taken away from so ill a man, whereof I trust great quietness will follow, and the reducement of that realm to good conformity and order, &c. And you shall do very well to see Shanes lodging in the fen, where he built his lodging, and kept his cattle and all his men, which were not very many, you had so streightly handled him, yet all that he had rested there; and there it is good you see to it in the beginning, so it will else be ymbesilled from you, that neither your Lordship, nor yet any of his friends shall come by any part hereof, nor yet his wife, whom your Lordship may not with honor forget, if they do humble themselves to you, which I leave to your honors wisdom, virtue, and charity, &c., xxiiii. June, 1567, *Winchester*.' The following is Sir Henry Sydney's account of the attack on the Crannog:—

"'Our bounden duty and service humbly remembred to your most Excellent Majesty. It may please the same, that, as in former letters sent by Mr. Edward Horsey, your Highness was ascertained of the advancing forth of me your Highnes Deputy with your army against the traiterous rebel, Shane Oneyll, so by these to be advertised of the proceeding and finishing of the same journey.

"'On Thursday, the 17th of the last September, I, your Highnes Deputy, accompanied with the Earl of Kildare, the Marshal Frauncis Agarnde, and Jaques Wingefelde, with the rest of the captains and soldiers of your Highnes Army here—each man in his calling as willing to serve your Majesty as ever I saw men—issued out of this town of Drogheda, and encamped in the confines of the English Pale and O'Hanlons Country, at a place called Roskeaghe, where we were forced to remain, for sundry necessary things not come as then out of the English Pale, four nights. So on the 21st of the same month we removed, and marched towards Ardmach; and in the way, having occasion to encamp hard by a logh in which was an island, and in the same, by universal opinion and report of divers of that country, a great quantity of the rebels goods and victuals, kept only without guns, as it was thought, not greatly strong as it seemed, being but hedged about, and the distance from the main not being passed five-score yards, the army coming timely to the camp, divers soldiers were very desirous to attempt the winning of it, which was granted to them, I the Deputy making choice only of such as could swim; nevertheless there was prepared for them a bridge which floated upon barrels, whereupon they went but disorderly, for many more went than were appointed, among whom Edward Vaughan, a gentleman of Wales, who being none of the army, but come over to serve this journey, as many more gentlemen and others of that country and the marches of the same did, was one who, unwitting to me your Highnes Deputy, being gone from the place where the bridge did lie, to stay the shot of the army, least they should hurt their followers, with divers others not appointed, stepped upon the bridge and rowed away, which overcharge of men caused the bridge more to sink than else it would, and yet not so much but that it floated still and carried them over, but in such sort as the fireworks conveyed with them miscarried, so they were able therewith to do nothing. They found the place better manned than it was thought, and they of better courage than before that time the like men had ever showed themselves in the like place. They found the hedge so bearded with stakes and other sharp wood, as it was not without extreme difficulty scaleable, and so ramparted, as if the hedge had been burned—for doing whereof the fireworks failed—without a long

time it was not to be digged down. Yet some scaled to the top, whereof Edward Vaughan was one, who being pushed with a pike from the same, fell between the hedge and the bridge, and being heavily armed—albeit he could swim perfect well—was drowned, and two others hurt upon the rampart and drowned; one other slain upon the bridge with a shot; a man of mine, the Deputy, slain upon the main with a shot; and Anthony Deringe, a servant of the Earl of Leycesters, stricken through the thigh without perishing any bone, and is perfectly recovered; the rest, unhurt, returned upon the bridge to the land. We write of this trifle thus largely to your Most Excellent Majesty, least some malice or ignorance might inform the same contrary to the truth; and as many of us as were at the journey by these our letters affirm this to be the truth, and the whole truth of that fact. Passing by Ardmach, we found that the Rebels had burned the whole town, and the great and ancient church of the same, and all the houses belonging thereunto, and thrown down a great part of the stonework, even as much as it should seem he had leisure to do, and the rest we suppose he will do. The 24th we passed the Great or Blackwater, which we then found wadeable, which hath of late years, in the spring of the year, been found so deep strayneable, as it hath stayed the whole army to the spending of 30 days victuals, and so forced the same to return without passing over. We marched by his chief house of Benboorb, which he had utterly burned and raised, and so through divers straight places and great woods, where such order was kept by the soldiers for defence of the carriage, as neither he nor his men durst once attempt the distress of it, nor to offer fight.

"'The 27th we encamped within eight miles of Clogher, a Bishops see, but the Bishop a rebel with her Majesty; and finding that country so well inhabited, as we think no Irish countrie in this realm like it, we remained in that camp one whole day, purposely to destroy the corn, whereof we found no small abundance, burning that day above 24 miles compass, saving only the Bishop's church, and found by that day's work that this was the season of the year—saving it might have been wished to have been 15 or 20 days sooner—to do the rebel most hurt. In returning from the Clogher to our camp, the Earl of Kildare being in the rereward of the horsemen, having no footmen with us, and being somewhat misguided, was in a place near a great wood charged by the rebels, both on horseback and foot, with arkabuzery and Scottish arrows; but it was so stoutly sustained and the rebels so hotly re-encountered, that they were soon driven to their strength, from which they could never be drawn to any such place where any good could be done upon them. The bickering endured a good space, and men hurt on both sides; on our part 5 or 6 unarmed gallowglasses—but all recovered—with Scottish arrows, for we brought all the gallowglasses of purpose out unarmed, for that they might the lighter travel in burning the country. The English footmen reposing themselves in the camp that day, after the former day's sore travel, and two horsemen of the Earl of Kildares had their horses killed under them with shot. There were hurt of them in fight how many we know not, but far fewer than might have been if we had any shot, having in all but one archer, and him by chance, who was seen to strike three or four.

"'The 29th we removed to the castle and monastery of Omaghe in your Highnes carte called Castle-Thomye. By the way, in the days march, died Magwier, to no small prejudice [of your] Highnes service; for had he

lived but 20 days longer, this journey should have recovered more land and more castles to your Highnes obedience from the rebel, than are left with him, which now remain in doubtful suspense—namely, Magwiere's Country, called Fermanaghe, for that Kuconnoghe Magwier, the second person to him that is dead, and he indeed that according their custom ought now to be captain, and natural brother to the last, was, before his brothers death, in company with O'Neill, and under arrest and guard, as it is said. And yet, when the army was in that country, we were advertised that he had gotten into his country, and bare a devout mind to your Majesty. But whether he will more regard the lives of his pledges than the liberty of himself, or the fear he hath of the tyrant than the duty he oweth to you his sovereign, we much doubt; and the more for that we cannot have commodity to treat or persuade with him. But great confidence hath O'Donell in his loyalty, who is brother by the mother's side unto him, as he was to the other Magwier, and in proof of his good meaning saith that he did write to the ward of Inyskillen—the strongest hold in all Fermanaghe, and such a one as cost Shane almost 1001 of his mens lives, and yet went without it—that they should render it to O'Donell if he came for it; but we saw no means how, during this journey, to possess it; for O'Donell without the army could not go to it; and after the death of Magwier, and the advertisements aforesaid known, when we were nearest to the castle, it was not possible for us to approach it, being about 30 of difficult ways to pass, our victuals scanting sore upon us, and utterly wanting artillery, a thing impossible to be conveyed in these countries by land. What will come of the rendering or keeping of it we are able to yield no assurance; but doubtless your Highnes, minding the reformation of that most disordered and barbarous province, that is a place of great consequence, for upward from it a boat of 30 tons may pass by water, through the Lough Erne, within eight miles of the Cavan, a great town and castle in O'Reylies Country, which Cavan is distant from Kells but twenty miles of open and plain land, and Kells is an English town within the English Pale, and from thence downward a boat of far greater burden may pass to Ballyshanen, where there is a rock which traverseth the river, and is not to be defended by any boat, albeit the river runneth over. But to the brest of that work the sea floweth eighteen feet plum, so as from that work to the sea, through the great water of Asserowe—where there is a good harbour—there wanted not so much water to convey any vessel at every tide into the sea. At the Omaghe were we forced by reason of the fowl weather falling the 29th of September, and the 30th of the same—whereby the river of Omye rose so high, and being risen was so dangerous as it was not to be passed—to rest till the second of October, leaving behind us a castle kept by Shanes men, unattempted by us, both for that we wanted men to win it, if the like men would keep it; and winning it, it was to no purpose to keep it, and leaving it, no hurt can come by it to anything fit for your Majesty to attempt this year.

"'On the second of October we dislodged from the Omaghe, and passed the dangerous and swift river there, when by the great travel and diligence of the horsemen, both footmen, carriage, and carriage horses, though with great difficulty, yet without any loss, passed, and encamped that night between the river and another called Darg, in the neck of a land near a broken castle of Turelaughe Lenaghes, called the Salmon Castle, not far from the Old Castle, broken asunder, mentioned, as we suppose, in your

Majesties map of Ireland. By the way Shane showed himself in the rereward with a great force both of horsemen and footmen, I, your Highnes Deputy and Frauncis Agarde, being in the rereward—and put his men in order as though he would have fought in a place very advantageous for him; but as soon as he saw the rereward only of the army in order, to make head against him, he brake his order, and retired to his strength; and surely if his heart had served him to fight, he might have been assured to have fought, but with the one half of the army at once for the vowarde was so far from before the rereward, as it had not been possible for the one to come to the rescue of the other; for so straight are the ways as the carriage horses must of force go directly one after another, and the number of horses were such, amounting at the least to 2000, which we were foreed to bring forth, by reason of the length of the journey, and the feebleness of the beasts of this country being able to carry so little, as they are at the distance of the place between the vowarde and rereward was such as before was written.

"'The third of October we passed the river Darg, which oftentimes in the summer is impassible, but we found it indifferent easy, and marched until we came for Anyensh, the castle of Liffer—the river then being hardly passible—and encamped there. In the entering of the camp one sick soldier, marching out of order, was slain by one of Shanes shot. We lay there three nights; and two of the first nights we had hot alarms of shot into our camp, and over a good part of the same, from over one of the rivers which we encamped by, but did no hurt. Here, being upon O'Donells Country, as he affirmed, we looked for the repair of the principal gentlemen of his country to have come unto us, and for the same tarried there three nights, but no one of them came, O'Donell alleging the cause to be for that the castle of Liffer and Castle Flynn, distant from it five miles, were wholly raised, and none of them looking for our arrival there; to this place came unto us the Colonel, Mr. Randall, and this bringer Captain Filberde, which Colonel being questioned with, why did he not fortify Liffer? affirmed—as troth it is—that it was raised before his coming into the water of Loughfoyle; and further, if he had found it unraised, yet were it not of sufficient receipte for such a number of men as he brought with him, and proportion of victuals and munition for the same, being but a pile where it stood of thirty foot square, as might appear by one quarter of the wall yet standing; whereupon he resolved to fortify at the Derrye, and had entrenched himself there before our coming, the which, albeit it wanted the commodotie of a ford, which the Liffer hath, at some times passable, and the distance being from it but ten miles, the country fair and open between them, yet the commodotie which is found at the Derrie by the church, and other great houses of stone joining to the same, moved him rather to fortify there than at the other, which, upon view of the place, we have well allowed of.

"'The sixth of October we dislodged from thence, and encamped in Ochanes Country, over against the Derrie, where we spent some time in revictualling our army with such provision as was sent by water thither from Dublin, and also to expect the coming of those principal gentlemen of Tireconell, of whom nevertheless there came no one unto us but Odoghortie and his brother Caheir, with the Bishop of Derry, a gentleman of that sirname, which Odoghorty is lord of all the land called Inishowen, being between Loughfoyle and Loughswilly in breadth, and between the

point of the land lying toward the sea, beyond the new castle, and above the Derry, six miles in length. If the gentlemen of Tireconell had come in unto us in that place, as we looked for them, and had made such agreement with us as afterward they did, I the Lord Deputy would not have led the army over that water, but would have returned over the Bann to Knockfergus, and so passing through Clandeboy, the Arde, and Leekaile, have come to the English Pale, which being known to O'Donell, with humble suit and earnest petition both of him, Odogherty, and the Bishop, I the Deputy was entreated to pass the army over to the Derry, they alleging that if I returned not through Tirconell, or at least so far into it as I might either by force or fair means win unto him such castles as yet remained unrased, and combine with him, his brothers, his unkle, and the rest of the principal gentlemen of that country, neither should he be able any way to assist or save the turn of the Colonel, neither yet be assured of their good wills, nor your Majesty of their services; and so all that had been intended to be done in that part to be void and frustrate, whereupon calling to remembrance the streight charge which your Majesty had given me for the sure placing of O'Donell in his country, and the great consequence that might follow of the same, undertook the passing of the army over that great water, which we suppose was never passed there with any army being a quarter of that number, which we judge to be as broad as a low water at the Thames between Westminster and Lambeth; nevertheless, thanked be God, in the space of two days we passed the whole army, with horses and carriages, without loss of any one man or any horse or hackney—very few carriage horses only excepted, and they not above the number of six or seven—and encamped at Derry the 12th of October, where we found that the Colonel had fortified himself in very warlike manner, and had great commodotie by means of a house of religion that there stood strongly walled and indifferently well covered, and divers other small houses adjoining to the same, unto which your Highnes is justly entitled by order of your laws. He had the whole regiment of his soldiers in so good order as the people found themselves very well satisfied with them, and conceived no small hope and confidence to be defended by him and them. His just dealing and courtesy was such amongst them as O'Dogherty, the forenamed lord of the country round about that place, offered to give unto the army 500 beaves, so as he might be discharged of contributing any more to the finding of the same, which composition we thought not most available to your Majesty, but received the most part of the beaves (which he readily delivered), and his brother in pledge for the rest, and paid him ready money for the same after the rate of six shillings [and] eight pence sterling for a piece, and further left him to be bound as the rest of the gentlemen of Tireconnell should. He also offered unto me, your Deputy, freely and most willingly to give unto your Highnes all that platte of ground whereon in old the ancient city of Derry stood, now totally ruined, and yet some monuments remaining, being in circle at the least two English miles of very good ground, environed with a portable stream four parts of five, the rest with a fresh brook running through a bog, very easy to be cut, which if it were, the place were very strong; for the land lieth very high from the water every way, and yet is very good, and hath plenty of fresh water within it, stone and wood in great plenty lying near unto it, only timber then wanted, which yet by means is to be brought thether by water. This he offered in hope that your Majesty would build,

or cause to be builded, a city there, which in ancient time had been; and this was O'Donells humble suit also. And albeit this their offer was of a thing which in law is your Highnes already, the most of it being lands apperteyning to that monastery, yet considering how in use and possession it had been ever in their hands, I your Majesties Deputy, in your Highnes behalf, accepted the same in very thankful part. Then conferring with the Colonel what number of men he thought sufficient for the service to be done to your Majesty this winter there, as well for the defence of that country as for offending the rebels, we agreed upon six hundred footmen and fifty horsemen; whereupon I, the Deputy, leaving the choice of those bands to the Colonel, this bearer only excepted by my special election, he chose the companies led by Cornewall, Wylforde, Boroughes, Warde, Scriven, and Gurley, and fifty horsemen under the leading of George Harvie; and more horsemen I would have left if I could have found means to have had feeding for their horses there, and might with safety have returned with a less company than I did. He hath also one of the pynaces remaining with him, in which of necessity he must have fifty men, the which number, together with his own household servants, the artificers, victuallers, horseboys, and the daily resort of the country coming unto him, we did make account that the number would amount to a thousand persons to be fed, and accordingly did take order with the country afterward, as more at large shall appear to your Majesty by the indentures.

"'And so leaving with Mr. Randall sufficient beasts till the first of December, and sparing also of our own proportion four thousand weight of biskett brought thither for the army from Dublin, we departed from thence the 14th day of October, and encamped that night west from the Derry twelve miles, at a Bishop's see called Raboe [Raphoe], carrying with us O'Donnell; and albeit we heard by the countryman that the places were not passable between that and Donegal, a castle most desired by O'Donell to be recovered to his possession, which he before never had, and is the principal place of all that country, we resolved to go thither, where we arrived the xviith of the same month, passing by such ways of mountain and bog as were never heretofore travelled by an army; the manner hereof we leave to be described by this bearer, Mr. Filberde. We left St. Patricks Purgatory eight miles off our left hand. By the way there came to us Hugh Mac Manus, brother to O'Donell, Hugh Duff O'Donell, his uncle, a young gentleman by whom Donegal was kept, and had married O'Neills sister, O'Boyle Mac Swyne Bainaugh, one of the brothers of Mac Swyne Fanaughe (for he himself was prisoner with O'Neill) Mac Swyne, O'Doghertie, and Ogalloher, with the Bishop of Raboe, being all the principal gentlemen of Tireconell, all which recognise fealty and service to your Most Excellent Majesty, and obedience to O'Donell as their chief lord under your Highness, as more at large by their indentures may appear, a true copy whereof we send unto your Highness, wishing that it might please the same to cause those taken between your Highness and them to be recorded in some of your Highness courts of Record, trusting that if it please your Highnes to read it over, your Majesty shall find that we have not been forgetful of your Majesties honour, surety of your country, and present profit. When we came to Donegal, Hugh Duff O'Donell delivered the castell to me, the Deputy, to your Majesties use, with all humility and willingness, whereof when I had taken possession, I de-

livered the same in your Majestys name to O'Donell. This castle is one of the greatest that ever I saw in Ireland in any Irishman's hands, and would appear in good keeping one of the fairest, situated in a good soil, and so nigh a portable water as a boat of ten tons may come within twenty yards of the castle; the town with all ruined, which heretofore had been great and inhabited with men of traffic, specially with Englishmen; and so the name signifies, for Donegal is to say the English town. We left behind us a monastery of Observante Friars unspoiled or hurt, a large and strong house, and with small cost very fortificable, much accommodated with the nearness of the water, and with fair groves, orchards, and gardens, which are about the same. That night we encamped between that and Bellishinen, and the night following came to Bellishinen, passing by the abbey of Assorowe, and encamped that night by the river Erne, over against Beleeke. The xix day was delivered to my hands, and so to your Majesties possession, the castle of Bellishinen by Hugh Mac Manus O'Donell, wherein I put a warde. This castle, next to Dungall, is the principal place of Tireconell, very fair and strong. These two days following we spent in passing the army over the streynable river of Erne, which was thought impossible to be done without great loss, and very hard had it been if we had not foreseen to send boats about from Doungall. As soon as we were passed over the water, Shanes warde in the Castle of Beleek understanding thereof, set fire on the house and fled; but there was of the army that so speedily repaired thither, as they quenched the fire, and saved the house from any danger.

"'The xx day I the Deputy went thither with part of the army, and took possession of it. The pile is very strong, with a defencible Barbican standing above Bellishinen, three miles on the other side of the river Erne, which castle I, your Highnes Deputy, delivered into the possession of Hugh Mac Manus, to be held of your Majesty and O'Donell, as by the indenture between them may appear; and Ballyshinen I delivered also to O'Donell. The xxist day we dislodged, and marched by Bondroies, which is the uttermost bounds of all Tirconnell and Ulster, the swift water of Droyes coming by it, which divided Ulster and Connaught. This castle was also offered unto me, whereof I took possession, and left it by consent and agreement of O'Donell, as may appear by the indentures to Hugh Mac Manus, in whose possession we found it. And passing by a part of O'Rouarks Country and through a part of Mac Glannoles Country, we encamped in Occonor Sligos Country that night, where Occonor Sligo came unto us with the Bishop of Elphyn, most humbly offering service and fealty to your Majesty and all courtesy to us, offering us a hundred beaves for the relief of the army, whereof he paid some part. The xxiid day we passed the water of Sligo, and came by the castle of the same, where he very courteously desired me to enter into it, most earnestly desiring that he might hold the same of your Majesty and the Crown Imperial of your realm. The castle is fair, and is the greatest of any that we have seen in any Irishmans possession. It standeth upon a good haven, and hath been a great town full of merchants houses, all which are now disinhabited and in ruin. Therein is a large monastery of White Friars, and a Bishops house. The Bishops see is in Occonnor Roes Country, called Elphin. This Occonnor Sligo is a man of great lands, and hath under him such a court, themselves lords; namely, Odowdie, Macconneaghe, Terenell, Macconneagh, Rescorren, Ogarre, Ohare-boy, and Ohare-riogh. His lands,

with theirs that hold of him, are at the least forty miles long. Nevertheless he is challenged to hold the same of divers lords—namely, the Earl of Kildare, the Earl of Clanrycarde, and O'Donell, he confessing that he ought to hold of one, but he knoweth not certainly of whom. The Earl of Kildare challenging him and his lands by matter of record, O'Donell prescribing continuance of possession for a thousand years. The Earl of Clanrycarde alleging a composition by mutual agreement between their ancestors. The rent demanded by each, besides certain services, is 360 marks. But to me the Lord Deputy he declared that he ought only to hold it of your Majesty, which he wished he might do and be defended from the rest, but for that the possession of O'Donell was not disproved nor discontinued till that very day, and that it was half yearly accustomed to be paid, and the one half year already past, the other approaching at Candlemas next. Considering the poverty of O'Donell, and his willingness to bear cesse to the garrison now resident in his country, and for that all the forenamed gentlemen of O'Donells country being present, together with O'Donell, fearing least the same should be taken from O'Donell, affirmed that if that Occonnor Sligo did not answer such rent to O'Donell as he ought, that they would look to enjoy such like privilege, and only depend on your Majesty also, we thought good to order Occonnor Sligo to pay this year's rent, whereof half was already due, and to take May-day next to judge to whom the rent ought to belong. But surely we do not think that O'Donell hath any right to it but by usurpation. We encamped in his country three nights, and at the last place compounded the amity by indenture between him and O'Donell, together with this order, and the amity likewise between O'Donell and Mac Glannoghe. The xxiii day we departed out of his country, and passed through the Hardesto mountain, and the fowlest place that ever we passed in Ireland, and came unto Mac Dermottes Country, in the entry whereof standeth an abbey of your Highnes called Aboyle, the land utterly waste, the house ruined and not inhabited. To this abbey belonged a great quantity of very good ground, which yielded unto your Highnes nothing.

"The xxv day we passed his country, Occonnor Roes country, Occonnor Dunes country, and encamped near to your Majesties Castle and Monastery of Roscommon, leaving for twenty miles of length as fruitful and pleasant a country as is in England or Ireland, all utterly waste through the wars between Occonnor Dune, and Occonnor Roe, and we suppose the breadth to be equal in manner with the length; which Castle of Roscommon, as we perfectly perceived, and were surely advertised, was guarded with a ward put into it by Occonnor Dune, nevertheless they offered us no injury lying by them, neither were we able to do them any. The xxvi day through the Kellies country, we came to your Majesties Castle of Athlone, and then once again were enforced to swim over for lack of a bridge all our horses, hacknies, and carriage garrons, as we were in many other rivers more, not spoken of in this our discourse, nor without some loss of garrons and stuff, though not great. The xxvii we rested there; the xxviii was dispersed the army for a few days, to refresh the weak footmen and the feeble horses; and yet, thanked be God, in all this painful and long journey there died not of sickness above three persons, and the rest in such health as the like hath not been seen in so long a journey in this land, and the horses also in better plight than with so great travail they could

have been in the beginning of the year. And like as by this journey your Majesty hath recovered to your obedience a country of 70 miles in length, and 48 miles in breadth, and the service of a thousand men now restored to O'Donell, and so united and confirmed in love towards him, as they be ready to follow him whithersoever he shall lead them, so is your Majesties name grown in no small veneration amongst the Irishrye, who now see cause to appeal to your justice; and by this restitution of O'Donell receive both hope and fear to be defended in their well doing, and chastised for the contrary. I the Deputy thought good further to advertise your Majesty that before the Colonel could arrive in Loughfoil, he was forced to come to an anchor at Knockfergus, where going a land with his men to refresh them with victuals after their long being at sea, the Rebel with his force approached the town and took the prey, whereuppon some soldiers issued, the manner whereof, together with the force of the Rebel, and the opinion of the Colonel, with the whole doings of that day, I reserve to the report of this gentleman, who was present at it. And for the better defence of that town, and of a Monastery standing at the end of the same to great purpose for your Majesties service, meaning the reformation of that country, I the Deputy have sent thither from Loughfoyle Captain Browne with the soldiers under his leading, there to remain this winter. And now foreasmuch as we have tediously troubled your Majesty with this discourse of our late long travail; we humbly desire your Majesties pardon for the same, and for the better success of your service to come, to furnish us forthwith with such things as follow: First, that it may please your Majesty to send such a proportion of treasure as may at the least pay the old garrison that which is due unto them for the relief of the country, and also from time to time to furnish the soldiers employed in this actual and most painful service, whereby they may furnish themselves of necessary apparel for the keeping of the poor men in health and in heart. Assuring your Highness that the loss is greatest by the delay of payment of the soldiers, for both your service thereby is greatly hindered, and also for want of ready money to furnish them in time, the prices greatly enhanced, which in the end your Majesty payeth for. Also, that albeit the force of the rebel be such, as he hath now together no less than 4000 footmen and 700 horsemen, yet will he desire of your Majesty no further supply of men, but only that it may please your Majesty to send hither one hundred horsemen furnished from thence, with all speed to supply the places of other weak and impotent, for here it is impossible to procure horses; for a mean horse for a soldier to serve on here is ordinarily sold for twenty pounds sterling; of these there is such present need as there can be nothing more necessary for the advancement of your Majesties service. Also, that it may please your Majesty to give order, and forthwith send to the Colonel a proportion of biscuit and meal, and drink, for six months for 1000 persons; and that it may like your Highnes to send that proportion full, and not diminished like as the last was, which by the Colonels report was not in many things the one-half of that which Mr. Vice-Chamberlain and I your Deputy agreed upon to be sent with him, which, if it had not been circumspectly thought upon here, had turned to the great disadvantage of your service, and the perils of those your Majesties servants and soldiers. Also, that your Highnes will send for those 1000 a proportion of bacon, butter, cheese or fish, for six months, after

three days in a week; for by the indentures concluded with O'Donnell may appear that the contribution of beef is but after the rate of four days in each week, that hops and salt in good quantities be likewise sent; most humbly beseeching your Majesty to commit the doings of these things to some careful man, assuring your Majesty, if it be not foreseen in time, they shall be constrained to withdraw themselves with no small dishonor and utter loss of all that hath been spent in this enterprise hitherto. Further, we beseech your Highnes that foreasmuch as the Rebell in our absence hath burned the most part of the corn in the Co. Lowth, being chiefly that kind of grain whereon the horses were fed, of necessity it must like your Majesty to send a large proportion of oats to be discharged in Carlingford or Dundalk, which at the least must be five hundred quarters, which being delivered here at any reasonable rate, shall stand your Majesty in as good steed as any money sent. And thus hoping of good success in all your Majesties affairs, if these things be supplied, and fearing as much the contrary if the same should be neglected, we most earnestly offer our excuse, being ready to give not only our best advices, but our faithful services, and adventure of our lives in any thing that may concern the advancement of your Majesties service, and so humbly take our leave. At Drogheda, the xii of November, 1566.

"'Your Majesties most humble and obedient servants,

"'P. SYDNEY. G. KILDARE. FRANCS AGARD. N. BAGENALL.'"

Mr. Wm. H. Patterson contributed the following notice of an ancient stone coffer, found at Movilla, Co. Down :—

"Some years ago a curious stone object was dug up in the burial-ground which surrounds the ruins of the old Abbey Church of Movilla, near Newtonards, Co. Down. It was found under the following circumstances:—

"A gentleman living in the neighbourhood, wishing to construct a family burial vault, had an excavation made to the depth of eight or ten feet, until the solid slate rock, which underlies the clay of the cemetery, was reached. At the bottom of the excavation, resting on the rock, was found the large stone coffer to which the present notice refers.

"The finder had the coffer removed to his own house (between one and two miles distant from Movilla), where it still remains, on the lawn, in front of the hall-door. The measurements are as follows:—Length, 3 feet 8 inches; width, 2 feet 8 inches; height, 1 foot 10 inches. Inside measurements—26 inches long, 14 inches wide, and about 15 inches deep. Its general appearance is that of a clumsily-made oblong trough, on which the only attempt at ornamentation consists of some shallow panels worked on the outside, as shown in the sketch engraved on the next page, two on the end, and three on the side. The other side, not shown in the sketch, has but two wider panels.

"Within the upper edge there is a ledge, sunk about an inch, which may have been for the purpose of receiving a stone lid.

"My attention was directed to this curious object by Mr. Jamison of Movilla, a gentleman who has been instrumental in preserving from destruction some of the mediæval cross slabs which still exist there, and which attest the former importance of Movilla as an ecclesiastical establishment.

"The abbey of Movilla was founded by Finian about the year 540, and

existed down to the time of the suppression of the Irish abbeys in the reign of Henry VIII. The name Movilla is a corruption of the ancient name Magh-Bile, which means 'the field of the ancient, or sacred, tree.' The place is mentioned in the Annals as having been frequently burned and plundered by the Danes. Its situation, close to the north-eastern sea coast, and on the neck of land between the loughs of Strangford and Belfast, rendered it particularly vulnerable to these predatory attacks. The coffer, when dug up, was considered by those who first saw it to be the old font of the abbey; and, if this supposition be correct, considerable interest must attach to it from its dissimilarity to the ordinary forms of baptismal fonts. The oblong form and large size would, I think, point it out as a very early type of font.



Stone Coffer found at Movilla, Co. Down.

"If a font, I can understand the peculiar conditions under which it was found, by supposing that it was hastily buried, for security, on the approach of some party of Danish pirates, and that the secret of its place of concealment perished with those who thus endeavoured to protect it from desecration.

"An antiquarian friend who lately examined this object along with me, suggested that it may have been the base of a sculptured cross, and that the hollow part was the mortise in which the shaft of the cross stood. This I do not think very likely, as the entire size of the block would be totally disproportionate to the large socket; in fact, a cross to have stood in this base would require to have had a shaft or stem 26 inches wide by 14 inches thick, and would have been of such a weight as to have burst out so frail a base if the cross got the slightest lean to either side.

"The only other purpose that I can imagine this object to have served was that of a chest or coffer, perhaps for the safe keeping of some of the church valuables; in this case it must have been fitted with a heavy stone lid. I am myself disposed to think that this curious object is a font; but as some of my fellow-members may have met with similar antiquities in the course of their researches, and may have settled the question as to their original use, I shall not be surprised to find that I have been mistaken; and it is with the especial object of eliciting opinions on this point that I have thought it proper to place this notice before the Members of our Society.

The Rev. James Graves said that a coffer somewhat similar to that described by Mr. Patterson, of plain quadrangular form, was in the Museum of the Association.[1] It had been dug up near the ancient church of Tibberagny, in the county of Kilkenny, in the course of making a cutting for the Limerick and Waterford Railway. When found, it contained human bones closely packed within its narrow space, and was furnished with a lid, which fitted into a sunken rabbet; both the chest and lid were of sandstone. The bones had not been preserved. In this instance bones already devoid of their integuments had been stored carefully in a stone coffer, and buried deeply in the earth. Might not these coffers be rude reliquaries? He had been led to form this idea when lately reading an interesting paper by Mr. Albert Way, on a stone reliquary chest recently found in a cave on Caldey Island, near Tenby, South Wales, for an account of which he would refer the Members to the copy of the "Journal" of the Royal Archæological Institute, lately presented to the Association (vol. xxvi., p. 209). This paper also mentioned a stone *capsula*, or reliquary chest, still preserved in the church of Llanidan, in Anglesey. In the former case, however, the coffer was of very diminutive size as compared with the other stone chests under notice. The idea of their being reliquaries would supply a motive for the concealment of the Irish coffers at the period of the Reformation, which on any other supposition it is difficult to imagine.

Mr. Thomas Stanley, of Tullamore, sent the following account of megalithic monuments in his district:—

"There are the remains of a stone circle in Rath-hugh, from which all the stones have been removed except seven, and of these one only remains perpendicular. 'They are grits,' said a man who came towards me as I went along chipping them with a hammer. 'And there is a stone standing alone in the Sally meadow; and I heard them say that there used to be another over near the hills.' The circle was about thirty yards in diameter. It is upon a sloping ground which looks to the beautiful towering moat, distant a quarter of a mile, and due east of it. Perhaps some of the stones of the circle were removed by the builders of the old church —the cyclopean-like ruin hard by. Boulders appear through the turf

[1] For a notice of a similar chest of stone, still extant at Clonfert-Molua, near Borris-in-Ossory, Queen's County, see our "Journal," vol. ii., first series, p. 55.

where the circle was continued, but I cannot think that they formed a part of it. The stone in the meadow is triangular in a rough way; its apex may be about five feet above the earth; it is flatsided, and ranged within a few degrees of the meridian. My friend, Mr. John Deane, told me that roadmakers were prevented from encroaching upon the stone circle by old Mr. Bagnal. When I saw it, the sandpit was grass-grown, or moss-grown, and two or more of the stones had tumbled into it.

"There is a 'clug stucogh' on Mr. Robert Belton's land in Ballynamona, near Durrow. It is a massive conglomerate, stands about six feet high, and has other sandstones gathered to its base to keep it steady.

"The stone 'Barna Liaga' is on the edge of a forgotten road, and it is about midway between the castle of Ballycowen and the castle upon Counsellor Molloy's farm in Ballykilmurray. Betty Larkin told me she remembered to sit on its top before it was turned on its side. It is a sandstone. The upper surface measures nigh six feet every way, and it is about half that measure in thickness.

"Within the ancient gate of Durrow, immediately behind the rampart, a conglomerate rests upon a raised piece of green sward. It is about four and a-half feet long. And due west of it, at some distance, there is a singularly marked limestone, most famous as curing pains in the back. A stone stands between the two banks which encircled old Rathan, and beside its southern entrance; I take it to be monumental. It is a slab, and is arranged upon the meridian.

"Are these pillar stones erected to the memory of heroes who, like him of Tara—King Laeghaire—gave orders to their people to bury them in the ramparts, facing, and, as it were, defying their enemies?

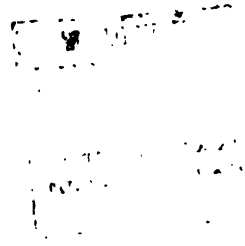
"Some of the rustic sages say that the Barna Liaga and Clug Stucogh, as well as the stone in the Rath-hugh meadow, are members of a line of stones which were set up from sea to sea at a dividing of Ireland into two equal parts.

"Another sandstone lies on its back at the moat and churchyard of Anagharvy; a hollow in it which retains water is resorted to by urchins to get cured of their warts.

"Three such stones occupy the centre of a 'foradh' near the island, or Ballycumber chapel. They form a kind of triangle, or it might have been a circle: within them a small mound rises to the height of two or three feet.

"Another clug (cloc) stucogh rose from a triangle where three roads met, about a mile beyond the church of Horseleap, as you go towards Ballymore. A little gabby man who wished to be considered thoroughly versed in the Irish language showed me the place where the stone stood, until some fellows, in their rowdy moments, made a feat of turning it over. He added that Sir Richard Nagle Geoghegan was very indignant when he heard of the outrage, and that a man who was constructing a boundary wall on a road hard by set it erect in his work to preserve it from worse treatment. It may be a limestone. It is about six feet high, and is the only pillar stone which has come within my notice in this part of the country.

"The 'giant's bed' in Kiltullagh, near the Ballykilmurray racecourse, appears to be a boulder—a limestone—and perhaps remains unmoved since the ocean currents ebbed away from the esker ridge in which it is deeply rooted. There is a hollow, or 'bed,' on the surface of the boulder, the incline of which is towards the west, and measures twelve feet in length.





FICTILE VESSEL FOUND IN A CIST, WITH BURNED BONES, ON THE LANDS OF MACKRACKENS, PARISH OF LECKPATRICK, CO. TYRONE.

[Height, five inches; largest circumference, twenty inches.]

The northern side of this hollow appears as if quarried from the boulder, and rolled to one side; it is about eight feet long, and three feet diameter. The southern side of the hollow is not so gross, and remains attached to its natural place on the rock. This 'bed' is three feet wide. A short distance from the 'bed' is a tumulus in a meadow, which is fifteen yards in diameter, and is raised two or three feet over the level of the field. Three large stones are placed in a line on its summit. As I stood looking at them in sunshine of a Sunday morning, 'the church-going bell' of Durrow told me the hour of noon; and I was not a little surprised to see the shadow of the first stone fall against the second, and the second against the third. This was one of my earliest peeps into the 'pre-historic,' and I said there was something in the arrangement not 'dreamt of in my philosophy.'

"Here is a district where nineteen boulders are limestone, against every one which is sandstone; yet the sandstone is sought and preferred. Quartz pebbles have no name in this place but godstones. And looking beyond our own country, there are at least some notable instances where silicious fire-flashing stones are selected for monumental or religious purposes. Avebury and Stonehenge have had their materials from oolitic sandstone boulders on the downs of Marlborough. In that sacred place, the red pipe-stone quarries of Coteau des Prairies, there are five ponderous boulders of granite, which are held in highest veneration by the Indian tribes of the greater part of the North American Continent. Mr. H. M. Westropp states, in his 'Handbook of Archæology,' that 'the Egyptian obelisks are generally made of red granite, and that even the smallest of them are of sandstone or basalt.' And Pliny says that they are made to represent the solar rays, and are dedicated to the sun god."

Mr. A. G. 'Geoghegan sent the following account of an interesting fictile vessel in his collection:—

"The sepulchral urn, of which the plate on the opposite page is an accurate representation, engraved from a photograph, was found by Mr. Cowie, of Londonderry, under nearly the same circumstances, and in the same locality as the urns described in the 'Journal,' Vol. IV., second series, p. 304. It is formed of the same material, unglazed baked earth, and contained likewise the remains of bones which had been exposed to the action of fire. In shape it slightly differs from them, having more of an angular outline. It has the same arrow-headed ornamenting they have, and varies little in dimensions from them. Its height is 5 inches; its circumference, 20 inches; smallest do. 8½ inches; the external base is flat, and devoid of ornament, but internally of a conical shape, resembling the shell of the cocoa nut. The urn has a peculiarity to which I would beg attention—namely, that at its greatest circumference it is surrounded by a narrow circular groove. This groove is as it were clasped by five small pierced knobs equidistant from each other. From their shape and closeness to the vessel I cannot think they were intended for handles. There are no indentations or marks to lead us to suppose they were designed for that purpose. It appears to me their use was to retain in the groove a strong cord which twined round the urn. From this strong cord three strings could be attached, meeting in a knot for the purpose of carrying

or conveying the urn from the scene of cremation to the kist in which it was finally to be placed, or from the place where it was made.

"Sir William Wilde, in his valuable catalogue of mortuary urns in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, observes that 'drab or clay-coloured urns bear but little mark of fire, either within or without. Assuming that the majority of the mortuary urns (except those used for very distinguished persons), were constructed at the grave, the artist was indebted to the clay at hand in the locality for the materials with which he worked.'

"The colour of this urn is drab, and the vessel itself shows but little sign of fire. The material is the clay of the neighbourhood, thus confirming the opinion of Sir William Wilde as above quoted in every respect."

Mr. Graves observed that the arts of primeval people might be illustrated by comparing similar conditions of civilization existing in or near to our own time, and familiarizing ourselves with the processes they employed. Thus in India we had cromleac builders still extant; in Borneo lake dwellings still inhabited; in the Hebrides "cloghans," very similar to the remains of those primitive stone-built huts so common in Kerry and other western districts of Ireland, still occupied.[1] Sir William Wilde made the following suggestion as to the mode of fabrication of our ancient fictile sepulchral vessels:—"Most of these urns are hand-formed, without the assistance of a wheel, and were probably made at the grave with the materials most ready at hand,[2] and placed, whilst in a soft state, within the burning embers, which, with the surrounding hot stones and clay, served as a kiln for baking them."[3] Now, this was the process used by the North American Indians within the memory of man.

A Paper on "Indian Pottery," by Mr. Charles Rau, had been printed in "The Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution" for the year 1866[4] (p. 346), which threw considerable light on this subject. From this treatise we learned that "as late as 1832, when

[1] See a most instructive paper "On the Primitive Dwellings and Hypogea of the Outer Hebrides," by Capt. F. L. W. Thomas, R. N., "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. vii., p. 153, &c.

[2] In the paper already quoted, Captain Thomas records, that until very lately every Hebridean family fabricated their milk vessels, &c., in rude pottery for themselves. No doubt the process had been traditionally preserved amongst them from pre-historic times.

[3] "Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy," p. 173.

[4] Presented by the Institution to the Library of this Association.

Mr. Catlin visited the nations of the Upper Missouri, he found the Mandans still diligently practising the ceramic art;" and that Dumont ("Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane," Paris, 1753, vol. ii., p. 271, &c.) had left the following minute account of the method employed by the Indian tribes of Louisiana in making earthenware:—

"After having amassed the proper kind of clay and carefully cleaned it, the Indian women take shells which they pound and reduce to a fine powder; they mix this powder with the clay, and having poured some water on the mass, they knead it with their hands and feet, and make it into a paste, of which they form rolls six or seven feet long and of a thickness suitable to their purpose. If they intend to fashion a plate or a vase, they take hold on one of these rolls by the end, and fixing there with the thumb of the left hand the centre of the vessel they are about to make, they turn the roll with astonishing quickness round this centre, describing a spiral line; now and then they dip their fingers into water and smooth with the right hand the inner and outer surface of the vase they intend to fashion, which would become ruffled or undulated without that manipulation. In this manner they make all sorts of earthen vessels, plates, dishes, bowls, pots, and jars, some of which hold from forty to fifty pints. The burning of this pottery does not cause them much trouble. Having dried it in the shade, they kindle a large fire; and when they have a sufficient quantity of embers, they clean a place in the middle, where they deposit these vessels and cover them with charcoal. Thus they bake their earthenware."

Mr. Rau gave figures of several fictile vessels discovered by him amongst the *débris* of Indian kilns on the left bank of the Cahokia Creek on the Mississipi, opposite St. Louis. They were like our fictilia, more especially those found in crannoges and kitchen middens (see, for instance, a food vessel of this class figured in our "Journal," vol. v., second series, p. 119); and one fragment which he engraved showed punctured and impressed ornamentation of the type often found on Celtic urns, to which its texture also bore a strong resemblance, having been composed of clay with a *mixture of pulverized granite.* He also mentioned that the Indian tribes wove baskets of rushes or willows, similar in shape to the vessels they intended to make. Having coated the *inside* of these vessels with the proper clay, they were then fired, when the moulds, being of course destroyed by the process of baking, left on the *outer surface* of the vessels the impressions of the basket-work patterns, often producing a very pleasing effect. Now this, said Mr. Graves, led him to observe on a peculiarity of

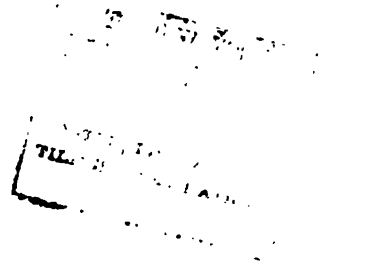
the urn described by Mr. 'Geoghegan—namely, the pierced knobs clasping the depressed line. His (Mr. Graves's) opinion, was that this depressed line was merely ornamental; and that the knobs were used to keep in place the twisted rush or thong, which was pressed into the soft clay to form the sunk line; and afterwards, the cord being burned away in the firing, the knobs served both as ornament and to give a firmer hold in handling the vessel. These fictilia were all probably domestic utensils, and buried with the deceased for the same reason that arms and ornaments were also consigned to the grave along with the body.

Mr. Graves, on the part of the Meeting, expressed their thanks to the Right Hon. Colonel Tighe, one of their Patrons and original Founding Fellows, for having come so far, and at such a season, to preside at the Annual Meeting.

Colonel Tighe said that it afforded him the utmost gratification to be present on so interesting an occasion, when such an honour had been paid to them by the Queen. Her Majesty took a warm interest in all scientific works and objects. The compliment paid to their Association was a very great one indeed.

Mr. Graves remarked, as a proof of the Queen's interest in the Association, that, on the death of the late Prince Consort, who had been a Life Member, he received from the Queen's Librarian a letter stating that it was her Majesty's command that the "Journal" of the Association should continue to be sent to the Royal Library.

The following Papers were contributed :—





Gab.l Beranger

MEMOIR OF GABRIEL BERANGER, AND HIS LABOURS IN THE CAUSE OF IRISH ART, LITERATURE, AND ANTIQUITIES, FROM 1760 TO 1780, WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY SIR W. R. WILDE, M. D., VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

EVERY biographer who wishes to be impartial should for the occasion at least, live among the scenes and dur ing the period when and where the personage whose character he is limning resided. He ought to be well acquainted with the subject he has undertaken to describe, and, as far as possible, honestly identify himself with the pursuits, and exercise a fair critical discretion in reviewing the labours of the person who, for the time being, has become the chief actor in his drama. If the biographer have been a contemporary, personal affection may indeed warp his judgment; and even if centuries have elapsed, he is still liable to the accusation facetiously brought up against Macaulay by Sidney Smith, that "if he was writing the history of Nebuchadnezzar upon his return from grass, he would have made him a Whig." Men must be tried by the light of their times, by the education they have received, and the circumstances by which they were surrounded, to afford them fair play in the history of any country.

The subject of this biography can excite no envy, and elicit no prejudice; for its object is removed by nearly a century from the rivalry of the men of the present day, whose talents have been exercised on similar subjects; while the result of his labours must have a very high interest for our historians, antiquaries, and artists.

Amongst the Huguenot families expelled from France, who carried their acute intellects and delicate taste to benefit other countries, was that of the subject of this memoir, which, after the revocation of the edict of Nantz, separated into two sections, one settling in Holland, and the other in Ireland. With the latter branch Mr. Edward Clarke, to

whom I was originally indebted for some of the materials of this biography, is connected. I also beg to express my obligations to other connexions of that family; to Mrs. Walker, of Dublin; and especially to the Rev. J. C. Walker, and to Dr. Sharkey, of Ballinasloe, the former of whom, in addition to other matters, likewise supplied me with an admirable crayon portrait of the good old Dutch-born artist, drawn by himself, and which forms the frontispiece to this memoir.[1]

Mr. Smiles, in the first edition of his work upon the Huguenots of Great Britain and Ireland, does not afford any information respecting the Beranger family; but the elder Disraeli, in his "Literary Miscellanies," page 336–7, when speaking of Laurence Sterne, says, "Some letters and papers of Sterne are now before me, which reveal a piece of secret history of our sentimentalist. The letters are addressed to a young lady, of the name of De Fourmantel, whose ancestors were the Berangers de Fourmantel, who, during the persecution of the French Protestants by Louis XIV., emigrated to this country [England]; they were entitled to extensive possessions in St. Domingo, but were excluded by their Protestantism. The elder sister became a Catholic, and obtained the estates; the younger adopted the name of Beranger, and was a governess to the Countess of Bristol." Catherine de Fourmantel was not married to Sterne, and died insane. She is said to have been the original from which he drew his "Maria."

A tradition among antiquaries and men of letters here, that there was a French artist in Dublin ninety years ago named Beranger; the mention of his name in old volumes of the "Gentleman's" and the "Hibernian Magazine;" some inquiries made about him in "Notes and Queries;"[2] his

[1] This lithograph was drawn by Mr. Rich. C. Miller, architect, to whom I beg to express my cordial thanks. It has been well printed by Mr. Forster, of Crow-street.

[2] An inquirer in "Notes and Queries" for 2nd August, 1862, under the signature Abhba, with whom I have since become acquainted, asked about the missing drawings of Beranger, but was not answered satisfactorily. Again, on 13th September, he writes, "I have ascertained that some of his drawings (if not all) are in the possession of an Irish gentleman;" and he makes further inquiries respecting some ruins in the neighbourhood of Dublin, "which were extant in the latter half of the past century; as for example, Donnybrook Castle, demolished in 1759, and one at Irishtown, which was standing in 1761."

signature to some of the original drawings of antiquities published by Vallancey—now in my possession,—and the following notices from the late Dr. Petrie's celebrated work on the "Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland," published in 1845, comprise nearly all that the world at large knew of the labours of the subject of this memoir up to the present date. Dr. Petrie published illustrations of decorations of portions of the Seven Churches at Glendalough, no vestige of which remained in his day; and says, at page 245, "I am enabled to illustrate, to some extent, the ornamented portions of its architecture, as existing in 1779, by means of drawings made for the late Colonel Burton Conyngham in that year, by three competent artists—Signor Bigari, Monsieur Beranger, and Mr. Stephens." And again, at page 246, he describes an arch "as represented in the annexed copy of Beranger's drawing." Who Mr. Stephens was I am at present unable to say, but his name is not in any instance mentioned in connexion with Beranger's drawings.

Gabriel Beranger was born at Rotterdam, and in 1750, when about twenty-one years of age came to Ireland, in order to unite by marriage the two branches of the family. He was an artist by profession, and also kept a print shop and artist's warehouse, at No. 5, South George's-street, Dublin, from 1766 to 1779 at least. He first married his cousin, Miss Beranger, and afterwards a French lady named Mestayer; and died at No. 12, Stephen's-green, S., Dublin, on 18th February, 1817, aged eighty-eight, leaving no children. He was interred on the 20th of that month in the French burial ground in Peter-street. When the Huguenot Church there was burned, in January, 1771, the original registry of births, marriages, and deaths, with other valuable materials connected with that community in Dublin, were destroyed. The first entry in the present burial book is dated 13th March, 1771.

Probably the life of an artist was not a very profitable one at that time in Dublin; and Beranger's patrons, Colonel Burton Conyngham and General Vallancey, procured for him in the Government Exchequer Office, the post of Assistant Ledger Keeper, which he held for many years. In latter life he enjoyed a handsome competence

from a portion of the fortune amassed in India, in the good old times, by his brother-in-law, Colonel Mestayer.

The principal materials placed at my disposal consist of a large collection of drawings, plans, designs, architectural and geometrical sketches, and elevations of ruins, and antiquarian objects of interest in Ireland, many of them no longer existing; several landscapes; a large volume of notes made for the Irish Antiquarian Society, from 1779 to 1781; also carefully written descriptions of a great number of ruins in different parts of the country, as they existed a century ago; and, as already mentioned, some of the original drawings of antiquities published in the "Collectanea," &c., &c.

One of the first notices of Beranger which I find in print is that in "The Gentleman's Magazine" for 1770, page 205—being a "Topographical Description of Dalkey and the Environs," in the county of Dublin, by Mr. Peter Wilson, in a letter to John Lodge, Esq., Deputy Keeper of the Rolls. This notice is well worthy of being reprinted in the present day.[1] It is illustrated with an engraving on a folding plate, without the name of any artist; but Wilson says—"I have enclosed a sketch of one of the castles, from a view taken by my ingenious friend, Mr. Beranger, who with great industry and correctness hath drawn a curious collection of ruins, principally in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and means to have them engraven and made public, if suitable encouragement be not wanting."

Again, in the number of the "Hibernian Magazine" for October, 1771, page 450, we read the following heading to an article:—"Some Account of several Palaces belonging to the See of Dublin, with a View of the Front of the Palace of St. Sepulchre; Engraved from a Drawing of Mr. Beranger's, whose Views of the Antiquities of Dublin have

[1] Speaking of the Castles of Dalkey, Wilson says, one was at that time a commodious habitation; the second was occupied as a billiard-room, "a third and fourth are inhabited by poor publicans and labourers; a fifth (indeed, the most antique and complete of the whole) is occupied for a stable; a sixth, or rather the small remains of it, may be found in the walls of an old cabin; and the seventh has been totally demolished in the course of the last summer, merely for the sake of the stones." In the second volume of the Beranger Collection of Drawings intended for publication, Plate 28, I find the coloured original of this engraving with the initials and date affixed, "G. B., delt. 1766."

been so justly esteemed by the public." To this I shall refer in another place.—See page 41, *infra.*

At what time Beranger commenced to sketch the ruins and remarkable places in or around the city I have no means of ascertaining; but the dates in his own handwriting to the larger pictures run from 1763 to 1781; the smaller books do not contain any dates. Among the earlier efforts of his pencil, and before he had commenced his special antiquarian tours, were drawings of the two Cathedrals, the Round Tower of St. Michael's, the archiepiscopal palaces of St. Sepulchre's and Tallaght, Bagotrath Castle, and, at a somewhat later date, St. John's Tower, adjoining Thomas-street, in the city of Dublin, &c. The dates attached to his drawings do not always correspond with those in his journal; my impression is, that his paintings having attracted the attention of persons of taste, copies of them were purchased occasionally, or were procured by writers for the purpose of engraving—as in the cases of Dalkey and St. Sepulchre's.

Among the materials that have come into my possession is a large quarto MS. book of 118 pages, in double columns, on one side (and with "Notes and Anecdotes" on some of the blank pages), of several tours made in Ireland from 1773 to 1781. It is most beautifully written in a clear, distinct hand, without a blot or erasure, and contains several small illustrative sketches. The work itself is a diary and itinerary, evidently written from day to day; but the "Notes and Anecdotes" and historic extracts appear to have been added subsequently, when the author had access to libraries, &c. The book, which is bound and shuts with a clasp, is a foot long, and 9½ inches broad. The first entry in point of time is Sept., 1773, when he made a tour from Dublin into Wicklow, and says, "Set out at eight in the morning in coach and four, with my maid, to bring home my sister[1] from Shillelah." This carriage was probably a public conveyance. He graphically describes the journey, and all the ruins and remark-

[1] This was possibly his sister-in-law, as he had no sister residing in Ireland, and the lady alluded to was in all probability the grandmother of the Rev. J. C. Walker, Dr. Sharkey of Ballinasloe, and the late Dr. Walker of Dublin.

able objects on the route. When passing the Green Hills, near Tallaght, he remarked that, their form "induces one to think they are *tumuli*, and the work of man, and not of nature, since they appear to be of the same figure of those of Dowth and New Grange, in the county of Meath." Eugene Curry, who often visited that locality with me, held the same opinion, but the test of exploration has not yet been applied to them. Beranger then described the Archbishop of Dublin's summer palace at Tallaght, of which he had previously made drawings, now in my possession.[1]

In a note attached to one of these sketches we read as follows—"A View of the Archiepiscopal Palace at Tallaght, four miles from Dublin; this is the summer residence of the Archbishop, and is an old castle modernized. The right wing is modern, the steps still more so, being new, and being made of cut mountain stone. I was told that it was intended to rebuild the left wing just in the same taste as the right." This healthful and picturesquely situated residence at the foot of the Dublin Mountains, and commanding a noble prospect of the surrounding country, has long since passed into lay hands. In the second Number of the "Dublin Library,"[2] for May, 1761, giving an account of "A Journey through Ireland" by a gentleman "educated in France" (possibly Beranger), we read—"The Archbishops of Dublin have a country palace here, which they say is very antient, but was thoroughly repaired by the late Archbishop; there is not any thing worthy remark in it. The last Archbishop that resided here when it was in its original splendour was Michael Tregury, who died in August, 1449. The town is very inconsiderable; there are two cabarets, or tippling houses," &c. In June,

[1] Tallaght—*Tam*, pronounced *Thaum*, a plague or pestilence, and *Leacht*, stone or flag; so called in remembrance of the graves of those buried there during the great pestilence which occurred amongst the Parthalonian Colonists who fled from Ben-Edair, now called by the Scandinavian name of Howth, or Headland, forming one of the boundaries of Dublin Bay.

[2] I am indebted to my old friend Dr. R. R. Madden, who, in addition to his other literary acquirements, possesses an extensive knowledge of our periodic literature, for the use of a few numbers of this very rare Journal, and also for some copies of the "London and Dublin Magazine, or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer," published in 1733, therefore eleven years before Droz's "Literary Journal" first appeared.

1783, the then Archbishop of Dublin and Bishop of Glendalough obtained a certificate from the Lord Lieutenant and Council that he had expended the sum of £3582 19*s.* 4*d.* in "making several repairs and improvements at the palaces, offices, and gardens of St. Sepulchre and Tallaght." And, again, in July, 1787, a further sum of £1397 18*s.* 8½*d.* for a similar purpose.[1] D'Alton, in his History of the County Dublin, writes—"Lord John G. Beresford, afterwards Primate, who was translated to the See of Dublin in 1819, obtained an Act of Parliament to sell the buildings and lands;—and his successor, Dr. Magee, sold them to Major Palmer"[2]—who disposed of them to my friend John Lentaigne, M. D., the present proprietor, who leased the premises and a portion of the land to a community of the Order of Dominicans.

The palace at Tallaght was repaired by Dr. John Hoadley, who was Archbishop of Dublin from 1727 to 1729. Beranger's drawing of it represents a long line of buildings, some of them apparently dilapidated; but although interesting as a remnant of the past, the scope of this work does not permit of its illustration here. In addition to the foregoing, Beranger made a painting in 1770 of "Tallaght Castle, at the rear of the Archiepiscopal Palace, county of Dublin." And in the note to one of his smaller books remarks, "It is situated in the garden at the rear of the Archiepiscopal Summer Palace; it seems to have been a gate of a much larger building, of which this tower only remains. The arch is half stopped up and mended with brick. I was told it was intended to make a

[1] For certified copies of these certificates I am indebted to Dr. Lentaigne.

[2] Tallaght and its vicinity still contains many objects of extreme interest to the antiquary and archæologist, which are well worthy of being recorded in such a useful little work as that of the Rev. Beaver H. Blacker's "Sketches of the Parishes of Booterstown and Donnybrook."

The well-known proverb, applied to boasters, of "Tallagh Hill talk" would appear to have arisen from the circumstance of the brawlers, scandalers, and rioters who, having been tried and fined or confined by the Archbishop's Court at Harold's Cross, or St. Sepulchres, when returning to their native mountains of Wicklow or Dublin, and finding themselves out of the jurisdiction of His Grace on the top of Tallaght Hill, turned round and gave vent to their wounded feelings in language which, though not complimentary, they could safely indulge in, as it was not "uttered within the pale of ecclesiastical authority." See also D'Alton's "History of the Co. Dublin," and "History of the Archbishops" of this Diocese, and likewise "Lewis' Topographical Dictionary."

summer house of it. This is one of the mislaid drawings." The original is now in my possession.

One of the most remarkable circumstances connected with the Palace of Tallaght is, that an engraving of it was made in 1818, representing a magnificent pile of towers and other buildings in the Tudor style of architecture, with a river flowing in front, and all the adornments of a noble park. I do not know whether it was ever published, but I believe it was intended for Mason's projected History of Christ Church Cathedral, and may have been used at the time of the sale of Tallaght.

The temporal as well as ecclesiastical power of the early Archbishops of Dublin, if measured by the extent of territory and the magnificent architectural structures over which they ruled, must be regarded as immense. The palatial residence at Swords was probably the oldest, as it certainly was the most extensive. Such were its dimensions, that while still capable of entertaining the Archbishop and his suite, it found accommodation for the Chief Governor and the Lords and Commons of Ireland, who held a Parliament within its walls. From Swords we pass to the Liberties of St. Sepulchres, in the city of Dublin, where, under the shadow of the noble pile that bears the name of our Patron Saint, within the Close, and surrounded by its kindred ecclesiastical structures, the Deanery, and Marsh's Library, &c., stood the ancient palace of the Spiritual Lords of Dublin, the last occupant of which was Dr. Fowler, who died in 1803,—but which is now a Police Barrack! It must have occupied the site of the original palace, or may have been that absolutely inhabited by Laurence O'Toole, Henry the Londoner, and other prelates down to the days of Fitzsimon, Kirwan, Loftus, the learned Narcissus Marsh, and the patriotic King, until it was sold to the Government, and abandoned for a more fashionable locality.

Before proceeding with the narrative of the tour, let me here again refer to the drawings of the Palace of St. Sepulchre, as taken from the courtyard of the interior in 1765, and of which there are three duplicates in my possession. Of one of these Beranger writes—"This ancient

building, in which the Archbishop resides, is situated in Kevin-street, a quarter not very genteel. I cannot say much of this edifice—the drawing shows what it is at once." In the "Hibernian Magazine" for 1771, already referred to at page 36, there is a reversed engraving of this edifice, "from a drawing of Mr. Beranger;" and the writer states that it was "a very large, as well as a very ancient, stone building, containing not only all suitable accommodations for the family of the Archbishop, but likewise a state apartment which consists of four handsome rooms in suite; but these front towards the garden, and are not seen from the street. The rest of the house, except one wing which communicates with Marsh's Library, is disposed in a square."[1]

From Tallaght, Beranger describes in his journal, the road through Blessington to Baltinglas, where he remained that night, but did not sleep, "as the pigs and dogs of the town were at war the best part of the night, and made a horrid noise." He was surprised at not finding any oaks at Shillelah. He then returned with his relative to Ballymore-Eustace, where he made a drawing of the castle, bearing the same date, which is now before me; but, although it includes a sketch of the artist himself, in his cue, cocked hat, and red coat, it is not worth engraving. He was advised by the landlord of the Eagle Inn there to beware of robbers, who then infested the neighbourhood of Tallaght. He arrived, however, safe in Dublin that night.

It is believed that the ecclesiastical Round Towers are among the most ancient, as they are the most celebrated, monuments of Christian antiquity in Ireland. That some of them belong to the period of the first stone structures in which mortar or cement was used is undeniable. No perfect list, nor full description of these buildings, or the places in which such formerly existed, has yet been pub-

[1] Besides the three palaces of Swords, Dublin, and Tallaght, in this diocese, the existence of a fourth Archiepiscopal residence is mentioned by the Rev. E. Seymour in his "History of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin," 1869—"This space was originally the site of the Episcopal Palace, erected by Bishop Donat in the twelfth century; and subsequently it was occupied with the Deanery and other conventual buildings connected with the Cathedral, and possibly with a cloister, or a square open court, within the precinct." —p. 61.

lished.[1] It is not generally known that a round tower stood in the city of Dublin within the last ninety-five years, and was only taken down in order to prevent accidents, after it had been severely shaken by the great storm of October, 1775.[2] In the hollow beneath the ancient city walls, on the north-eastern space between the present Castle gardens and Chancery-lane, bounded on the north and west by Great and Little Ship or Sheep-streets, and extending up to Bride-street on the west, and St. Bridget's Church a little to the south, was the ancient parish of St. Michael's without the walls, to distinguish it from that within—which was attached to "the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity" or Christ Church. Its graveyard, in which interments took place so late as 1830, may still be seen adjoining to the parochial almshouse. This parish of St. Michael of Pole, and a part of St. Stephen's, were united to that of St. Bride's in 1682, by the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, who styled themselves, in the minute of the 25th September in that year, "the parsons and undoubted patrons of those parishes." The old church was then taken down. Here, beside the millrace from the Poddle River which now runs under the gate of the Lower Castle Yard, stood the round tower of Dublin, within a couple of hundred yards of the old city wall, adjoining that gate. This locality was therefore one of the earliest Christian ecclesiastical sites, next to that of the Well of St. Patrick, within or in the neighbourhood of the Metropolis.[3] The tower must have been an ostensible object; yet, strange to say, scarcely anything has been said about it by our early civic historians, with the exception of Molyneux and Walter Harris, which latter author, in his

[1] See "Anthologia Hibernica," vol. i., p. 90, for an imperfect list, published in 1793. Wilkinson in his "Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland," has also given a list, but it is far from perfect. A complete list is still a desideratum, and will, I hope, soon be published.

[2] See "Exshaw's Magazine" for October 16th; also the Census of Ireland, 1851, Part V., vol. i., p. 148.

[3] There were several "Holy Wells" connected with the city of Dublin: St. Patrick's Well, over which the Cathedral has been built, formerly celebrated on the 17th of March; and another of the same name adjoining "Patrick's well-lane," now Nassau-street; St. James's Well, in the parish of that name, where the "Gooseberry Fair" was held in my own recollection, on the 25th of July; St. Sunday's Well, on the south side of the town; and St. Doulough's Well, on the north of the city, where a "pattern" was held within the memory of some of the present generation. See Barnabe Rych's "New Irish Prognostication," 1624, pp. 52 and 53. We require a good paper on the old wells of Dublin.

edition of Ware, writes thus of it in 1762, when arguing for the early antiquity of mortared masonry in Ireland :— "Probably St. Michael's Church, in Sheep-street, with one of these round towers adjoining it, was built about the same time as Christ Church." This, however, is a plagiarism ; for thirty-seven years previously Molyneux, in his "Discourse concerning the Danish Mounts, Forts, and Towers in Ireland," published in 1725, when writing of the erection of Christ Church "by Sitricus, a Danish King, about the year 1038, as appears from ancient records still kept in that Cathedral," says—"About the same time, I judge, St. Michael's Church, in Sheep-street, not far from Christ's Church, was likewise built by the Danes, with one of these round towers adjoining to it." It was called St. Michael le Pole, or dell Polla, or Michael of Pole, or of the Pool, on account of its vicinity to the "Pole Gate"[1] in the old city wall, near St. Werburgh's Church. Harris, in his "History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin," describes the opening in the north-east city wall at Pole Gate, from a confluence of water in this hollow, which was often troublesome to passengers till a bridge was thrown over it. From the "Free Press" for the 15th August, 1778, we learn that "the ruins of the old Church of St. Michael of the Pool remained in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign. In 1706, Dr. Jones, an eminent Latin master in Ship-street, applied to the patrons of the parish and the incumbent for leave to rebuild the old walls, and convert the same into a schoolhouse ; which work, when obtaining their consent, he set about, and built a large and lofty schoolroom, with three small rooms at the end, and a flight of stairs in the tower leading to the two upper rooms." And in the same paper it is said that the "ruin" of this tower "was prevented about forty years ago by a lover of antiquities, who then applied to Dean Swift and other gentlemen for contribution, when it was scaffolded from the ground, and well pinned with lime and stone within and without, which thorough repairing ever since preserved it from falling." When the Dean and

[1] See a notice of the Pole Gate in Gilbert's "History of Dublin," vol. i., p. 36; also the plan of Dublin in 1610, published by Pool and Cash in 1780, where it is marked as the "Pole Gate."

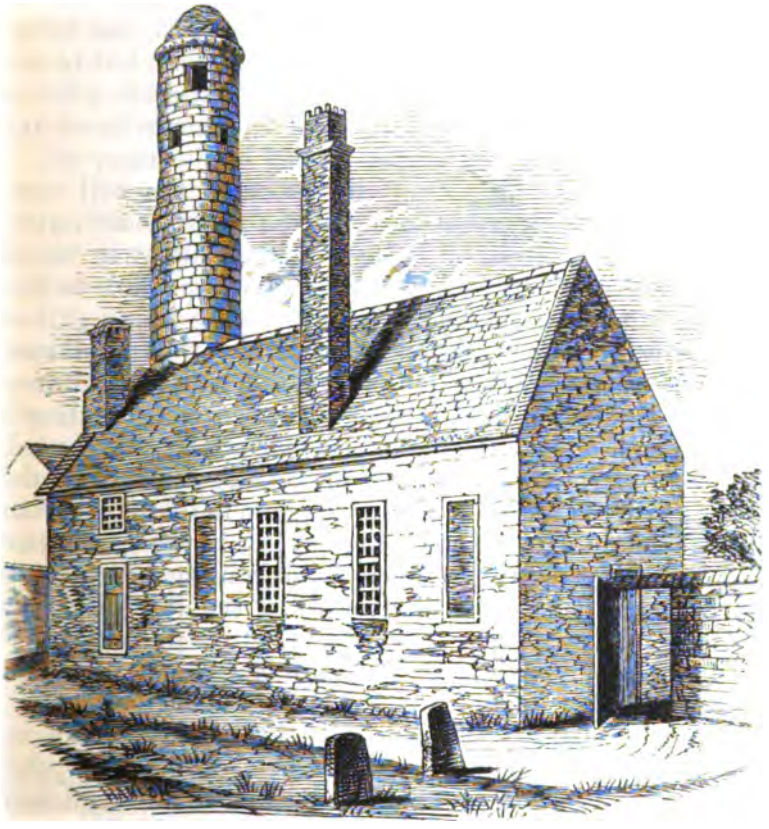
Chapter confirmed Dr. Jones in his possession of the Church, they showed, says Mr. Monck Mason, "an anxiety which every antiquarian will think laudable, by placing the following note on their minutes:—"That Mr. Jones do not pull down the monument or tower of St. Michael of Paul's, near his schoolhouse;" and again, on the 23rd of August of the same year, they issued an order to the same effect.[1] A Mr. Evans succeeded Dr. Jones as master of St. Michael's School, "after whose promotion to a country living it lay waste for a few years, until it was put in order for the ingenious Dr. Dunkin, in 1738, who was succeeded by his usher, Dr. Ball, the present very worthy master," in 1778.

In 1766, Beranger made "A View of the Round Tower of Michael of Pole, in the city of Dublin," which is now before me, as well as four copies of it, one of which is evidently by his own hand. The original large drawing, bound up with the others previously described, was apparently lost for some time, as would appear from the note appended to one of his small books of drawings, made subsequently, and intended for sale or engraving. The fac simile illustration on the opposite page has been engraved for this work by Mr. Hanlon, from the original drawing.

The following is the description of it given by Beranger:—"This tower was situated in a yard, at the rear of some houses on the west side of Great Ship-street, near the Castle; it was reckoned one of the most ancient among those kind of structures, as its walls were not in a perpendicular line, but so ill constructed as if the builder had been ignorant of the use of the plumb-line; it is encompassed by a building which was formerly a chappel, but was afterwards used as a schoolhouse; in a great storm we had some years ago, it was so much damaged that, to prevent the accidents its fall

[1] See notes at pages 72, 221, and 234, of Monck Mason's "History of the Cathedral of St. Patrick's." The Rev. John Jones, D. D., was the diocesan schoolmaster; and he, not Swift, as supposed by Barrett, was author of "A Tripos, or Satirical Oration uttered by him as Terræ Filius." I here beg to express my best thanks to my old and valued friend, Dr. Willis, for having directed my attention to several articles in the Dublin "Free Press," bearing upon the subject of the discussion respecting the taking down of the Tower of St. Michael of the Pool. No more learned authority upon the topography of ancient Dublin exists.

might occasion, it was demolished, and this a few months after I had drawn it; thus I saved it from oblivion; but having mislaid the drawing, I could not insert this in my first number, which would have been its proper place, as it was done before any of them all which I have given to the public; several others of the views in this book are in the same case, as they were all in the same portfolio."



Round Tower of St. Michael le Pole, from a drawing by Gabriel Beranger.

Dr. Petrie, who had access to some of these drawings of Beranger, had a woodcut of the Dublin Round Tower made by Mr. Branston, who was employed by the Royal Irish Academy to engrave the illustrations for his Essay on the Round Towers, about thirty years ago. The cut was never used, as it was intended to appear in the second volume of

that work; and when the Academy disposed of its copyright and cuts, &c., to Messrs. Hodges and Smith, that little block passed out of the hands of the distinguished author; and I have not been able to procure it. It was about a third of the size of the present engraving. The slight anachronism which would appear on first reading Beranger's account of the taking down of the tower may be accounted for by supposing that he refers to the second drawing, and not to that made in 1766.[1] After the storm of 1775, the tower "threatened ruin not only to the schoolhouse, but to the neighbouring houses in Chancery-lane, and the fall of it was every day expected. The Dean and Chapter referred the examination of this old edifice to one of the most skilful architects of this kingdom. He reported the evil complained of to be incurable, and that the tower could not be raised, for the attempt of fixing a scaffold about it would tumble it down." Shortly after the storm, possibly in November, "it was concluded to pull down the upper part of it, which was done accordingly, to the level of the schoolhouse roof, and all the damage done to the said roof and chimney were repaired," the stones being "applied to rebuilding a ruinous wall on the north and east side of the churchyard, and some part of the engine-house." The removal of the tower having caused much dissatisfaction in the parish, "an old inhabitant" wrote upon the subject to the committee for conducting the "Free Press," and from the controversy which ensued I have gleaned several of the foregoing particulars.

The schoolhouse is now "the Alms House of St. Bridget's parish, founded in the year 1683. Removed here A. D. j... 8...," probably 1787, as shown by the inscription on a stone over the archway in Ship-street. The churchyard, with its two standing and several flat tombs, although now in a most miserable state of filth and decay, is exactly as represented in the drawing of 1766, and the schoolhouse with its tall chimney, presents but few alterations. The

[1] The latest copy of Beranger's drawing of the Dublin tower which I have seen is that made by the Rev. J. Turner in 1794, for Austin Cooper's beautiful collection of Indian Ink drawings of "Views of Castles, Churches, &c. &c., in the County of Dublin," and for permission to examine which I am indebted to my friend, J. Huband Smith, Esq., in whose possession it now is.

site of the Tower is, however, occupied by a comparatively modern brick building adjoining the Station house in Chancery-lane, in which reside the school teachers of St. Bridget's parish; and I cannot trace in it any remains of the Tower. It may, I think, be fairly inferred that a graveyard adjoining a Round Tower was of very great antiquity; and it is to be regretted that the late Ecclesiastical Commissioners, with such ample funds at their disposal, or the Poor Law Guardians, or the parishioners, did not make some effort to preserve from desecration the ground hallowed for so many centuries, and occupied by the remains of the citizens of Dublin.[1]

As may be seen by the illustration, the cap was round; and so far as can be judged from it, the tower was of very early date, and resembled in some respects that of Drumbo, in the County Down, which I lately described, when I ventured upon the following suggestion:—Touching the matter of the name said to be usually given by the annalists and native Irish-speaking people to a Round Tower, as *Cloic-theach* or "House of the Bell," as originally published by Walsh, and subsequently recorded by Lynch and Sir Thomas Molyneux, an erroneous notion seems to have gone abroad that it meant the habitation of a large swinging bell hung in the top of the structure, either for the purpose of alarm, or calling the congregation to worship. A baptismal well, a very early church, a cell, a book, or the relic of a saint, would naturally be the earliest memorial of Christianity after the arrival of

[1] In addition to the foregoing references to the Ship-street Tower, the following are worthy of the notice of whoever may hereafter write the history of this part of Dublin. Twiss, in his Tour, p. 21, says, in a note, "Very few of the inhabitants of Dublin know that this tower exists." In Luckombe's Tour, written in 1779, p. 7, we read—"In Ship-street an antique round tower (seldom noticed by the inhabitants of Dublin) was demolished during my stay here. By some antiquarians it is supposed of Druidical erection, from its shape; but others are weak enough to imagine Danish. If erected by the Danes, it is somewhat remarkable that none such are extant in Denmark." See also Wright's "Dublin Guide," p. 153, and "Dighan's Ancient Dublin." I am given to understand that there was a nunnery in Ship-street in former times, but I have not been able to learn more about it.

Some years ago an order was made by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and sanctioned by Dr. Whateley, then Archbishop of Dublin, for the removal of the monuments in the ancient Church at Lusk, and those in the Portlester Chapel, at St. Audoen's Church, Dublin. The desecration was, however, prevented in both cases by the timely and well directed efforts of the Celtic Society.

St. Patrick in this island ; and next, and probably contemporaneous with these, would be the hand bells subsequently used in the celebration of Mass, which articles must have been more general than either of the others, and were held in such veneration that some of our oldest and noblest specimens of metal work and enamelling were fashioned to enshrine them. Whatever may be advanced by speculators as to the original intention of the earlier of these towers, it is manifest to me that this name was derived from their subsequent use as repositories for the small sacred bells used in the neighbouring churches. The ordinary large swinging cast bell was not contemporaneous in Ireland with the erection of these structures ; and even had such been used in the more modern ones, surely some fragment of one of these objects would have been found ere this.[1]

Since the foregoing was sent to the printer, I have procured a copy of Part III. of the "Proceedings of the Saint Patrick's Society for the Study of Ecclesiology," for 1857, in which Mr. J. Huband Smith has written a most interesting article on the Church and Round Tower of St. Michael le Pole, and afforded much information connected with the subject referred to in the foregoing pages. He has also given a lithograph of a copy of one of Beranger's drawings, and likewise a view "drawn from a sketch taken in 1751, Birmingham Tower in the distance," but of which he has not furnished any description, or assigned an author. He has, however, recently informed me that the drawing from which he made that illustration was formerly in the possession of Sir William Betham (Ulster). It is very difficult to understand this sketch, which appears to have been taken from Chancery Lane, for it would be almost impossible to

[1] This opinion, which I have long held, was first published in "Saunders' News-Letter," for 1st November, 1869. For a most interesting account of celebrated large cast bells, from the twelfth century to the present date, see the Rev. H. R. Haweis's Paper in the number of "The Contemporary Review" for February, 1870. Mr. Ellacombe's book on bells, now in the press, may be looked forward to with much interest. The Royal Irish Academy, about twenty-five years ago, had a large number of our Irish bells, and their shrines and covers, engraved on copper to illustrate Dr. Petrie's essay on that subject; but except those lent for engravings to Mr. Ellacombe, they have not yet been published. The Rev. Dr. Reeves, the most competent authority now in Ireland, is about to add letterpress descriptions to these plates of the Academy, which, with impressions of the plates, will then be distributed among the Members.

bring in Birmingham Tower in any such view. Captain Betham informs me that that drawing No. 95, was sold in London, along with several others, at the sale, by Sotheby and Wilkinson, of his father's MSS. in 1854.

It would appear that Beranger had not formed any opinion of his own upon the then much mooted subject of the use and origin of round towers, for when describing that at Donoughmore, near Navan, Co. Meath, he writes as follows:—"Of those round towers we have many in Ireland, and I believe there is not a county without some of them; they generally are found near old churches, and are built, some of hewn, and some of quarry stone; their height is various, from fifty to above one hundred feet, and their diameter from fifteen to sixteen feet, except one at Turlough, in the County Mayo and Province of Connaught, which, on measuring, I found to be fifty-seven feet in girth, which is nineteen diameter, thus exceeding the general measure by three feet. *History is absolutely silent about them;* so that it is not known in what age, by whom, or for what use they were erected; but if one is desirous to see the various opinions of modern writers about them, he may consult Sir James Ware's History of Ireland, Smith's History of Cork, Smith's History of Waterford, Wright's Louthiana, and Colonel Vallancey's and Mr. Ledwich's Works, in Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis, of which work thirteen numbers are already published." Such, together with the printed opinion of Walsh, Lynch, and Molyneux, already alluded to, and that of Giraldus Cambrensis, W. Beauford, and a few others, comprised all the information which was possessed upon the subject of the Irish Round Towers in Beranger's time. The knowledge of architecture had not sufficiently advanced, nor that of Archæology enlarged, to enable the men of the day to have treated the subject in a philosophical and eclectic manner. Forty years passed by—mostly the period of Ireland's literary and intellectual collapse—when, on November 15, 1830, Mr. Petrie, then a Member of Council, proposed the following resolution to the governing body of the Academy:—"For the best Essay on the Round Towers of Ireland, in which it is expected that the characteristic architectural peculiarities belonging to *all* those ancient buildings now

existing shall be noticed, and the uncertainty in which their origin and use are involved be satisfactorily removed."

And at the following meeting, on the 22nd inst., it was resolved to offer "Fifty Pounds and the Gold Medal for an approved Essay on the subject proposed by Mr. Petrie." A portion of this resolution has been well fulfilled, but not all; and although another forty years have elapsed, there is, I think, space for further information respecting all the towers which, unhappily for the country, Dr. Petrie did not live to supply, or the Academy had not funds or desire to procure. Had the Ordnance Survey, which so largely assisted in procuring materials for the Essay on the early "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland," been continued, matters would have been in a different condition at present.

Now, nearly a century after Beranger and those to whom he refers wrote, one would think that all the questions respecting the round towers had been solved, so far as they are ever likely to be; yet, as there are still unlearned people, or sceptics and egotists, who will not accept truth as it is proposed to them, perhaps I may here digress, having already propounded a solution for one of their assigned uses, and state my own form of faith, so far as my observations and reading have enabled me to form an opinion. As the question narrows itself into an architectural one, the following preliminary observations may not be here out of place:—

I. There are no pagan or pre-Christian *mortared* stone structures in Ireland. The only one that has been in any way supposed to contain cementing material is the Hag's Cashel on Lough Mask, county Mayo; but then it must be remembered that it was occupied so late as the reign of Elizabeth.[1]

II. There are no archæic idiographic or merely ornamental carvings on punched or chiselled stones in Ireland, and even the first early literal inscriptions, and all the oghams, are graven on *undressed* stones. There is no vestige of any description of architectural adornment by means of dressed stones, beyond the incised lines already known, referring to pagan times.

[1] See Sir W. R. Wilde's "Lough Corrib, its Shores and Islands," p. 78.

III. Nearly all early Irish stone structures are round—forts, cahirs, cashels, tumuli, cloughauns, Druidic circles, and other elevations and enclosures, civil, military, social, religious, or funereal. Numerous cahirs, cashels, and forts, are mentioned as habitations or places of defence in our annals, both before and after the arrival of St. Patrick.

IV. Small churches were the first *mortared* buildings. They were not always placed east and west, as the points of the compass were not then as well known or as much regarded as at a later period. As the churches grew, not merely in reverence, but by possessions and gifts, they necessarily attracted the cupidity of a rude people, when in and about them were the clerics, the learned of the land, the artificers and the wealthy. All the clergy, and possibly a portion of the people, lived in community round the little church, in cells, oratories, cloughauns, wattled huts, caves, or forts.

V. Many were the inroads made on these little communities by marauding native chieftains, hostile clans, or invading foreigners—their sanctuaries rifled, and numbers of themselves slain. The character of warfare had begun to alter—the fort, the cave, and even the great circular cahir, with its colossal dry stone masonry, were no longer available as places of refuge, and the erection of the last was not always within the compass of the little Christian congregation, or the inhabitants of the surrounding district. Still the faith in the defensive character of the circular fort remained firmly in the minds of the people, and they raised the circular tower *more patriæ* in the vicinity of their church and treasure-house—generally (as was well remarked by Beranger) opposite the west end, and therefore affording a ready means of safety, when rushing from the sanctuary, to those threatened with sudden invasion; and drawing up the ladder, and closing the door or doors, they and their goods were secure. Hence, in my opinion, the first Round Towers were built solely and exclusively as *places of defence, protection, and security.* That was their "use and origin," and no other. But, presuming that the churches had to be built, endowed, and to become rich in ornament, crozier, cross, chalice, relic, Host-bell, shrine, book, silver, gold, precious stones, and costly vestments,

before they could become objects of attraction to the avaricious;—and not finding any vestige of such remains (except a few MSS. chiefly in Latin), belonging to the second half of the sixth, or the whole of the seventh century, I incline to advance the date of the erection of these towers to a period even later than that to which they are referred by Dr. Petrie.

VI. If there be one class of architecture in Ireland more than another that explains itself, and exhibits a transition period of at least 300 years, it is that of the round tower. Formed for defence at a period of early Christianity, say after A. D. 600, we find the primitive Irish round tower short, stunted, of the rudest form of masonry, and with scarcely the mark of a chisel upon any of its stones; with a sloping-jambed, square-headed doorway, like that of the adjoining church, or the fort or cahir that preceded it, and with a domed roof, similar to that which could also be seen in the sepulchral chamber and the cloughaun—with the basement presenting a "batter" like that found in some of the old cahirs, and the doorway raised some ten feet above the surrounding ground, and therefore over the reach of an unsupported assailant trying to break in the flag or wooden door with which those in the interior secured themselves—it was in these days almost impregnable.

In none of these very rudely-built towers is there any architectural adornment, or the slightest vestige of a Christian emblem. It must be borne in mind that they were only used occasionally and temporarily until succour could come and relieve the garrison within; and that such relief would in most cases be sure to arrive in a few hours. It may be urged against this architectural and common sense view of their direct and immediate use and origin, that the ordinary round tower would not hold even the small surrounding Christian community, consisting of the officiating priests, possibly a few monks, the servitors of the little church, some scribes and artists, and a few dozen of the neighbouring cultivators or soldiers who might rush in on the emergency of a sudden inroad or assault; but then it must be recollected that the surrounding community was very small—that if forty or fifty people could get in, they would for a while at least be secure from

danger, except from fire, as occurred when we read that a tower was burned, full of people, and that they could very well find standing room on the average four floors of the building. It is remarkable that, from 948, to 1238, when Kilcoona or Annadown was commenced, the annalists do not mention the erection of a single tower, although it may be presumed that some swinging bells may have been introduced into Ireland during these three centuries.

Thus stands my belief respecting the use and origin of the first round towers. It is really not worth while, after all that has been written on the subject, refuting the nonsensical arguments as to their Oriental or Danish origin, and their totally impossible uses as gnomes, monastic retreats, penitentiaries, beacons, fire-worshippers' towers, Druidical temples, phallic emblems, mausolea, &c. Neither would it be of use again to refute the theory respecting their Phœnician or "Cuthite" origin. Petrie had swept most of these fallacies away already. As to their use as mausolea, I think I have myself cleared away the arguments and assumed facts connected with that delusion. Finding towers built over human remains only proves that they were erected in old graveyards. See the "Ulster Journal of Archæology."

As stated above respecting Annadown, which was probably never completed, there is no reference in our annals to the erection of a round tower in Ireland, although the building of churches and their endowments by holy men are often spoken of. The first notice in our annals, or anywhere in writing, of a *Cloic-teach*, or "House of the Bell," does not occur until the middle of the tenth century, when the great ecclesiastical establishment at Slane, probably the very first of its kind in Ireland (as St. Patrick is said to have commenced his mission there), was attacked and burned by an invading force, and the bell-house, with all its treasures, and a multitude of people therein, were burned.

Starting from the middle of the eighth, or the beginning of the ninth century, the round tower, like the adjoining church or the sculptured cross, was better built, raised to greater height, got a more conical cap, and, as foreign archi-

tecture was introduced,—Greek, Roman, Saxon, or Norman,—was decorated with the arch, the ornamented doorway, the sculptured fillet round the cap, and eventually, the representation of Christian emblems—the Cross, and the figure of the Crucifixion.

No one acquainted with the subject of either architecture or archæology can imagine that all the round towers were coeval, or even within three centuries of each other, the first with the last,—neither can any person suppose that the decorated arch, the fluted jambs, and all the other architectural adornments, well known to have existed long prior to this period in other countries, were the offspring of Irish genius, unassisted from without.

With acute observation, great learning and research, and a most refined taste, Petrie worked out these architectural subjects. Let us now see what the record says. Sylvester Gerald Barry, the most learned man of his day, and known to us as attached to the Irish court of Henry II. and his son John, and who, from his Welsh origin, is known in books as "Giraldus Cambrensis," when he wrote his Topography of Ireland, in 1183, comprises his description of the round towers in the following words, so often overlooked or misinterpreted by subsequent writers. "*Turres Ecclesiasticas, quæ, more Patriæ, arctæ sunt et altæ, nec non et rotundæ.*"—Ecclesiastical towers, which, after the fashion of the country, are slender, high, and round. This told the story of the round towers nearly 700 years ago—ecclesiastical, or belonging to church communities; round, after the fashion of the country; and, without stretching the question too far, constructed by the people of the country; and, being within the Christian period, erected between the arrival of St. Patrick and the writing of the Cambrian antiquary.

That is the first of the three positions worked out with such learning by Dr. Petrie, viz.: "That the towers are of Christian and ecclesiastical origin, and were erected at various periods between the fifth and thirteenth centuries." Whether they were ever *originally intended* to serve as places "in which the sacred utensils, books, relics, and other valuables were deposited," is no more than to say that any keep, castle, citadel, or place of strength, would, in

case of emergency, serve for the preservation of treasure; but that they were *erected* "as keeps, or places of strength, into which the ecclesiastics to whom they belong [and, as shown by history, the laity also] could retire for security in cases of sudden predatory attack" is, I think, fully proved.

"That they were probably also used, when occasions required, as watch-towers," is only to say what is common to all fortresses or towers even in the present day. But that, with their stone roofs and wooden floors, they could ever have been intended for "*beacons*," is a theory for one of their original uses that I am not prepared to accept.

That they never were originally "*designed*" to serve as belfries, I have already remarked upon; although, when large cast bells came into use, possibly in the tenth or twelfth centuries, such may have been hung in some of the later ones, or in the miniature towers absolutely attached to churches of more modern date, as at Glendalough, Ireland's Eye, and Clonmacnoise. In the latter case, however, the top apertures would not appear to have been constructed for the purpose of giving exit to the sound of a swinging bell. If the round tower was originally intended for a belfry it would, I think, have been incorporated with or attached to the primitive church (the bell of which it was intended to hold); instead of being studiously placed at some distance from it, and thus serving as a citadel to those who fled to it. It is strange how fragments of the true uses of our Irish towers crop out here and there, even among the writings of the most fanciful antiquaries of the past century. Thus Mr. William Beauford, in his article on the *Cloghadh*, published in Vallancey's "Collectanea," writes thus:—"The Cloghadh now remaining in Ireland were all erected by the Christian clergy, and are none of them older probably than the beginning of the seventh century, or none of them later than the close of the eleventh, though evidently derived from structures of a similar nature used by the pagan priests; they were, however, continued as belfries to the close of the fourteenth century."

As the belfry theory is still likely to have many adherents, I beg to add, even at the risk of appearing tedious, the following additional particulars for and against it. The small early Irish church bell was almost invariably

square; and although it might have been cast in bronze, in the same way as a celt or a sword, still it was in most instances formed out of a piece of metal riveted at the sides; in many cases it was made of iron, to improve the sound of which, portions of other metals—bronze, silver, and tin—were driven into it, and partially fused by such a heat as did not melt the iron. That these bells were of great antiquity, and were highly reverenced, is shown by the fact of their being afterwards enshrined in some of the finest specimens of jewellery now in our collections. They were also known by special names. Dr. Reeves in his learned Commentary on "Adamnan's Life of St. Columba," says—"All the ancient Irish bells were *hand* bells." (See note, p. 34.) Moreover, these bells had their appointed *herenachs* or custodians, whose duty it was to preserve them, as well as the shrines, croziers, books, and other similar relics. Some of the descendants of these persons exist at the present day.

Dr. Petrie, when describing one of the sculptured stones which formerly existed at Glendalough, originally drawn by Beranger in 1779, and which, in a fragmentary condition, was subsequently sketched by the late Mr. Du Noyer, says, at page 249—"The quadrangular-shaped bell, which appears in the hand of the other figure, exhibits that peculiar form which characterizes all the consecrated bells which have been preserved in Ireland, as having belonged to the celebrated saints of the primitive Irish Church; and there is every reason to believe that this quadrangular form gave place to the circular one now in use previously to the twelfth century;" but when or where is not stated. And as to the consecration of the hand or Host bell, I am not aware that such a rite was common in the Christian Church, although large swinging bells were generally baptized.

The most powerful argument brought forward by Petrie for the belfry theory is that respecting the name and duties of the *Aistreoir*, or ostiarius, an officer whose duty, as explained by Bishop O'Reilly in his Irish Dictionary, "was to ring the bell in the steeple of the church—the lowest of the seven degrees of ecclesiastical officers." But the authorities quoted for this office of the bell ringer are certainly not contemporaneous with the early round

towers, and indeed do not always apply to the *aistire* or bell ringer even of the tenth century. As to the evidence derived from the Four Masters respecting the tower of Clonmacnoise, when the large bells there were carried from the cloictheach, as well as the images, altars, gems, and even window glass, it does not bear forcibly upon the subject, for it did not occur till 1552, many centuries after the great tower was built; and if the small tower is the one referred to, its comparatively modern structure would exclude it from the argument.

Professor O'Looney, of the Catholic University, has kindly furnished me with the following extract from an ancient life of St. Senan, written by St. Odranus, first Comarb of St. Senan in Innis Cathraigh, from a manuscript in his own possession, dated 1629, and which, he says, "gives a more detailed account of the life of St. Senan than the Book of Lismore version, which does not contain the chapter in which this passage occurs, or the celebrated *Amhra Senan*, or elegy of St. Senan, by Dolla Forgaill." The following is the extract:—

"Senan, moreover, built a belfry in Innis Cathaigh, which was one hundred and fifteen feet in height, so that when a bell was placed in it, near to its top, the sound of the bell used to be heard all over Corcobaisgin; so that sacrifice used to be made in every church in Corcobaisgin at the same time that Senan and his followers would be making it in Innis Cathaigh."—*Life of St. Senan*, chap. vi.

St. Senan, of Scattery Island, at the mouth of the Shannon, referred to in the foregoing, died in 554, and his bell, styled the *Clogh Or*, or the golden bell of Burren, now in possession of Mr. Marcus Keane, was described by me to the Royal Irish Academy some years ago. Its shrine, which is that of a mere small hand bell, is most beautifully decorated, and one of the finest specimens of niello known in this country. The life of St. Senan is evidently a compilation of a much later period than that to which it refers, and the miracle respecting the extent to which the sound of its bell reached is not likely to be accepted in the present day. A similar story is likewise told respecting the round tower on Aran-more, in Galway Bay. No doubt there are many traditions regarding the bells said to have been removed by the Danes, and Cromwell, and other desecrators

of our ecclesiastical structures, and I myself am well acquainted with various localities into which it is said bells were thrown, the sweet, melancholy tones of which, in the "clear cold eve," were heard issuing from the neighbouring lake, river, or morass. But floating traditions of this nature do not constitute history, nor establish fact, no more than those more modern traditions among the peasantry, respecting the Danish origin of raths, cahirs, and other antique structures, in any way interfere with the recitals in our Irish annals. The round tower of Cloyne, and also that of Ardmore, have been used as belfries in modern times. In the latter, however, the inner walls of the top of the tower had to be scooped out in order to permit of the swing of the large modern cast bell.

The bell of St. Gall, the Irish missionary to Switzerland in he beginning of the seventh century, is, says the learned Reeves, "preserved in the monastery of the city which bears his name, but is attached to a wall." Possibly the small quadrangular hand bells were, subsequently to their original use, attached to church walls. In considering this question of Irish ecclesiastical bells and their houses, the bell-opes surmounting the western gables of our mediæval churches should not be lost sight of. In answer to some queries of mine Mr. J. O'Beirne Crowe, A.B., writes as follows:—"The bells of the founders of early Irish churches were attached to the church wall, as that of the monastery of St. Gall is at present, and were rung from within. In every religious institution, Irish and otherwise, there were several bells, as we see from the 'melodious little bells' spoken of further on, as well as from Du Cange's quotations; but the principal bell was that of the church. To erect a round tower for such a bell would indeed be a folly; and accordingly, in the foundation-measurement, or description (and there are many of them) of an Irish ecclesiastical structure I have never met with any reference, incidental or otherwise, to a bell-house. In 'The Prophecy of Art'—*Lebor na hUidre*—the future grandeur of Trevet, near Tara, in the county of Meath, is delineated; but there is nothing about a round tower, though the 'melodious little bells' are mentioned. Again, in the description by Cogitosus of the church of Kildare, the round tower is not named, though it is certain that

the present tower existed there at that very time, but not in connexion with the church. As to 'incidental reference,' two passages — one by Dr. Petrie, 'Irish Round Towers,' p. 378—and another by Dr. Reeves, 'Adamnan's St. Columba,' note, lib. iii. cap. 16)—have been quoted in proof of an ecclesiastical round tower, but a slight examination will show that these two writers have been misled. Dr. Petrie's quotation is taken from 'The Sailing of the Curach of Mael Duin' (MS. H. 2, 16, T. C. D.), and intended to show that in the sixth century there existed in Kildare a *belfry* apart from the church: Ir e tṡath fin tanic in ban-aircindech do bein cluig na cille: thus rendered: 'This was the time when the *Ban-aircumech* came [out] to ring the bell of the church.' Now the Irish says, it is *from* the ringing of the bell of the church the Antistita had come, not *to* the ringing of it, as will be seen from the poem immediately subjoined, where do bein [*recte* béim] cluig is expressed by iarm beim cluig, '*after* the ringing of the bell.' The bell was *in* the church, and the lady was coming out of the church after ringing it.

"Dr. Reeves' quotation is from the words of St. Columba, who says that he ordered an angel to go to the rescue of a monk who was falling 'de summo culmine majoris domus,' 'from the summit of the roof of a large house.' This *large house* the editor takes to be a round tower, and adds the following note:—'It [this chapter] points to their [the towers'] *primary use* as monastic abodes, known by the name *Monasterium rotundum*, and regarded as belonging to a class of building called *magna* or *major domus*, as contradistinguished from the humble cells of the same form, antecedently to the time when *bells*, like other reliques, acquired from age such an amount of veneration, as to confer upon the buildings in which they were preserved the name of *Cloc-teach*, or 'Bell-house' (p. 216–17). Now, if Dr. Reeves had only looked about somewhat more carefully, he could find several examples of *magna* and *major domus* applied to a building which was not a round tower. One example will be sufficient here. In the description of the church of Kildare, before referred to, it is stated that the church was divided into three compartments—a double nave and a chancel, and that all three were 'sub uno culmine majoris domus.' The Doctor was led into this clas-

sification error from the supposition that the *major domus* here referred to was the same as the *major domus* of lib. i. cap. 28, preceding, which it really may have been. In the latter case, St. Columba says that Laisran was wearying his monks at the building '*alicujus majoris domus*": but if the saint had meant a round tower, he would hardly use this indefinite and rather contemptuous form of expression. Up to this, then, we see that there is no authority for either the construction or the existence of any ecclesiastical round tower for any purpose whatever."

Beranger's other unpublished drawings in connexion with the city of Dublin, and its immediate vicinity, will be referred to hereafter. The good old Dutchman was spare in person, of middle height, his natural hair powdered and gathered into a queue ; he had a sharp, well-cut brow and good bushy eyebrows, divided by the special artistic indentation ; a clear, observant, square-ended nose, that sniffed humbug and took in fun ; clear, quick, brown eyes ; a well-cut, playful, dramatic mouth, eloquent and witty ; not a powerful, but a chin quite congruous with the face. Well shaven, no shirt to be seen, but his neck surrounded with a voluminous neckcloth, fringed at the ends, a drab, rather Quaker-cut coat and vest for household purposes, and when out on sketching excursions he had on a long scarlet frock coat, yellow breeches, top boots, a three-cocked hat, and held in his hand a tall staff and a measuring tape. Like Woverman's white horse or Petrie's red woman, he frequently introduced himself in this remarkable but at the time not uncommon costume into his pictures. He was a keen observer of nature, men, and manners, and appeared to relish Irish fun, as indeed his dramatic cast of countenance, shown in the very good crayon drawing made by himself when about middle life, would indicate, and of which an admirable lithograph is appended to this biography. He was a most painstaking artist, and a faithful delineator of antiquarian remains. He is said to have been self-taught, and this may account for the hardness of some of his drawings ; yet no one of his time could draw an old castle, a cromlech, or a round tower better ; but his extended landscapes were not good, and more resemble plans than pictures. He particularly failed in trees and green fields. Had his observations and descriptions, and

his drawings of Irish scenery and antiquities, been published eighty or ninety years ago, they would have caused archæological study to progress in this country, and perhaps forestalled the opinions of subsequent writers. Most of the drawings of animals introduced into his pictures would appear nowadays to be caricatures ; but then it must be remembered that great changes have taken place for the better in the shape of our horses, sheep, and oxen. There was one animal he drew to perfection, and seemed to delight in it—the good old Irish pig—lengthy, thin, leggy, hog-backed, long-necked, four-eared—his tail, with a twist and a half in it, and bushy at the end, telegraphing to his knowing, half-shut eye, nearly covered by his long drooping upper lug, and glancing over his flexible, acute snout —Phil Purcell's pig "all to the life," before Tonkeys and Berkshires had improved the "*Tinnies*" of former days.

Beranger was also a flower painter of much taste, and Dr. Sharkey possesses a collection of his drawings in this department. They are interesting, as showing what the fashionable flowers were a century ago, and the progress made in floriculture since. The coloured drawings are even better preserved, and the tints more vivid than the landscape and antiquarian ones. Several of them are numbered, as if intended for sale or publication: one of them bears the marks "No. 93, price 7s." So perfect are these drawings, that even the slightest defects in the leaf or flower are shown. In the following note is a list of those flowers and plants of which the drawings are now before me, and in most of which the time of flowering is given.[1] Among Beranger's other accomplishments was that of a bird painter, in which he excelled, not merely as an artist, but a naturalist, for the illustrations are drawn and painted with ornithological accuracy to the feather.

[1] Convolvulus Major.
Arum or Arsarabacca.
Purple Ragwort.
Dog Rose.
Red Yarrow.
Indian Groundsel.
Columbine.
Globe Ranunculus.
Chrisanthemum.
Yellow Rose.
Tulip.
Candytuft.
Lavetera Mallows mauve.
Larkspur, Pied d'Allouette.
Striped Geranium.
Scarlet Colutea.
Mazerian.
Daffodil.
Spanish Broom.
Mallows.
Carnation.
Green Broom.
Double Soapworth.
Periwinkle.
Sage Blossom.
Dwarf Lychniss.
French Marigold Souci.
Marigold.
St. Bruno's Lily.
Floss Adonis.

Doctor T. E. Beatty has just placed in my hands four of his plates of birds, containing eleven very beautiful specimens which were given to a member of his family by the artist many years ago. With the exceptions of the pied fly-catcher and the nightingale, they are all of Irish birds.

The next notice in chronological order after Dublin, is a "Rough Journal of a Tour to Navan, &c., in 1775," commencing 16th April. He walked through the Park to Clonea, and thence to the Black Bull, where the Rev. Dr. Beaufort,[1] Rector of Navan, had sent horses to meet him. He notices Dunshaughlin church, and the castle of Killeen, and visited Tara, with which he was disappointed, chiefly owing to the exaggerated account, which M'Curtin, Keating, O'Halloran, and other writers had given of its "sumptuous palace," of which, no doubt, he expected to find some stone remains, instead of the earthen elevations that mark the confines of the hurdle and plaster enclosures of the days of Laogaire and Cormac; but he says, that, with the exception of a little church "not a stone can be found on Tarrah hill, nor its environs—at least I could not see any." He was hospitably entertained by the Rector —painted the great fort of Navan, and also Athlumney Castle, and from thence proceeded to Donaghmore church and round tower, which latter he drew, and has left repre-

[1] The Rev. Daniel Augustus Beaufort, D. D., and a Councillor of the Royal Irish Academy, here alluded to, was a most distinguished Irishman, whose name should not be forgotten, while it is not to be confounded with that of Mr. William Beauford, who wrote some articles in the "Transactions," R. I. A.; and also in Vallancey's "Collectanea." Dr. Beaufort was the author of the Ecclesiastical Map of Ireland, and father of the late Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, Hydrographer Royal, and author of a work on Caramania. Sir Francis had a most profound knowledge of his art, as shown by La Place's description of him as "*Le Premier Hydrographeur d'Europe.*" He was a gallant sailor, and a cordial friend. He very nearly induced me, in 1840, to give up medicine, and become the Secretary of the Geographical Society. Of his three sisters, whose acquaintance I was honoured with, one was Mrs. Edgeworth, fourth wife of the celebrated Richard Lovell Edgeworth; the second was Miss Beaufort, author of "Bertha's Journal," and other tales; and the third, the charming Miss Louisa Beaufort, a writer of distinction, and author of an Essay in the "Transactions" of the Royal Irish Academy on Irish Architecture prior to the Anglo-Norman Conquest. All these have gone to their long rest within the last few years, in good old ages, beloved by their friends, and admired and respected by all who enjoyed their society; yet the literature of the social history of this country contains no record of them or their labours. Why should we not have a Biographical Dictionary of Irish Worthies, if only to prevent an Irish Attorney-General at a State Trial, when reminded by the prisoner's counsel of certain Brehon Laws, eminent Irishmen, and romantic incidents in Irish history, from crying out, "Who the deuce was Ollahm Fodhla; and what has this to do with Silken Thomas, whose name is not in any law book I ever read?"

sentations of it, and the sculpture over its doorway,—to be described hereafter.

From thence he proceeded to sketch Dunmow and Carrick castles on the Boyne, and so on by Slane to Dowth and New Grange, all of which places he drew. He likewise visited and drew Bective Abbey during his stay at Dr. Beaufort's. See description of drawings at a more advanced stage of this memoir.

Beranger made several small sketch-books, each 7½ inches by 4½, on Watman's famous paper, and also added to each drawing a short, but very carefully written description. These drawings, although stiff, and not as artistic as water-colour landscapes in the present day, are most faithful. After considering the subject carefully, I am inclined to think that he disposed of these books at the establishment in George's-street, and that they were in most instances taken from the larger drawings. The three in my possession, each containing twenty-four drawings, are styled in the clear accurate hand of the author, "Rambles through the County of Dublin, and some of the neighbouring ones." They are in most perfect preservation, and the colours apparently as bright as the day they were laid on the paper. There are no dates to them, although such are added to most of the large drawings. I am unable to say how many of these books he may have drawn and written, but from the constant references made to them in the large manuscript work already described, I think there must have been four, or probably more. Mr. Clarke, who lent me those now before me, writes: "I had another which I lost, I know not how."

Were the means of copious illustration possible, I should like to give woodcuts of many of Beranger's earlier drawings of ruins—some no longer existing, and others so altered as to be scarcely recognised in the present day. As this is not possible, I can only select a few of the most remarkable. Whether Beranger ever published any of the sketches, as from the passage in Wilson's description of Dalkey referred to at page 36, he evidently intended to do, I am unable to say; but he prepared for the press very carefully two large volumes, the same size of, and bound like, the large note-book—the first containing 100, and the

second 92 coloured plates. These books likewise contain at the end several Indian-ink plans and drawings of architectural elevations and details of antiquarian subjects, which are no longer to be found, as at Glendalough, Slane, Tallaght, and other places. Vol. I. commences with a very tastefully designed and painted title-page after the manner common in works of the middle of the last century. It runs thus: "A Collection of Drawings of the Principal Antique Buildings of Ireland designed on the spot, and collected by G. L. Beranger." To each volume there is, at the commencement, a copious Alphabetical Index, followed by an "Advertisement," stating that "the castles which compose this collection I designed on the spot, except the following, which were communicated to me by various gentlemen here undernamed, whose kindness I acknowledge with thanks," &c. From this it would appear that besides his own drawings he obtained, with a view to publication, several others which I am inclined to think he copied with his own hand for the purposes of his work. Among the names of persons who contributed sketches, we find that of "Colonel Charles Vallancey" as the most conspicuous. There are also those of Rev. Mr. Seymour; Jonathan Fisher, landscape painter; The Earl of Portarlington "from original drawings"; Miss Sharman, of Moira Castle; Sir Vesey Colclough; C. Collis; T. Roberts, landscape painter; Signor Bigari; M. Vispré, Mr. Penrose, and Mr. Ivory, architects; also George Barnet, likewise a landscape painter, and who subsequently accompanied him in his "Tour in Wicklow," and made some of the drawings of Glendalough. There is considerable variety of skill in these works of art, owing, no doubt, to the different hands employed on the original sketches.

I have made an Index of all the drawings, originals or copies, by Beranger that have come into my possession, and will give an alphabetical list of them further on in this biography, when sufficient extracts have been given from his journal. Beranger's chief companion was Signor Bigari, who it is said painted the beautiful allegorical figures on the panels of the state coach of the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and several of whose drawings will be found engraved in Grose's Antiquities of Ireland.

AN ACCOUNT OF A VISIT TO THE CAVE OF DUNMORE, CO. KILKENNY, WITH SOME REMARKS ON HUMAN REMAINS FOUND THEREIN.

BY ARTHUR WYNNE FOOT, M. D., FELLOW OF THE KING AND QUEEN'S COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS IN IRELAND.

On the 10th September, 1869, I had an opportunity of visiting the Cave of Dunmore, in this county, in company with the Rev. James Graves, and Peter Burtchaell, Esq., C. E. In making this visit we were each much prompted by curiosity to ascertain the truth of the reports which were current as to the quantities of human remains to be found in the recesses of the cavern. We succeeded in procuring from the cave a considerable number of human bones, which have since been identified, catalogued, and deposited in the Museum of the Society. I have ventured to append to the account of this visit some remarks upon the several points which must be carefully considered when attempts are made to estimate the age of bone—upon the different conditions which affect the durability of bone—and upon the evidences of antiquity which may be acquired from examination of the bones themselves by the various means at our disposal. It is a most dangerous thing to hazard a positive opinion upon the age of bone, unless perhaps where, from some peculiarity in the mode of sepulture, or from the discovery, beside the bones, of pottery jewelry or weapons of war or chase which are known to have marked a peculiar era, there is collateral evidence afforded of the date of death.

Making every allowance for the difficulty of arriving at, or even near the age of bones from examination of the bones themselves in the absence of other data, there is nothing improbable in the assumption that the bones which are to be found in a particular portion of the cavern at Dunmore represent the persons who we know from history perished miserably in that place at the hands of the Danes, in the tenth century. The reasons for this statement will be best appreciated by a reference to subsequent portions of these remarks.

The Cave of Dunmore is situated on the estate of the Marquis of Ormonde, and is about four miles from the city of Kilkenny, on the right-hand side of the road to Castlecomer; its mouth is situated in a field about a quarter of a mile from the road side, and is approached by a cart track, and path through fields; the appearances about the entrance of the cavern are now in some respects different from what they were before the year 1832, as shown by the engraving of the entrance in the "Dublin Penny Journal" of that date; the descent to the mouth is now greatly concealed by the recent growth of bushes, brambles, and scrub of various kinds: however, this brushwood has occasionally been set on fire, and such an occurrence may have taken place shortly before the drawing referred to was made. The cave itself is formed beneath, and in beds of carboniferous limestone which above are interstratified with beds of dolomite. Rain water filtering through these strata becomes supersaturated with salts of lime, and as it trickles from the roof forms stalactites of every size and length, from miniature pendants to broad-based columns uniting roof and floor, and also incrusts the floor with stalagmitic deposits of varying thickness. The modern name of Dunmore, or the Great Fort, which is also the name of the townland, is derived from some fortification which gave its name to the latter; the older name is Dearc-fearna, i. e. the Cave of alders, and this name is still in local use. This we found to be the case on asking a native if he knew the Irish name of the cave. *Dearc* or *derc* (dark) signifies a cave or grotto, and also the eye; it is probable that the latter is the primary meaning, and that its application to a cave was figurative and secondary; the alder tree is called in Irish *fearn* [*farn*], but in the present spoken language the diminutive *fearnóg* [*farnoge*] is always used. The syllables *farn* and *fern*, which are found in names in every part of Ireland, denote the prevalence of the alder tree: thus there are several places called Farnagh, Fernagh, and Ferney, denoting a Place producing alders. Ferns in Wexford is well known in ecclesiastical and other records by the name of Fearna, i. e. Alders, or a place abounding in alders. Glenfarne, a valley near Manorhamilton, is called by the Four Mas-

ters Glann-fearna, the Alder-glen.[1] In an ancient manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, called "Irish Triads," in which are enumerated three of each of the most remarkable objects in Erin—as the three highest mountains, the three highest cataracts, the three broadest plains, and the three largest rivers—it is stated that the three darkest caves in Ireland are Uaimh Cruachan, i. e., the cave of Croghan; Uaimh Slaine, i. e., the cave or crypt of Slane; and Dearc-Fearna, which is understood to mean the cave of Dunmore, county of Kilkenny.[2] The larger and equally dark cave near Mitchelstown, on the road joining that place and Cahir, is a modern discovery, the principal cavern having been accidentally tapped in quarrying, 2nd May, 1833. An account of an examination by Professor Apjohn of this Michelstown cave, made in the year after its discovery, accompanied with maps and sections of the place, may be found in the "Journal of the Geological Society of Dublin."[3] There is at Mitchelstown also a second cave, long known and frequently explored, but it does not appear to be possessed of any historic interest. In the "Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland" by the Four Masters, it is mentioned[4] that in "the Age of Christ 928, Godfrey, grandson of Imhar, with the foreigners of Athcliath [Dublin], demolished and plundered Dearc-Fearna, where one thousand persons were killed in this year, as is stated in this quatrain"—

"Nine hundred years without sorrow, twenty-eight, it has been proved,
Since Christ came to our relief, to the plundering of Dearc-Fearna."

In the inmost recesses of Dearc-Fearna unmistakeable evidence of the truth of the statement, that a wholesale massacre was perpetrated there, exists in the osseous remains of men, women, and children, which, though not now strewing the cave in the same profusion they formerly did, may be procured in quantities by disturbing the surface of the floor in a particular place.

The Cave of Dunmore has always been an object of

[1] "Origin and History of Irish Names of Places," by P. W. Joyce, A. M., M. R. I. A., 1869.

[2] Wilde's "Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater," p. 180, note.

[3] Vol. i., p. 103.

[4] Vol. i., p. 623.

wonder and interest; many visits to it have been described in writing, several of which are of much value from the accounts they contain of the appearances this place presented many years ago. I am inclined to quote these descriptions pretty fully, as the books containing some of them are scarce or difficult of access to, and because a general idea of the principal features of the cave can readily be gathered from them.

In a book called "A Tour through Ireland,"[1] the second edition of which was published in Dublin, 1748, two English gentlemen describe their visit to Dunmore Cave, 122 years ago, in a letter to the Right Honourable the Lord R——y, at p. 192:—"And now, my Lord, since I have mentioned to you so great a curiosity in Art [the marble mills and quarry near Kilkenny], I shall acquaint you with one of nature, that we have just seen, which is called Dunmore Cave, about four miles from this city, on the other side to the north-west, as that of the Mills is to the south-east. The cave is situated in the middle of a spacious field; and the mouth of this natural cavity is distinguished by a monstrous flight of different species of birds, whose numbers darken the air as you come near the mouth, and their different voices seemed to tell us we were going to view something extraordinary. The descent to the mouth is slippery and difficult, and were it not for the help of the bushes that fringe the borders, there would very few people attempt it. We were well prepared beforehand with large flambeaux, as well as other different lights, and tinder boxes, with proper implements to renew our illuminations, should the damps of the place quite extinguish them all, which we were informed was very often the case. When you enter the mouth, a sudden chillness seizes all parts of the body; and a dimness surrounded our lights, as if the place was filled with a thick fog, but none of our lights were extinguished. Our faces,

[1] "A Tour through Ireland, in several entertaining Letters, wherein the present State of that Kingdom is considered; and the most noted Cities, Towns, Seats, Rivers, Buildings, &c., are described, interspersed with Observations on the Manners, Customs, Antiquities, Curiosities, and Natural History of that Country; to which is prefixed a Description of the Road from London to Holy Head. By two English gentlemen."

through this gloom, looked as if we were a collection of ghosts, and the lights in our hands seemed as if we were making a visit to the infernal shades. The passage leads to the left, which brings you to a slippery ascent, where nature has formed something like steps, by the continual dropping from the earth above you. When you have passed this first rising, the shining of the petrified water (for I think we may justly call it so) forms so many different objects, that it is not unpleasing ; and by the help of a little imagination we might make out organ pipes, pillars, cylinders, pyramids inverted, and ten thousand various things in art, all formed from the dropping of the water. We passed on upon a slippery flooring, till we came to a narrow passage, which we crept through, sending some of our lights before us. This part enlarged itself, and the roof or top was a great height ; our voices echoed as in a church, neither was it much unlike one. The bottom was pretty even, save where some pillars that were formed by nature appeared. In several places were skulls and human bones, as it were set in this chrystalline substance, but no account could be given how they came there ; certainly no person ever would make it an habitation. We were informed that two miles from the mouth was a well of wonders; but indeed, my Lord, none of us had curiosity or courage enough to travel so far in this subterraneous road to try its virtues ; and most of us grew so cold and faint, that we longed to breathe in open air. When we came out, we thought we had abandoned the regions of the dead, to draw the air of Paradise. They tell you many romantic legends of this cave. We have in England our seven wonders of the Peak in Derbyshire, all of which I have seen, but in my opinion this one is more marvellous than all the seven put together. I brought away several pieces of different forms from the place ; some hollow, in the nature of glass beads, and at first sight would deceive a curious eye ; also a cube of the utmost regularity, seven inches long, and the fourth part of an inch diameter; another of a smaller kind, fluted, as if by art, like a glass fountain pen, as we see sometimes sold in London ; and where we dined yesterday, the gentleman of the house showed me a funnel, that he used before us as that instrument, which he had

several years out of this wonderful crypta; with many other things that would seem almost incredible, were not our eyes witnesses of the truth. The field that contains this admirable sport of nature is level and smooth, excepting where it is furrowed with the plough, and where the mouth stands."

In the "Philosophical Transactions"[1] will be found a letter to Charles Morton, M. D., Sec. R. S., from Mr. Adam Walker, dated Dublin, 26th April, 1771, "containing an account of the cavern of Dunmore Park, near Kilkenny, in Ireland." This gentleman, writing 99 years ago, observes—"Different from those of Derbyshire and Mendip, this cave descends perpendicularly 30 yards from the top of a small hill, through an opening 40 yards in diameter. The sides of this pit are limestone rock, whose chinks nourish various shrubs and trees, down which the inspector must descend with great caution. In this descent he is amused with flights of wild pigeons and jackdaws from the cave below. When he reaches the bottom, he sees one side of this pit supported by a natural arch of rock, above 25 yards wide, under which he goes horizontally, and sees two subterraneous openings to the right and left. If he turns to the right, he makes his way over rocks and stones, coated with spar in the most whimsical shapes, and formed from the dropping roof, just as the dripping of a candle would cover a pebble. These knobs take a fine polish, are transparent, and variegated with the wildest assemblage of colouring. The Earl of Wandesford had one of them sawn into a slab, and it is as beautiful as a moco." Speaking of the stalactites, he remarks:—"A spectator, viewing these, cannot but conceive himself in the mouth of a huge wild beast, with ten thousand teeth above his head, and as many under his feet. The scene is indeed both pleasing and aweful; the candles burning dim, from the moisture in the air, just served to show a spangled roof perpetually varnished with water, in some places upwards of 20 yards high; in other places they crawled on all-four, through cells that will admit only one at a time. After having

[1] Vol. lxiii., p. 16 (1773).

scrambled about 500 yards into this right-hand part of the cave, they returned to day light, and then proceeded to view the left-hand part. Here were many different branches of the cavern; they tied one ball of packthread to another, as they went forward, that they might more easily find their way back. This branch is not so horizontal as the other; it declines downwards, and the openings in it are vastly wider, some being at least 100 yards wide, and above 50 high. A small rill accompanied them, which, by its different falls, formed a sort of rude harmony, well suited to the place. In a standing part of this brook, and near a quarter of a mile from the entrance, they found the bones of a hundred at least of the human race; some were very large, but when taken out of the water they crumbled away. As they could find nothing like an inscription, or earth for a burying place, they conjectured that some of the civil wars, perhaps that of 1641, might have driven the owners of these bones into this place. The tradition of the neighbourhood threw no light upon it."

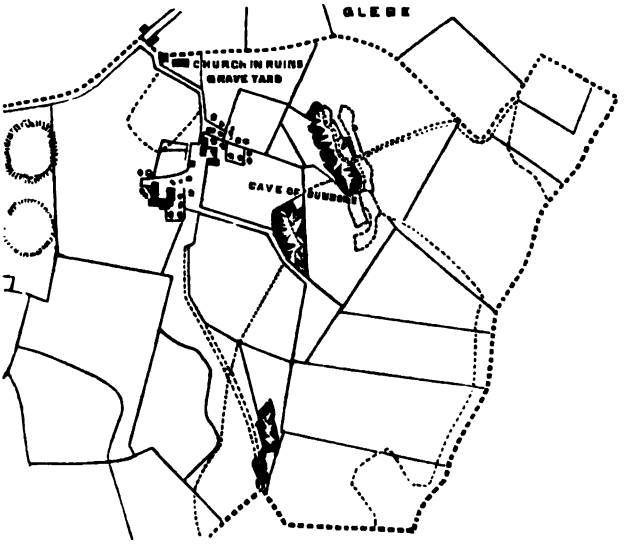
In an old book, entitled "A Trip to Kilkenny from Durham by way of Whitehaven and Dublin, in the year 1776," the author quotes the description of "an ingenious gentleman who had lately visited these caverns." The author seems to have been perfectly satisfied with what he heard of them, and not to have trusted himself inside the cave. The description, however, given by the ingenious gentleman does not add anything to our knowledge of the cave.

In the "Statistical Survey of the county of Kilkenny," made in the years 1800 and 1801, after a general description of the cave, Mr. Tighe observes, p. 109: "A stream of water passes through the cave at a great distance from its mouth; and many skulls and bones have been found, not a great way from this stream, and in other parts far within the cavity; some of the skulls were enveloped in calcareous spar. In or near this cave some clay coloured by carbon, and called black chalk, has been taken up."

Mr. William Robertson visited the cave in August, 1816; and the memoranda which he made on the occasion of that visit were read by Mr. J. G. Robertson at a meeting of the Kilkenny Literary and Scientific Institution,

31st March, 1854. In the "Dublin Penny Journal" for September, 1832, a visit to this cave is described, and the account is accompanied with an engraving of the mouth, and the approaches to it. The most recent account of an exploration of this cave is one read by Mr. J. G. Robertson to the Kilkenny Institution, 28th April, 1854. This exploration was made by Mr. Robertson, Rev. James Graves, and Mr. John G. A. Prim, for the purpose of clearing up the doubts which Mr. William Robertson had expressed in the notes of his visit made in August, 1816, as to the existence of human bones, and of a well or stream of water in the cave. They found that Mr. Robertson, in 1816, had only examined the right-hand cave, and had not searched the left-hand one, in which alone human bones are to be found. The accounts of the visits of Mr. William Robertson, and of Mr. J. G. Robertson, will be found at full length in the "Natural History Review," Vol. i., pp. 169, 174, (1854).

A general idea of the cave can easily be formed from the descriptions given above. We annex a ground plan



of it on a small scale, engraved from the Ordnance three inch map, which shows both its branches by dotted lines.

It possesses all the usual features of subterranean limestone caverns. Our exploring party, having descended the steep incline leading to the entrance, made a preliminary examination of a short passage, to the right-hand side of the mouth, which is roughly paved with large blocks of limestone, and is called the Fairies' Floor. The view outwards and backwards from the end of this passage, where the meeting of the floor and roof at an acute angle closes the excavation, is very striking, as on a bright day the light is quite greenish from having to penetrate the shrubbery which grows about the incline to the cave, and also is obstructed by the long drooping festoons of ivy, ferns, and common creepers, which hang in fringes from the crown of the arch at the entrance. The entrance to the real caves is to the left-hand of the Fairies' Floor; and after a short distance, before the light of day is lost, this passage branches, like the letter Y, into two passages, right and left, the right going south-westerly, and the left north-easterly. We first took the passage to the right-hand; in this direction visitors are able to make but little horizontal progression, but a great deal of vertical motion is found to be necessary, from having to climb up one side, and slide down the other side of the great slippery humps of rock which are piled on one another in the wildest confusion, the heaps at some times almost touching the roof, so that the head cannot be held erect. In various parts these masses of rock seem to have fallen from the roof, in other parts they looked as if the floor had been unequally worn away; in many places the intervening clay, sand, and gravel having been washed out leaves deep fissures and chasms between and underneath the heaps of rocks. Many fine stalactites are to be observed joining roof to floor; and from the bases of these columnar masses the material of which they are formed has flowed away over the adjacent rocks, incrusting them with a calcareous ice-like coating. The causes which produce these formations are actively going on—rain water, containing an excess of carbonate of lime, derived from the strata through which it percolates, and held in solution by the carbonic acid such water always contains, filters through the roof; and as the carbonic acid gas gradually passes, by diffusion, into

the atmosphere of the cave, the salts of lime, previously in solution, become precipitated, and the deposit thus occasioned incrusts all objects with a coating of carbonate of lime. When rain water filters through strata of dolomitic limestone, it takes up more or less carbonate of magnesia, and the deposits from such water contain, therefore, a variable proportion of the latter substance. It is known to all that the calcareous cones and cylinders pendent from the roof are called stalactite, and the deposit rising from the floor to meet the stalactite is called stalagmite. The layers of successive deposition are usually distinct, and make the material appear banded; they are rarely transparent, usually translucent, subtranslucent, or opaque, and white, greyish, or faintly yellowish in colour. The general tendency of the passage to the right-hand is to ascend; and when its termination has been reached, it is found to be over the recess in the limestone cliff called the Fairies' Floor, as can be seen by peering down on the floor through the chinks between the rocks under the visitors' feet.

Having retraced our steps towards the entrance, we explored the other limb of the Y, the passage to the left-hand or north-east. The cave which this leads into is the more extensive of the two, and with the exception of one part is the easier one to get through; the difficult spot alluded to is about halfway in, where the rocks of the flooring are piled vertically like a cyclopean wall, and are so incrusted and cemented together with stalagmite as to afford a most insecure and treacherous hold to hands or feet. The height of this barrier is about fifteen feet; there is but one route over it, for here the cave narrows like the centre of an hour-glass. At the top of the barrier the roof becomes very low; and, from the position of the rocks at the sides, the aperture leading from the lower to the upper part of this cave could be filled by the bodies of two men. It occurred to all what an admirable position of defence this natural fortification afforded, as a person occupying the upper part of the cave, could easily keep any number at bay who might attempt to ascend this impregnable barrier, since the rocks are so sheeted with sparry matter that ascending them is somewhat like getting up a "slide," inclined at an angle of about 70° with the horizon. As we

proceeded on towards the end of the upper cave, the floor and roof gradually began to approach one another; they finally met at a very acute angle. There was a great increase in the quantity of clay and sand on the floor as we came towards the end of the cave; and at the very end there is so much fine sand, that this particular part has been called the Rabbit Burrow. At the right-hand side of the extremity we found a small pool of water—still, clear and cold—about five feet broad, from the sandy edge of the side we stood on to the right-hand wall of the cave, which rose perpendicularly at the opposite side, and about seven feet long, washing the sandy floor of the cave at one end, and at the other end disappearing in a fissure between the wall of the cave and a great rock which leaned up against it. This pool we anxiously examined, gathering round two sides of it, and contributing the united glare which our lights afforded to illuminate it. Nothing living stirred in it; we did not examine it specially for the blind Acarinæ which Mr. Kinahan met with abundantly in this cave, "in small pools of water;"[1] our main object being to investigate the human remains reported to be hereabouts, our time was spent in searching for them, but there is no doubt that an expedition for the purpose of collecting objects of Natural History in these caves would be repaid; and any one intending to make such an expedition should not omit to consult the account of the visit of Professor Wright and Mr. Haliday, for this purpose, to the caves at Mitchelstown,[2] as to that ccount is appended a catalogue of the recorded subterranean Fauna of the European caves. It may here be remarked that, although, both at the entrance of the caves, and as we traversed each of them, we had been on the look-out for the more obvious forms of animal life usually noticed in such places, we did not come upon any of them; we did not oberve any bats, frogs, or newts; no moths, gnats, spiders, or woodlice; the pigeons seem to have disappeared from about the entrance; and the rabbits, which no doubt abound near the mouth, kept quite out of sight.

[1] Proceedings Nat. Hist. Soc., Dublin, vol. iii., part 2, p. 95.

[2] Nat. Hist. Rev., vol. iv., p. 231 (1857).

The pool at the end of the cave was shallow, nowhere more than eleven inches in depth, its bottom consisted of mud and sand, in which were quantities of human bones, whole and in fragments, most of them more or less incrusted with carbonate of lime; we discovered no rivulet connected with the pool, and it did not appear to be of the nature of a well, there being no spring or overflow; it is probably formed by the collection of water which filters through the roof at this particular place. The human bones were not lying free on the surface of the floor of the cave, which at this place, beside the pool, was for the most part even and smooth, though sloping, but in and under the sandy soil in such quantities that they must form more of the flooring than the clay and sand do. It occurred to us that the remains which in former days were noticed to strew the cave thickly at this place, had been gradually swept down the sloping floor by winter rain-water towards the pool which lies at the bottom of the incline; and this very probable hypothesis would satisfactorily account for their great accumulation about the pool, and their being all more or less covered with sand; the great lightness of these old bones would very much facilitate their being shifted by water moving down an inclined plain. No human bones had been found until we came to the pool at the extreme end of the left-hand cave, although all the party had been on the look-out for them in every direction—all likely nooks and recesses had been searched; but it is possible that we omitted to examine some remote corners, and several of the cavities formed by the mutual inclination of rocks, from want of time and the difficulty of getting into the crevices. A very small boy who accompanied us was of the greatest use, as he acted like an inverted chimney sweep; squeezing his body through crevices impassable to others, he and his light could be seen through the chinks in the rocky floor, working away underneath us. Occasionally he handed up, from between two rocks, the bone of a pig or goat, which had probably been dragged in from outside by a fox or badger. Bones of the pig, sheep, lamb, goat, cow, and calf were procured in this way, not far from the entrance; many of these bones, particularly the shoulder blades of lambs, and thigh bones of young

pigs, were suggestive to us of the refreshment, outside the cave, of former exploring parties, and of "the gaiety of those scenes which presented themselves" to the ingenious gentleman, whose visit was before referred to—"on every side previous to his entering it." These reflections we did not communicate to the searchers, lest, by damping their ardour, some bone worth having might be passed over; however, on looking over the animal bones collected in the cave, I find that the above list of existing animals will include them all.

The sandy soil about the pool was turned up with spade and crowbar, and was a mass of human bones mixed with a dark, damp compost of sand, clay, and carbonate of lime; many portions of every part of the skull were taken up, but no entire cranium was seen or discovered; these parts of the skeleton have from time to time been removed as curiosities, or as souvenirs of a visit to this place. There is abundant evidence from the accounts of former visitors, before quoted, that they have been seen there—but they have now disappeared, at least from the surface; their incrustation with carbonate of lime, by adding such grotesque ornament to these naturally interesting relics, would ensure their removal, and such has been observed to have happened in other similarly circumstanced caverns. Other parts of the skeleton, less attractive to ordinary visitors, enabled us to ascertain beyond question that the bones of large numbers of men, women, and children lay in this part of the cave; in no other part were any human remains found. As our guides, so called, had been, at the entrance of the cave, clearly instructed that no human bones but those of pagans would be found in the cave, they had no hesitation in disturbing the soil about the pool, loudly denouncing any people who would frequent such a place as "worse nor haythens," probably regarding these bones as those of veritable cave men, who, being reputed to have been cannibals of the worst description, may fitly be classed with the least enlightened of the human race.

The soil of this part of the cave yielded on analysis made since this visit, seventeen per cent. of organic matter, whereas the usual quantity of organic matter in average

clay not manured, taken from a locality where the soil is but little impregnated with vegetable remains, is from five to seven per cent., showing that a large proportion of the soil near the pool may be looked on as consisting of human mould. The soil analyzed was a portion of a lump taken up at hazard from beside the pool; there was no large bone in it, but many small fragments through it; indeed, it would have been impossible to take up any of the flooring of the cave at this point which did not contain abundance of bone in various stages of dissolution. The ground seemed to have been often disturbed here before, and this would account for the great quantity of small fragments, and the completely comminuted state of many of the bones, as the rooting and trampling of a number of persons smashes up the brittle old bones like so many eggshells.

Appended to these observations is a list of 113 human bones, or fragments of bones, which I have been able to identify; on each bone is a number corresponding to a similar number in the catalogue, referring to the name of the bone, or part of bone. An abstract of this list gives the following result:—

Bones of skull, whole or fragments, . . .	12
Bones of face, „	6
Vertebræ, „	21
Ribs, ...	8
Bones of upper extremity (clavicle, scapula, humerus, radius, ulna), ...	29
Bones of hands, ...	4
Bones of lower extremity (pelvis, femur, patella, tibia, fibula), ...	14
Bones of feet, ...	19
	113

The only bones of the face found were those of the upper and lower jaws—one of the former, and five of the latter—the other facial bones are not calculated from their structure to last very long, or to survive much rough treatment. The bones found were singularly exempt from the marks of disease; the teeth found—twenty-two in number—were all sound and perfect. It is in accordance

with usual observation that the soundest and most healthy bones, *cæteris paribus*, resist decay much better than do unhealthy or defective ones; and therefore, when a quantity of bones, long dead, are examined, it is not surprising that all found after a long lapse of years should appear to have suffered only from the effects of time. Only one bone presented any appearances of rheumatic alteration. Among the 113 bones named and numbered, there is conclusive evidence of five different skeletons, and that these skeletons belonged to persons of different age and sex; nine bones were found of persons under twenty years of age, five heel-bones (os calcis) of the left foot, five distinct portions of different arm bones (humerus) of the left side; five portions of the lower jaw of different individuals of various ages; there are characteristic portions (the glenoid cavities) of four left shoulder blades (scapula), and four knee caps (patella) of individuals differing in age and sex. The bones removed from the cave were not selected, but rapidly picked out of the soil, as turned up with the spade, and put into a sack with as little clay adhering to them as possible; and it was not until a considerable time afterwards that I had leisure to examine what bones and fragments had been obtained. If we consider the quantity of bones which still remain in the cave, and the immense quantity which time must have destroyed, along with the fact that evidence of the skeletons of five individuals was quickly picked up, I think that we have very strong confirmation of the veracity of the old historical record that a number of people met with death in that cave. In Mr. Walker's account of his visit, ninety-nine years ago, he says they found "the bones of a hundred at least of the human race;" perhaps this statement is not to be interpreted literally, but merely as implying the existence there of a very great quantity of human bones. The mode of death of these persons is open to conjecture: they may have been kept shut in and starved, or they may have been smothered by the smoke of fires lighted at the entrance; the latter is a mode of dealing with an enemy, of which there is more than one instance in civilized as well as in barbarian warfare. It has been remarked by Mr. Robert Mallet, formerly President of the Royal Geo-

logical Society of Ireland, that in stalagmite from this cave layers of finely divided charcoal are sometimes met associated with the calcareous matter. These layers have been found, on microscopic examination, by Dr. Allman, to be the charcoal of coniferous wood—possibly, he observes, the remains of ancient fires.[1] In Tighe's Survey[2] it is stated that in or near this cave some clay coloured with carbon, and called black chalk, has been taken up. It is quite possible that the charcoal above alluded to represented the remains of some occasional fire lighted for the purpose of illumination or cooking; it is not likely that any persons ever chose this cave for a dwelling-place for any length of time, as from its dampness, and the irregularities of the floor, it seems badly adapted for a habitation, though admirably suited for a place of temporary security.

While there can be no question that the remains of a great number of human beings lie in the extreme end of one of the caves, it is not so easy to say when they came there. Historical evidence there is in the statement that in the age of Christ 928, Godfrey, grandson of Imhar, with the foreigners of Ath-cliath, demolished and plundered Dearc Fearna, where one thousand persons were killed in that year. To some it may seem an incredible thing that the bones of persons supposed to have perished A. D. 928, should be in existence and recognisable at the present day, after the lapse of 941 years, almost nine centuries and a half; but there is nothing in the condition of these bones which renders such a supposition impossible. When human bones are found, the question is always liable to arise, *can the period that has elapsed since death be determined by the condition of the bones?* This is a question very difficult to answer, so many different circumstances relating to the bones have to be taken into consideration: the age and sex, the cause of death, and the number of individuals concerned, may sometimes be ascertained with great certainty from osseous remains; but it is a very different task to find out how long the bones are dead. The bones of man and of the larger animals, excepting always the slender

[1] "Journ. Geol. Soc., Dub.," 1848, Vol. iii., p. 262. [2] Op. cit., page 109.

and fragile parts of the skeleton, are comparatively indestructible, if preserved from injury and the action of the weather; examples of the durability of well-protected bones are seen when the ancient stone coffins of the neolithic period are opened. Devergie states that the bones of King Dagobert were found in a tolerably perfect state at Saint Denis (he had been the first monarch interred there), although they had been buried in a vault twelve hundred years. The ultimate destruction of bone is effected by complete disintegration of its earthy or mineral elements, its carbonate and phosphate of lime falling into and mixing with the earth around. In bones exposed to the weather, the rain water, from its always containing a proportion of carbonic acid, tends to be continually dissolving the carbonate, and in a lesser degree the phosphate of lime which they contain, and so to waste them away; and to this destructive agent bones buried in dry places are not subject; but the rain water which saturates parts of Dunmore Cave is not so prejudicial to the bones there as it would be if it fell on them in a churchyard: they have greatly increased, instead of having lost their quantity of carbonate of lime, because the rain water, as it filters through the strata forming the roof of the cave, takes up from those strata all the carbonate of lime it can, and is saturated with it before it comes in contact with the bones; so that, instead of robbing them of their share, it rather parts with some of its superabundance, coating them with an incrustation of carbonate of lime, which encases them, as many of the specimens show, in a calcareous mantle, capable of shielding them from further injury. The great quantity of sand in this part of the cave is also highly favourable to the preservation of bone for ages, as even damp sand is a remarkably good preservative for bones. Practically, then, the bones in this cave have not been exposed to the influences of weather, and the effects of damp have been counterbalanced by the quantity of sand in which they are embedded.

In very old bones, protected from the weather, the animal or organic basis (ossein, or bone gelatine) suffers loss long before the mineral or inorganic constituents do. The proper combination of the animal and mineral constituents

of bone confers upon this structure the united properties of elasticity and hardness, in virtue of which healthy bone possesses twice the resisting property of solid oak, as seen from the relation in which the following materials stand to each other in point of strength :—

Fine freestone, ...	1·0
Lead, ...	6·5
Elm and ash, ...	8·5
Box, yew, oak, ...	11·0
Bone, ...	22·0

Professor Robinson ascertained from experiment that a piece of bone one inch square would bear 5000 lbs. weight. In the ordinary course of things, when time is unassisted by any other destructive agent, the first change in bone after long interment is a gradual diminution of its animal matter; this constituent is never entirely lost as long as the bone holds together, for in the oldest bones it is recognizable, and has been found unaltered in composition, though diminished in quantity, in bones 3000 years old. The animal matter has been detected in the bones of human and animal mummies discovered in Egyptian sepulchres; Gimbernat prepared an edible jelly from the bones of the Ohio mammoth, and Dr. Buckland made a kind of soup from the cave bones of the extinct British hyena. A chemical method of making an approximation towards the age of bones is to calcine them when perfectly dried, and estimate, by their loss of weight, the quantity of organic matter they possess in proportion to the composition of the whole. The alteration in the relative quantities of the animal and mineral constituents of bone due to antiquity is altogether a question of proportion. There is a second change effected by time in the absolute weight of the bone, which, as it cannot last for ever, must as a whole gradually lessen in weight. These two effects of time on bone—one relative, the other absolute—do not advance *pari passu*, the former coming into operation earlier than the latter; the teeth naturally resist decay longer than any other part of the skeleton, since they contain eighty per cent. of mineral matter, a much larger percentage than other bone does, and a relatively small proportion of animal

matter, the constituent which is especially obnoxious to decay under ordinary circumstances.

It has been constantly remarked by those who are familiar with the examination of ancient skulls, how seldom the teeth in them are unsound; and the belief has even been entertained that dental disease was unknown to our hardy ancestors, and that it is a modern privilege, acquired by a high state of civilization. A very able paper on this subject, of great interest to antiquarians, has quite recently been brought before the Odontological Society of London by Mr. Mummery,[1] in which he has shown that teeth were at times unsound, even when the ancient inhabitants of the British Islands lived on coarse meal, or the produce of the chase. Mr. Mummery has examined all the ancient skulls within his reach, in order to determine this point. Beginning with the long-headed race, who were the earliest known human inhabitants of these islands, and who are supposed to have been of a Basque type, he found few instances of real decay, not many of wearing down, and none of dental irregularity amongst sixty-eight Wiltshire skulls; whilst among the round-headed skulls from the same county, supposed to belong to the later Belgic immigrants, whom Cæsar found in possession of the southern part of the island, there were many more cases of caries, more also of wearing away, and some of irregularity, which Mr. Mummery believes to be indicative of a coarse vegetable diet, and scarcity of animal food. Oddly enough, in Yorkshire the skulls of the earlier or long-headed race exhibited many signs of dental disease—both caries, wear and tear, and signs of abscess. As for the Romans in Britain, their practice of burning their dead makes collecting of such skulls by no means easy; yet out of 143 Britanno-Roman skulls, 41 had carious teeth; irregularity and abscess were also common, but not wearing away. No traces of stopping or of artificial teeth have been found. Amongst Egyptian skulls wearing of the teeth is very common, from the gritty, sandy character of the flour, and caries is by no means infrequent. There are no traces of stopping, and it seems that the art of dentistry was almost confined to the extraction of teeth.

[1] "Med. Times and Gazette," December 11, 1869, p. 689.

For the purpose of ascertaining the loss of animal matter in the old Dunmore bones, I analyzed two of them—an astragalus (ankle bone) from the left foot, and the third metacarpal bone of the left hand; and for the purpose of comparison I analyzed at the same time corresponding bones of a Parisian skeleton which would be called recent, i. e. four or five years dead. The above-mentioned old bones were selected for analysis because they were of convenient size to operate upon, and because they were singularly free from incrustation with carbonate of lime, even when their surface was examined with a lens. The centesimal composition of the old and recent bones was as follows:—

	Old Astragalus.	Recent Astragalus.
Animal matter (ossein, &c.), .	21·47	36·36
Earthy matter, phosphate and carb. lime, &c., . . .	78·53	63·64
	100·00	100·00

	Old Metacarpal Bone.	Recent Metacarpal Bone.
Animal matter (ossein, &c.), .	31·62	33·96
Earthy matter, phosphate and carb. lime, &c., ...	68·38	66·04
	100·00	100·00

It will be observed that the percentage of lost animal matter is not so large in the metacarpal bone as in the astragalus; this is explained by the metacarpal bone being one which has much more compact, and much less cellular structure, than the astragalus; the astragalus, also, from the number and extent of its articulating surfaces, has a greater percentage, in recent state, of animal matter, and therefore feels the effect of time, which tells particularly on this constituent, more than the metacarpal bone, which has naturally a larger percentage of mineral matter.

Other evidences of antiquity which bones long buried present, and which were very apparent in those removed from Dunmore Cave, are lightness, friability, brittleness, and adhesiveness; these qualities all result from an alteration of the relative proportions of the animal and mineral

constituents. In the process of reducing the old astragalus to powder, preliminary to its analysis, it broke up like a piece of very stale sponge cake. The adhesiveness which is so characteristic of old bones was well exemplified in these bones. On this test of age, which is one widely known and readily employed; Professor Owen observes[1]—"The most common change which bones first undergo is the loss of more or less of their soft and soluble basis. This effect of long interment is readily tested by applying the specimen to the tongue, when the affinity for fluid of the pores of the earthy constituent, after having lost the gelatine, is so great, that the specimen adheres to the tongue like a piece of dry chalk. Bones and teeth in this state quickly absorb a solution of gelatine, and thus their original tenacity may be restored. Petrified fossils need no such treatment; they are usually harder and more durable than the original bone itself. Ivory, being a form of bone, is also liable from age to a loss of its animal matter; and the long-buried ivory ornaments in the British Museum from the ruins of Nineveh have exhibited the proof of antiquity above referred to. In the case of the bones of the extinct animals which were discovered in 1859 at Shandon, near Dungarvan, county of Waterford,[2] and which are now in the Museum of the Royal Dublin Society, the animal matter had so far disappeared from many of them, that the slightest pressure of the hand crushed them to powder, and it was necessary to pour size over many of them on the spot before they could be safely removed. The deficiency of animal matter in the bones from Dunmore Cave was also exemplified by the absence of the peculiar animal smell which is evolved in sawing bones at all recent, owing to the heat of friction; neither was this smell noticed while the old bones were being crushed and pounded in mortars; and in the process of incineration, they gave off but little inflammable vapour; their behaviour in these three respects contrasted strongly with that of the modern bones, examined simultaneously for the sake of comparison.

[1] "Palæontology," p. 338.

[2] See Paper, by Alexander Carte, Esq., M. B., "Journal Royal Dublin Society," vol. ii., p. 344 (1860).

Such ribs as were discovered did not possess the elasticity due to a full amount of animal matter, which in the recent state is peculiarly well marked in these long curved bones; the degree of elasticity without brittleness which resides in ribs is illustrated by the excellent bow which can be made out of the rib of a horse—a use to which the Arab children turn the ribs of camels.

It must, however, be remembered in the examination of bones, that antiquity is not to be immediately assumed as proven because the specimens exhibit a preponderance of the earthy over the animal constituents, and because they are light, friable, brittle, and adhesive; because, on the one hand, fire can at once produce these conditions in the most recent bones; and, on the other hand, bones found in or under peat bogs—such as those of the extinct elk of Ireland (*Cervus megaceros*), though of great age, do not possess any of the above characters, but quite the contrary. In a paper by Dr. Hart,[1] "On the Fossil Deer of Ireland," he observes that the bones of these animals are found in three situations: either lying under peat in marl, or in peat, or in loam sand. The bones in the first situation are generally in a most perfect state of preservation, so much so as not to differ in the relative proportions of their animal and earthy parts from fresh bones. The bones which have been found in the second locality, in peat, are mostly in a softened state, the animal parts alone being preserved, while the earthy have been removed. Some antlers found by workmen of Archdeacon Maunsell's in peat over marl were so soft, that the implements went through them as readily as through the surrounding peat, and it was next to impossible to remove them from the place where they were found. The bones of extinct deer found in the third locality, in loam sand, were light and crumbling on the surface; they were not chemically examined, but appeared to have suffered a considerable loss of their animal parts. In an earlier paper, published in 1825, on the bones of the *Cervus megaceros*, Dr. Hart gives an analysis of part of a rib made by Dr. Stokes; which is as follows:—

[1] "Journ. Geol. Soc. Dub.," vol. i., p. 20.

Animal matter, ...	42 87
Phosphates, carbonates, ...	57·13
	100·00

In a paper by the late Professor Jukes,[1] will be found an analysis of a rib of the *Cervus megaceros* made by M. Gages; it is as follows :—

Organic matter (cartilage, &c.), . .	41·42
Earthy matters, carbonates and phosphates of lime, &c., ...	58·58
	100·00

The larger proportion of animal matter in bones which are exhumed from in or near peat is known to be caused by the action upon the earthy parts of the bones of the vegetable acids found in bogs—humic, ulmic, and apocrenic acids. These peat products have the ordinary action of such acids upon the earthy matter of bones; but, in addition to this, they also appear, when present in water, to increase the energy with which any carbonic acid which may be in solution in the water attacks phosphate and carbonate of lime. So much of the animal matter remains in bones which have been lying even for ages in peat, that they burn with great brilliancy. Dr. Hart, in a note to his paper, published in 1825, observes :—"A gentleman told me of a bonfire which was made of a heap of these bones [those of the extinct elk] in a village of the county of Antrim, in celebration of the battle of Waterloo, and the bones were observed to give as good a blaze as the bones of horses, which are usually employed on such occasions." Many are well aware how freely and cheerfully recent bones burn, and what a hot fire they make; one-third of their constituents is combustible, and there is much oily fat or marrow in the hollow interior of the long cylindrical bones. Darwin mentions,[2] that when in the Falkland

[1] "Dub. Quart. Journ. Science," No. XV., p. 209 (1864).

[2] "Naturalist's Voyage round the World," p. 194.

Islands, having encamped for the night in a valley where there was very little brushwood for fuel, the Guachos soon found what, to his great surprise, made nearly as hot a fire as coals: this was the skeleton of a bullock lately killed, from which the flesh had been picked by the carrion hawks. They told him that in winter they often killed a beast, cleaned the flesh from the bones with their knives, and then with these same bones roasted the meat for their suppers.

Taking into consideration all the information derivable from the physical and chemical characters of these bones removed from the Cave of Dunmore, there is not one single fact which invalidates the supposition that these are the actual bones of persons who perished in the tenth century: their examination rather confirms than impugns the veracity of the ancient historic record, that in the Age of Christ 928 a large number of persons were killed in Dearc-Fearna. The idea can hardly be entertained that any diluvial catastrophe could have swept this quantity of bones into the cave; nor is it at all likely that the deepest recess of this cavern was ever a place of burial, from its comparative inaccessibility, from the habits of the ancient Irish with regard to the disposal of their dead, and from the fact that caves used as places of burial, both on the Continent of Europe and in the Eastern parts of the world, were dry caves, whose entrance was closeable by a block of stone. There is no tradition of any modern massacre in this place; there was none ninety-nine years ago, when Mr. Adam Walker wrote his account of the place; there was none 122 years ago, when the two English gentlemen visited it. The human remains which lie in the recesses of this "dark place of the earth" may, I think, be regarded as silent yet eloquent witnesses that neither age nor sex was spared in that dark period of Irish history, when, for upwards of two centuries, learning, piety, almost Christianity itself, succumbed before Pagan invaders. It is possible that the persons who died here were shut in and smothered in their hiding-place. A catastrophe of that kind occurred in more modern times, about the year 1597, in the island of Eigg (one of the inner Hebrides), in the cave Uaimh Fraing, a deep vaulted cavern penetrating into the mountain for about 320 feet. A clan of the Mac Donalds were here smothered by the

M'Leods of Harris and Dunvegan, in revenge for an insult. Many of the bones of this ill-fated clan were exhibited, in November of last year (1869), at a meeting of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland, by Professor Macalister, who had removed them from the floor of the cave, which is still strewn with many relics of the tragedy. In still more recent times 500 persons were smothered in a cavern. This event took place 19th June, 1845, in the cave of Dahara, in Algeria.[1] A tribe of Arabs, the Ouled Riahs, who had never submitted to the French sway, were being closely pursued by Colonel Pelessier, and fled to their usual place of refuge—immense caverns, into which it was quite impossible for the troops to follow them. The soldiers surrounded the caverns, and some faggots were lighted and thrown before the entrance. After this demonstration, which was intended to convince them that their enemies had the power, if they pleased, of suffocating them in their hiding-place, letters were thrown into them, offering them life and liberty if they would surrender their arms and their horses. At first they refused, but subsequently said they would consent to do so if the French troops would withdraw. This condition was deemed inadmissible, and more burning faggots were thrown in. A great tumult now arose in the cave, and it was known afterwards that it was caused by a discussion whether they should surrender or not. The party opposed to a surrender carried their point, and a few of the minority made their escape. After some further parleying, on the night of the 19th June, the fires were rekindled, and rendered intense. During this time the cries of the unhappy wretches who were being smothered were dreadful, and then nothing was heard but the crackling of the faggots. The troops entered, and found 500 dead bodies: about 150 persons, who still breathed, were brought into the fresh air, but a portion of these died afterwards. A similar exploit is said to have been performed by the celebrated Chevalier Bayard.

It is remarkable that in the cave of Uaimh Fraing, as in the Cave of Dunmore, no skulls remain: these parts of

[1] "Illustrated London News," 19th July, 1845, p. 34; the account was copied from the "Akhbar" of Algiers of 5th July, 1845.

the skeleton are as durable as any other part, but being the principal objects of curiosity, are the most likely to be carried away by casual visitors, who, it is to be feared, in many instances soon get tired of the possession of these mementoes; and so these parts, valuable to the ethnologist or antiquarian, become broken or lost, without having been of use to the plunderer or to any one else. The human bones which I have removed from this cave have been deposited in the Museum of the Association. The Catalogue, to which the numbers on the bones refer, states the name and the part of each bone, and may be an assistance, in identifying other bones, to persons not specially skilled in this subject; but it is right to warn amateurs against hasty or off-hand identification of fragments of time-worn skeletons. Professor Taylor,[1] speaking of the frequency with which animals' bones are mistaken for those of men, remarks that he saw in an antiquarian collection of relics from a neighbouring Roman castrum the tibia of a dog, carefully labelled and religiously preserved as a bone of an ancient Roman: he also states that Belzoni, the celebrated traveller, brought from Egypt, with his sarcophagi, a number of bones taken from the interior of the pyramids, which he pronounced to be the bones of King Cephrenes, and of some of the Shepherd kings. The late Mr. Clift, of the Royal College of Surgeons, having gone to examine them, after they had been submitted to public exhibition, found that they were nothing more than the bones of oxen.

I hope on some future occasion to have an opportunity of prosecuting some further researches in these historic caves, and of obtaining more evidence in support of the statement in the "Annals of the Four Masters." I need not say that the recovery of some of the crania, known in former years to have lain in the cavern, would be a most important step in this direction: it is very earnestly to be desired, therefore, that any Members of this Association, or others who may have in their possession any of the skulls which have been removed from Dummore Cave, should deposit them in the Museum of the Society, where they could be preserved for the use of ethnological students, and employed for the purpose of elucidating Irish history.

[1] "Medical Jurisprudence," 1865, p. 96.

Catalogue of Human Bones removed from the Cave of Dunmore, County of Kilkenny, on the 18th of September, 1869, and deposited in the Museum of the Association.

1. Metatarsal bone of great toe, left foot.
2. A cervical vertebra, affected with rheumatism on its under surface.
3. A cervical vertebra.
4. A portion of the left side of the lower jaw, containing three perfect molar teeth.
5. A lumbar vertebra.
6. The inner half of the right os calcis.
7. Portion of inferior articular extremity of the left humerus.
8. Metatarsal bone of great toe, right foot.
9. Second metatarsal bone, right foot.
10. Os calcis, left foot.
11. Superior femoral epiphysis of person about 18 years of age.
12. Portion of parietal bone of skull.
13. Do. do. do.
14. Vertebra from mid-dorsal region.
15. Rib, right side.
16. Left patella.
17. Posterior portion, lumbar vertebra.
18. Outer portion of right clavicle.
19. Portion of right side of lower jaw, showing infantine molars, and canine tooth in pre-eruptive stage.
20. Posterior portion of upper dorsal vertebra.
21. Portion (greater) of right os innominatum.
22. Left os calcis.
23. Left scaphoid (foot).
24. Right superior maxilla, molars, premolars, and canine tooth perfect, incrusted with carbonate of lime.
25. Tenth dorsal vertebra.
26. Portion of body of vertebra (dorsi-lumbar region).
27. Metatarsal bone, 5th toe, left foot.
28. Vertebral extremity of rib, right side.
29. Dorsal vertebra of young person.
30. Left cuboid bone.
31. Right do. do.

32. Third metacarpal bone of left hand (used in analysis).
33. Second metacarpal bone of right hand.
34. Portion of parietal bone.
35. Inner half, left os calcis, about age of puberty, epiphysis not yet ossified.
36. Lumbar vertebra.
37. Portion of upper extremity of left humerus.
38. Lower extremity (articular portion) of left humerus.
39. Left os calcis of person under 15 (probably the fellow of No. 62).
40. Lumbar vertebra, greatly incrusted with carbonate of lime.
41. Upper surface of right os calcis.
42. Vertebral extremity of a left rib.
43. Superior extremity of a right radius (portion cut out since found in the cave).
44. Portion of right side of lower jaw, with symphysis menti, containing three molar teeth, incrusted with carbonate of lime.
45. Portion of dorsal vertebra.
46. Glenoid cavity and coracoid process, left scapula.
47. Right fibula, central portion.
48. Dorsal vertebra, 10th or 11th, wanting the transverse processes.
49. Left astragalus, female foot (used in analysis).
50. Glenoid cavity and coracoid process, left scapula.
51. Body of dorsal vertebra.
52. Central portion of frontal bone, spine and sinuses.
53. Portion of lower end of right humerus.
54. Second cervical vertebra.
55. First do. do.
56. Portion of lower end of left humerus.
57. Lower end of left radius.
58. Outer portion of left clavicle (female).
59. Vertebral extremity of rib, right side.
60. Lower end of right radius.
61. Portion of rib, left side.
62. Right os calcis of person under 15 (probably the fellow of No. 39).
63. Dorsal vertebra.
64. Rib, right side.

65. Dorsal vertebra.
66. Petrous portion of left temporal bone.
67. Lower end of right ulna.
68. Spinous process of dorsal vertebra.
69. Outer half of left os calcis.
70. Acromion process of right scapula.
71. Lower extremity, right humerus.
72. Right ulna.
73. Right patella.
74. Left do.
75. Right do.
76. Portion of left fibula.
77. Portion of lower jaw, symphysis menti.
78. Fragment of dorsal vertebra of child.
79. Os magnum of right hand.
80. First phalanx of great toe of person under 18 years of age.
81. First phalanx of one of the fingers.
82. Lower end of right fibula.
83. Central portion of shaft of left humerus.
84. Shaft of left humerus.
85. Portion of left temporal bone.
86. Portion of glenoid cavity, left scapula.
87. Coracoid process of left scapula.
88. Inferior extremity of left ulna.
89. Fragment of lower extremity of left humerus.
90. Central portion of shaft of right tibia.
91. Central portion of right fibula.
92. Portion of right half of lower jaw.
93. Portion of upper extremity of left ulna.
94. Upper portion of right humerus.
95. Right femur of person about 10 years of age.
96. First phalanx of great toe.
97. Fragment of lower end of right humerus.
98. First rib.
99. Fragment of dorsal vertebra.
100. Portion of shaft of right ulna.
101. Portion of the acetabulum.
102. Fourth metatarsal bone of left foot.
103. Vertebral extremity of left rib.
104. Fragments of the flat bones of the skull to No. 108.

109. Glenoid cavity of left scapula.
110. Part of right scapula.
111. Part of right ischium.
112. Fragment of a flat bone of skull.
113. Head and tuberosities of left humerus.

Should any other human remains be deposited in the Museum by those who have carried them away from the Cave in former years, they might be *lettered*, to distinguish them from the above, and the name of the depositor attached, to authenticate them.

ANCIENT LAKE LEGENDS OF IRELAND:—No. I.

aiDeD echac maic maiReDo,

(The Destruction of Eochaid, Son of Mairid.)

FROM THE ORIGINAL IRISH IN LEBOR NA H-UIDRE, A MANUSCRIPT PRESERVED IN THE LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY J. O'BEIRNE CROWE, A. B.

Introduction.—The following *wild legend*, as it has been called, is now printed for the first time. The subject is this:—

About the close of the first century of our era, Mairid, son of Cairid, was king of Munster; his wife was Ebliu, daughter of Guare, from the Plain of the Boyne. This Mairid had by a former wife two sons; namely, Eochaid and Rib. Ebliu conceived an unlawful passion for Eochaid, and at length induced him to carry her off from his father. Accompanied accordingly by Rib, and guarded by a body of a thousand men, the pair set out from Irluachair, and arrived in safety at the "Way of the Two Flags," a place somewhere in the north-east of the present county of Longford. Here their druids announce to the two brothers, that it was not destined for them to settle in one place; they therefore separated.

Rib took a westerly direction, and with ill omen reached Mag Find, whence he was driven to Mag Arbthen, the site of the present Loch Ree, in the Shannon. The legend tells how he was instrumental in the formation of this lake. Eochaid proceeded northwards till he reached Liath-muine, the site of the present Loch Neagh: the legend tells also how he was instrumental in the formation of this lake. It is not, however, the fabled origin of these two lakes that gives the greatest interest to the present tract; it is the introduction of a piece of genuine Irish poetry, the song of Liban, daughter of Eochaid. The occasion of the song is as follows:—

In Eochaid's palace was an enchanted well, which, through the neglect of its keeper, bursting forth one morning, covered Liath-muine with its waters, thus forming the present Loch Neagh, and drowned the whole household, except three persons. One of these three was Liban. For twelve months God preserved herself and her lap-dog safe beneath the lake. During this period she beheld with envy the gay tenants of the deep playing about in the waters around her. "I would," she says one day, "that I were one of these happy salmons: I could then sport about like them and with them." She was instantly turned into a salmon, save her head, and her lap-dog into an otter. In this condition, followed by her little pet, she continued to roam from sea to sea for the space of three hundred years, until at length, by a special arrangement, she was caught in St. Beoan's net in the bay of Larne, in the county of Antrim. On being brought to shore, she tells her story in melancholy verse; and the prose supplement adds that she was at once baptized into the Christian faith by St. Comgall of Bendchor, died immediately, and was buried at Tech Dabeoc. This Tech Dabeoc I take to be another name for Tamlacht Menand; for in the Felire of Oengus, Beoan (another form of Beoc or Dabeoc) and Mellan are commemorated on the 26th of October, with the gloss.: Tres (*recte, duo*) sancti de Bretnaib: in una ecclesia sunt, .i. hi Tamlachta Menand hic Loch Brickend in Ui Echach Ulad: "Three (*recte*, two) saints of the Britons: in one church they are, that is, in Tamlachta Menand at Lochbrickland in Ui Echach Ulad."

aideo echac maic maireda.

Rí maiṫ fogab Mumain .i. Mairiu mac Cairedo. batar da mac maiṫi leir .i. Eochaid ocus Rib : Eblin, immoro, ingen Gúari a bruig Maic Indóc—ir í ba ben do Mairiu. Rolae fide menmain for a mac-som .i. for Eochaid. Ir o'nd Eblind sin dan ainmnigther Sliabn Eblinde. Bai si tra oc toeloged in gilli fri se ciana. Rolai si tra fodeoid ailger fair-sium co tudcaid for aiṫed lei: arbert, immoro, Rib fri a briatair anamberan leir in mnai siu, no beṫ fo aṫir, ocus noragad sum a tir leir. Dobert iarom Eochaid Eblind leir for aithed, ocus tic Rib leo: deiċ cet al lín do feraib.

Ir amlaid táncatar con éraib ocus con almaib leo. Arbertatar an druid frith-sum con náċ in óen-mad bói indan dóib orba do gabáil. Scarait iarom oc beluċ da Liac. Luid Rib siar co Tir Cluċi Midir ocus in Maic 'Oic. Luid Midir ċucu ocus eċ cengalta oci co fraṫair fair, iar marbad dorum an eoċu remi.

Dobert sum a crod uli fair, co suc leo co tic Magn Arbċen .i. ait hi fil Loċ Ri indiu. Laigid in gerran occo andsin, ocus fibláir a fual co f'bo tirra, conid

[1] *Destruction.*—Aided always means "death by violence," bár or éc, natural death.

[2] Eocho.—This name has two forms, the one with a primary affix only, as Eocho, gen. Echaid; the other with both a primary and secondary affix, as Eochaid, gen. Echdaid = Echadach. Both forms are c-stems, and this form appears in both tracts.

[3] *Plain of Mac Indoc.*—That is, the plain through which the Boyne runs. That brug means a *plain*, not a *hill*, I have shown in my "Religious Beliefs of the Pagan Irish." I shall add here that Cinaeth O'Hartacan, in his poem on the Cemeteries of the Brug, calls it in the very first line "*Mag* (the Plain), Maic Indoc." (Lebor na hUidre).

[4] *Sliabh Eblinde.*—Now, Sliabh Phelim,

[TRANSLATION.]

THE DESTRUCTION[1] OF EOCHO[2] MAC MAIREDO.

A good king took Muma (Munster), namely Mairid, son of Cairid. He had two good sons, namely Eochaid and Rib. Ebliu, on the other hand, daughter of Guare, from the Plain of Mac Indoc,[3] it is she who was wife to Mairid. She threw mind upon his son, that is, on Eochaid. It is from that Ebliu too is named the Mountain of Ebliu.[4] Now, she was at importuning of the lad for long periods. Now, at last she threw a request upon him, that he would go on elopement with her: Rib, on the other hand, said to his brother that should he bring this woman with him, he would himself be under disgrace, and that he would go from the country with him. Eochaid accordingly brought Ebliu with him on elopement, and Rib comes with them: ten hundred their number of men.

It is how they came with flocks and with herds with them. Their druids said to them that it was not in one place it was destined for them to take inheritance. They separate, accordingly, at the Way of the Two Flags. Rib goes westwards to the Land of Game of Midir,[5] and of the Mac Oc. Midir comes to them, and a haltered horse with him with a straddle on him, after he had killed their horses before.

He put all their property,[6] on him, so that he carried it with them until he comes to the Plain of Arbthiu, that is, the place in which Loch Ri is to day. The nag lies down

in the county of Tipperary.

[3] *Midir.*—That is Mag Find: See Dindsenchus, Book of Ballymote (fol. 208, c.), and B. of Lecan (fol. 248, c.) In Fland Manistrech's Poem on the Tuatha De Danand ("Book of Leinster"), he is called "the son of Indui;" others make him the son of the Dagda. He was the *Side* deity of the district around Bri Leith, now the mountain Golry, situated to the west of Ardagh, in the county of Longford. See O'Donovan's "Book of Rights," p. 9, n. p.

[6] *Property.*—The word ɔnoɓ means property of all kinds, animate and inanimate. See O'Donovan's Supplement to O'Reilly.

he sin tanic tairsib-sium iar sin, co sorbaid uli: comid he Loc Rí. Luid dan Eogo co sanic inn Bruig Maic Indoc. Támic fer mor cucu ocus dlomaid dóib ar ind fersund, ocus ni dersat fair. Marbaid in fer dan an eocu uli ind aidci sin. Tic in fer cetna ar a bárach, ocus arbert friu: "Mairfed-sa forn doéni uli innocut," for se, "mani fácbai in cir forr a tádi." "Dorignir mór d'ulc frind cena," for Eocaid, "arn eic uli do marbad: cia bad ail dún techt, ní étam dul cen eocu." Dubert Oengus ec mór dóib, ocus cuirt a crod uli fair, ocus arbert friu cen scor ind eic; 7 ar na léictír airisium dó ar na s' síblad a súal, ar ná bad focond báir dóib.

Imtigit iar sin Dia Domnaig ir in mír medonaig ind Fogomair co sancatar Liath-Muine in Ulltaib. Tecait uli di a saigtin ind éic, ocus benait a crod uli in oén-fecht de, ocus ni sorói nech díb aiged ind eic in srithlong. Silir int ec oco iar sin combo tírda. Dogní Eogo iar sin tech imm on tirdait ocus comla fursi, ocus oen ben oc a haitigid.

Rocorain Eogo leth-rigin Ulad iar sin fri Murisdach mac Fíachach Findamnair. Fecht and tra ná roiad in ben in tirdait, atracht Linn Muni dar Liath-muni, ocus robaded Eogo con a clainn and, acht Liban ocus Conaing ocus Curnan Onmit. Ir ó'n Conaing sin dan rocinset Dálm buain ocus Dál Sailne. Boi tra Curnan oc taircetul doib ind loca do tictain tairsib, comid and atbert som:—

[1] *Loch Ri.*—Now Loch Ree, an expansion of the Shannon, and here supposed to be so called from our Rib.

[2] *A Large Man.*—This was Oengus of the Brug, as we find further on.

[3] *Liath-muine.*—That is, grey bramble-bush.

[4] *In the Ulaid.*—The word ulaid, the plural of ulad, properly means "Tombs," just as laigne, the plural of laigen, means "Spears." From the former is formed the adjective Ultach = Uladach, an Ulsterman, and from the latter is formed the adjective Laigneach, a Leinsterman. It is incorrect, then, to Latinize Ulaid by *Ulidia*, or Laigne by *Lagenia*. There are in Ireland, as in every other country, several places which have no abstract names. This is the case with Connacht too; of the four provinces, Munster only has a proper name, "Muma." In writing in English the names of

with them there, and drops his urine, until it was a fountain, so that it is that which came over them after that, until it drowned them all; so that it is Loch Ri.[1] Eocho also goes until he reached the Plain of Mac Indoc. A large man[2] came to them, and orders them out of the territory, and they did not obey him. The man accordingly kills all their horses that night. The same man comes on the morrow, and he said to them: "I shall kill your people all to-night," he says, "unless ye leave the country in which ye are." "Thou hast done much of evil to us already," says Eochaid, "to kill all our horses; though we had a desire to go, we are not able to proceed without horses." Oengus gives a large horse to them, and he puts their luggage all on him, and he told them not to tent the horse; and that they should not allow rest to him that he might not drop his urine, that it might not be a cause of death to them.

They set off after that on a Sunday in the middle month of Autumn, until they reached Liath-muine[3] in the Ulaid[4] (Ulster). They all proceed to approach the horse, and they take off their property together off him, and none of them turned the horse's face to the opposite track. The horse sheds with them after that, until there was a well. Eocho after that makes a house about the well, and a door to it, and one woman at the watching of it.

Eocho after that contested the half sovereignty of the Ulaid against Muridach, son of Fiacha Findamnas.[5] Now, on a certain occasion that the woman did not close the well, Lind Muni[6] sprang up over Liath-muni, and Eocho, with his family, were drowned in it, save Liban, and Conaing and Curnan Idiot. It is from that Conaing, too, Dalm Buain,[7] and Dal Sailne have descended. Now, Curnan used to be foretelling them that the lake would come over them, so that it is then he said:—

such places, the original nom. plur. should be used. Hence I write "in the Ulaid."

[5] Findamnas.—He was son of Iriel Glunmair, son of Conall Cernach. (B. Lacan, 295, c.)

[6] *Lind Muni.*—That is "Stagnum Mictus."

[7] *Dalm Buain.*—This was a sub-division of Dalm Araide, and lying on either side of the river Lagan, from Moira to Belfast. See the "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore," p. 44, and Index; ed. Dr. Reeves. Dal Sailne was probably adjoining Dalm Buain. The genitival epithets "Buain" and "Sailne" are derived from two brothers, Fedlimid Buan, and Fedlimid Sailne, sons of Clothrach, who was descendant in the sixth generation from Eochaid. See authorities quoted by Dr. Reeves in his Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, lib. i., cap. 5.

"Dicid, dicid, gebid faebra, fnaidid eitra,
Dicfa linn Muni dar liath-muni col leth lia:
baidfiber Airiu ocus Conaing 'f inn linn letain,
Snaidfid Liban, fair, fiar, fan ban, tar cach trethain."

Fir on dórum frin, ar foboi Liban tri cét bliadain ar fut in maro ocus a orci if ficit dobran in a díaid, cach conair notheiged, can fcarad fria etein dogrérr. Comid fi fein foinnir a imtecta do Deoan mac Inli, dia fagaib hi in a linaib: conid andrin focan fi inna briathra fir iarom:—

I.

Fo loch echach abba dam,
Ar din fcenc brón bringed graig:
Erdalta fo brunnib bárc,
Tond mo dugi, trachet mo fraig.

II.

Duil echnat inn airmairi—
Ní gnáth bronan for rudi:
Ir mairg frir i tibi gen
In ben di donnaib duli!

[1] *Of Surge.*—The word lia though glossed usce, water, does not properly mean water, but a "*swell.*" In the life of St. Columb Cille, Lebor Bree, it is stated of him that he crossed the Findglais one night, though there was lia mór ir in oidche frin ir in abainn—"a great swell on that night in the river." So in Liban's chant further on: Fo lindib ló, "under floods of surges."

[2] *Tents.*—The word fcenc is of rare occurrence, and consequently difficult of interpretation. It is glossed in Cormac by iumdhai, an apartment, an enclosure, and in O'Clery thus:—leaba, no bot beag iona mbí leaba, "a bed, or a little tent in which a bed is." In the present passage it is said that "a flock used to ascend it," for the verb bring conveys the idea of *ascent*. Thus in a gloss in the Amra (Leb. na hUidre) it is said of Columba that fri aradu na cathad uairle nodringertar—"with the charioteers of the noble city (heaven), he ascended;" and in O'Donovan's Supplement to O'Reilly, dringid is glossed dremnghir (it is raised), a causative from drém, ascent; as drem na fedt nime, "the ascent of the seven heavens." Vision of Adamnan, L. na hUidre. But how shall we explain the following tribute in the "Book of Rights," p. 205, ed. O'Donovan, deid fcing for fcibad tondu, which the editor translates by "ten scings over which the waves glide?" but this is erroneous. The preposition for does not mean *over*, which would be expressed by dar, and the verb fcib does not mean to glide, but to *move* from a particular point, and to return to that point again. Thus, in the "Two Sorrows of Heaven" (Leb. na hUidre), it is said of the souls in Paradise, that while Elias is preaching there is not a "fcibad of wing or foot," until the sermon is over. The correct translation, then, is: "ten *scings* against which the waves move." From what I see of those *scings*, I take them to mean our modern *crannogues*, where the flocks used to be kept and watched at night for safety, when too far away from the *Less*, their proper place. The tribute-payer of course got the *scings* made in the recipient territory, as he did his tribute of ships. That the crannogue was considerably raised above the level of the surrounding

Come ye, come ye, take ye implements, knit ye boats,
Lind Muine will come over Liath-muine with a side of surge:[1]
Ariu and Conaing will be drowned in the broad flood;
Liban will swim eastwards, westwards, hither, thither, over each sea.

It was true for him that, for Liban was three hundred years along the sea, and her lap-dog in the shape of an otter after her, every path she used to go, without parting from her at all continually. So that it is herself who related her movements to Beoan, son of Inli, when he caught her in his nets; so that it is then she sang the words which follow accordingly:—

I.

Beneath Eocho's lake [Loch Neagh] an abode for me,
On protection of strong tents,[2] a flock used to ascend;
Appointed beneath the breasts of barques,
Wave my roof, strand my side-wall.[3]

II.

The desire of little mares,[4] the closet[5]—
Not usual a little sorrow upon it:
Woe is he to whom smiles a smile
The woman from waves of tide.[6]

water is quite clear, and that there was a mode of entering it besides by boat is also clear, and thus we see that the word bpuŋ is quite applicable. In the last quatrain of the poem Liban says that they went from the well in her father's house "on the shining wave," which had arisen around and above it, and we may presume that they tried to get to the nearest *sceng*, with the hope that the water would not rise above it. The use of the genitive plural indicates that she was wafted from one *sceng* to another, unless we read bpóm; and this may be the true reading, as we have a similar error in several passages in the poem in the case of muip, sea, which is written mup. The verb pceŋ is undoubtedly the same as pceŋd, and both mean to *jump up*, &c. It is the Skrt. *skand*, id., Lat. scand-ere, and it is curious to observe that imbai, the gloss on pceŋ, means also a *shoulder*, just like the Skrt. *skandha*, Lat. *scapula*, "*skandha* also means "*a trunk of a tree*," a pillar, our *piles* or pceŋ. If we read bpóm, gen. sing. the *sceny* may mean the *fountain*, and there can hardly be a doubt but *Liban* herself was the lady who watched it. Now, the fountain in the case of Ri was covered with a bed, on which he slept: so, in this Liban must have done the same.

[3] *Side-wall.*—In the ancient language ppaiŋ meant the *side-wall* of a house; in the modern it means the whole of the inside of a roof.

[4] *Little Mares.*—Here the feminine diminutive ending nac is added to eó, horse, which is masculine, just as the feminine diminutive ending éne is affixed to claideb, sword, which is sometimes masculine, and sometimes neuter (comp. Lat. *gladius* and *gladium*), as claidbéne, Zeuss.

[5] *The closet.*—A gloss in *MS.* explains inb aipmaipi, by "the well;" this half verse and the next seem to convey a double meaning.

[6] *Of tide.*—This woman is probably Venus, who in Grecian mythology was fabled to have sprung from the foam of the sea; and the allusion is to the misfortune of Eochaid, who, through her, yielded to the wishes of Ebliu. Perhaps, however, we may venture to make her the chief of the Sirens.

III.

Forrod a tond medrach, mend,
Mandra fál fri anbthe hir,
Tairind dinetan do fraig,
Nomleic bicatan do thír.

IV.

Arta dinetan fort' chind,
Cian o fodet locha lind:
Tre thét bhadna ó tu rund,
O bathe and Eochu Find.

V.

Imda imned in cech du,
Ni mad din dún Mac na Mná:
Mag im bitir dronguth ech,
Comid ethair immaré!

VI.

Tirra maic Maireda mair
Benaid frair fri adba nuir:
Al lind láithin ech lethan, glair
Immáthegeth cách di a chuir!

VII.

Diam bá-ra fo lind locha láin,
Imrordur rígh richid ráin:
Atreoch inn athair ir ndem,
Athlochor braen bathir báin.

VIII.

Bara imón biartan oll,
Rornadiur muir medrach, mend:
Domfuc tond ór letha lind
Ir richt taich acht mo chend.

IX.

Ciarra duine, ciarra bleth,
Romtharrat máil Maigi Dreg:
Ni r'bo ler-ainm, ba-ra lí,
Romanacht rí rether lér.

[1] *Drinker.*—The words dinetan and bicatan I do not remember to have met before. The verb dín, however, in the deponent form, means to *drink*, to suck, and the nouns dine, dined, *drink*; whence dina, gen. dinat, a ewe-lamb, the *drinker*. Thus, rodinetar mdloig, "the calves were sucking." Tain Bo Fraich, "Book of Leinster." In the expulsion of the Desi, Leb. na hUidre; dobertedd dined for Corc for druim na bó "a drinking used to be given upon Corc on the back of the cow." It may be, however, that dinetan = digetan, the "deformed one;" digna .i. drochgne, "bad appearance." O'Clery, *et alii*. In either case the double derivation, tan, is defensible; comp. coltan, Zeuss, 738,

III.

As rest from wild, raging wave,
Which scatters brine with storms of angers;
Pull thou Drinker[1] to strand,
Let me little one (?) to land.

IV.

Seize thou Drinker in thy presence,
Long since it received lake's flood:
Three hundred[2] years since I am here,
Since drowned in it was Eocho Find.

V.

Many a trouble in every place,
Not well has destined for us the Son of the Woman;[3]
A plain in which used to be troops of horses—
That it is a boat that sails it!

VI.

The fountain of the handsome son of Mairid
Dashes a shower against a noble residence:
Its tide of heroes of broad steeds, a stream
Which every one used to traverse on foot.

VII.

While I was under full lake's flood,
I meditated on the King of noble heaven;
I beseech the Father who is holy,
I ask a drop of white baptism.

VIII.

I was the likeness of mighty monsters,
I swam merry, shining sea:
Wave carried me over Letha's flood,
In salmon's shape save my head.

IX.

Whether I was a person, whether I was a monster,
The Kings of Mag Breg[4] loved me:
It was no nick-name, I was a Beauty,[5]
The King who rules ocean preserved me.

from tol, will.

[2] *Three Hundred.*—This will not harmonize with the days of Comgall of Bendchor, who died A. D. 600 ("Four Masters") and who sent Beoan (*vide infra*) twelve months before the capture of Liban (A. D. 558, "Four Mast.") to consult Pope Gregory, who ruled A. D. [590–604].

[3] *The Son of the Woman.*—That is, the Saviour.

[4] *Mag Breg.*—The Plain of the Brega, lying between the Liffy and the Boyne.

[5] *I was a Beauty.*—Liban here alludes to the supposed derivation of her name, that is, lí bán, "white beauty," not "woman of the sea."

x.

Máré matan, matan Mairc,
Ní fuar ecar, ni fuar bairc:
Ir and dolluid, ba fcéin glé—
Lind Muni bar Liac-muine.

xi.

Fo'm ó matan do Mag Cecc,
Son forcecul im mo'mraccc,
Siacc-rum donend ocus uacc,
Domruacc cond fri crecan-cracc.

xii.

M'oenuran i m' romra ré,
Rorné farrci garda glend:
Me muc mara mecar cond,
baiciu 'm anfud milad, mend.

xiii.

Arddomneac anfuc úar,
Fri uar-farrci dulgi fál
Murbrucc Loca Céac ain—
Cénid mé im murgélc már.

xiv.

Dorairngert Cúrnan cet gal,
In fcel-ra dodeocad dún;
Cirra robói in ar cig—
Ir ri nonéuffed dar múr.

xv.

Foca mo domnáidi rund,
Amail romordaig mo rí;
Mar fomcertaig Dia do nim,
Ar cind ind fir brenaind bí.

xvi.

"Na téig, a brenaind, na téig,
Conidarlarar do leir:
Innir dam, ar Día do nim,
Cia ri dofil for Lod Léin."

xvii.

"Adber-ra frit, ní rád mer,
Ir ri Fiacna formna gil;
Rocecc aicnid ó Mac Dé,
Inné dodecaid do nim."

[1] *Brenand.*—The arrival of Liban being announced for twelve months before, it might be expected that saints from various parts of Ireland would be present on the occasion. Accordingly St. Brendan, of Clonfert, who was of the race of Ciar,

X.

Alas a morn, a morn of Tuesday,
I found not boat, I found not barque;
It is on it went, it was a clear story,
Lind Muine over Liath-muine.

XI.

With me from morn to Mag Cecht,
This is instruction about my sailing:
We reached storm and cold,
Wave drove me to sea-strand.

XII.

Alone for me in my great sea-swell,
I swam ocean of rough glens:
I a sea-pig wave fattens,
Plunge into my monster-teeming, raging storm.

XIII.

A cold storm compelled me
To cold ocean of difficult shelters,
The sea-belch of bright Lochn Echach—
So that I am the great sea-grazer.

XIV.

Curnan of a hundred valours foretold
This story that has come to us:
A fountain that was in our house—
It is it that would send us over sea.

XV.

Long my residence here,
As my King ordained for me:
When God from heaven directed me
To the presence of the man, living Brenand.[1]

XVI.

"Go not, O Brenand, go not,
Until I address thee clearly:
Tell me for the sake of God from heaven,
What king is over Loch Lein."

XVII.

"I shall tell to thee, no erring saying,
It is King Fiachna of white shoulder:
He hath possessed a mark from the Son of God.
The same who came from heaven."

and consequently interested in Loch Lein (now the Upper and Lower Lakes of Killarney), in Kerry, is here introduced as answering Liban's question.

xviii.

"Fomciu do ċaċ crad maic De,
Dáig ir fé connic caċ rí,
Compid na naem naradn an,
Dia már midedar caċ ní."

xix.

Ní f'bo mé in mur-geilt mar,
Ní f'bo mé in traigneċ ṫren:
Blairiu magri matan nioċ,
Fo loċ Eċaċ, adba én.

xx.

Miċig dam-ra dul for cel,
Scarad fri etal, ber ní rom:
Blairiu maigri matan moċ,
Fo loċ Eċaċ, adbu dam. Fo.

xxi.

Guidim brenaind tria biṫ ríf,
Hi céin beó fó lindib lá,
Cobair fir a culċi ċíar:
Romain co cían Funċi fó. Fo. l.

xxii.

Tirra maic Mairida mair—
For lind lairr lodomar dó:
Uaru, imme roar muir,
Ocur ir cír hi fuil fó. Fo l. e.

Irr ed rin dan ir mo forcail Ulcu fo Erind—tomaidb Loċa Eċaċ fo ṫír. Doratad dan ainm do Líbán iarn a bairted .i. Muir-gen .i. gein mara. A leṫ 'n a bratan roboi, ocur al leṫn aill 'n a duni. Ir dirri roċet in rencaid na hunnu-ra:—

i.

"Mur-gein"—ir "gein com búadaib,"
Ingen Eċaċ imuallaig:
Doċúaid feċ círu co cert,
Ce dorat Dru in anfeċt.

[1] *Funche.*—This is the name for the fish called "*Whiting*," conveying the same idea as lí bán, as above quatrain ix., where the writer takes lí to mean "beauty," and consequently bán to mean "white;" for a compound lí-bán, with ban, to mean "woman," is inadmissible.

[2] *Beneath L.*—The *l.* in Fo. *l.* is a contraction for loċ, and the two words are the two first of the poem—a method which the Irish scribe always adopted to show that the piece had ended. Sometimes, as in the present case, one or more sentences or quatrains succeed as after-thoughts, and are noted as ending the piece in the same way. The ancient Indians adopted

XVIII.

"A thought for every one is the torture of the Son of God,
Because it is He who sways each king:
Guardian of the Saints of splendid festivals,
Great God who judges every thing."

XIX.

I was not the great sea-grazer,
I was not the strong strander:
I taste little fish an early morn,
Beneath Lochn Echach, abode of birds.

XX.

Time for me a-going to heaven,
Parting with trouble, perhaps it is not too soon;
I taste little fish an early morn,
Beneath Lochn Echach, an abode for me.

XXI.

I pray Brenand for ever and ever,
While I am beneath floods of surge,
For true assistance from black profanity:—
May he for long aid me good Funche![1] Beneath L.[2]

XXII.

The well of the handsome son of Mairid—
On bright flood we went from it:
Above it, around it sea sprung,
And in the land in which it is under it. Beneath L. E.

It is that accordingly which greatest scattered the Ulaid along Erin—the eruption of Lochn Echach along land. A name accordingly was given to Liban after the baptizing of her, viz. Sea-birth, that is, Birth of sea. Her half as a salmon it was, and her other half as a person. It is of her the historian sang these rounds:—

I.

"Sea-birth"—she is "a birth with victories"[3]
Daughter of very haughty Eocho:
She went beyond tributes justly,
Though Jesus put her into a strange shape.

a different method to indicate the same thing. They repeated the last phrase, as, "he is enternal, he is eternal." See Muir's "Sanscrit Texts," *passim*.

[3] *Sea-birth*.—"A birth with victories." These words are taken indirectly from the Felire of Oengus, which commemorates the *Muirgein* on the 27th of January in the following verse:—

Canair Moeda Muir-gein, mirbuil-gein com buadaib,
"Sea-birth loved Great God, a wonder-birth with victories:"

and Moeda is glossed—mo Dia, no mo Fiada mait: "my God, or my good God," and Muir-gein is explained .i.

II.

Rocar in ben-se cec creib,
Lisán ingen ind sin sein :
Roairbir biu so'n sruth trom
No co tard gus do Cholom.

III.

Allor a line ir a crand
beoan iarcairi Comgaill,—
Dorrat iarn a tairtel tair
Co robairted in dubaig.

IV.

Ingnad in riut ar bái lur,
Dia dorigni in sirt sollur :
A drec abban-seir bo cacht,
Ali lec do bratan biu-balc!

V.

Dían ebart "cairir Máedu"
Oengus hUa Aiblen aebda,
"M oe mó Dia" ir ada sin-si,
Gein mor in mara, Mur-gein. M. ir. g.

Liban tra ocus Airiu da ingin Echach Find, maic Mairida. Robaided Airiu, ben Churnain and. Acbat din Curnan di a cumaid side : inde Carn Cornan nominatur, ar ec Curnain andsin. Bliadain lan tra do Lisan in á grianan so'n loc ocus a merain in a sarrud and, ocus Dia oc a anacul ar urcib Loca hEchach, con erbairt-si in araili lo and : "A Chomdi," sor si, "mogenair nobsad ir riut nam bratan, combet secnón in mara sor comrnam sriu!" Rosoied-si iar sin ir riut bratan, ocus rosoied a orci ir riut dobran, combid 'n a degaid-si so na urcib, ocus so na murib, cach conair noimtigedsi sor cach aird : co rabi-si ó amsir Echach maic Mairida co amsir Comgaill bendcair so'n innar sin.

Rolái Comgall uasu beoán mac Indli ó Thig Dabeóc co Roim do acallaim Grigair sor cend uird ocus riagla. In tan, immorro, robatar lucht cunaig beoán oc imram

1 Loch Echach robui : "that is in Loch Echach she was." In quatrian v., *infra*, the words cairir Maedu are directly quoted from Oengus, who is introduced by name.

[1] *She gave voice to Columb.*—That is,

II.

This woman loved every dwelling,
Liban daughter of that man:
She enjoyed life beneath the heavy stream,
Until she gave voice to Colomb.[1]

III.

By means of his net and of his tree [boat],
Beoan the fisherman of Comgall
Gave her after her journey in the east,
So that he [Comgall] baptized the mournful one.

IV.

Wonderful the shape, out of it was water,
God who wrought the manifest miracle:
Her face water-black was a girl:
Her half of ever-strong salmon!

V.

When said "cαραιρ Μαεδυ,"
Comely Oengus Ua Aiblen—
"My science Great God"—it is
Great birth of the Sea, Sea-birth.

Now, Liban and Airiu were two daughters of Eocho Find, son of Mairid. Airiu, wife of Curnan, was drowned it in. Curnan therefore died of grief for her: hence is named Carn Curnan, on account of the death of Curnan there. Now, Liban was a full year in her *grianan* beneath the lake, and her lap-dog in her presence in it, and God protecting her against the waters of Loch Echach, until she said on a certain day in it: "O Lord," she says, "would that I were in the shape of the salmons, that I might be along the sea at co-swimming with them!" She was turned after that into the shape of salmons, and her lap-dog was turned into the shape of an otter, so that it used to be after her under the waters, and under the seas, every path she used to go on every side: so that she was from the time of Eocho Maic Maireda to the time of Comgall of Bendchor in that way.

Comgall sent from him Beoan Mac Indli from Teach Dabeoc to Rome for conversation with Gregory on the head of order and rule. The time, however, the crew of

[1] "she spoke to Columb," by which we are to understand that among the rest St. Columba was present at the capture of the Muirgein, and had a conversation with her. He did not retire to Iona until five years after, A. D. 563.

forr ind fapprci, cocualatar celebrad aingel fó'n ċuruċ. Coroíarfaig Deoán: "Cid di a ta in celebrad-sa?" fors se. "Mersi dogni," fors Liban. "Cia ċusu?" fors Dean. "Liban, ingen Echaċ maic Maireda, mirsi," fors si. "Cid fodesa duit bid amlaid sin?" ar erium. "Attu tri ċét bliadna fo'nd fapprci," fors si, "ocus is do canac—di a inisin duit-siu mo dala cucut-su síar co Inber Ollorba, ocus frithailter misi acaib-si fors naemaib Dail Araide is ind ló-sa hi cind bliadna: ocus abair-siu fri Comgall ocus frir na naemaib olċena insein." "Ní ebur sin," fors Deoan, "act mani ċuctar a log dam." "Cía log connaigi?" ol isi. "T'adnacul ocum-sa fein i m'manistir." "Rotsia-su sin tra," ol isi.

Tanic Deoán anair iar sin, ocus foinnis do Comgall ocus do na cleirċ i(b) olċena scela na mur-gelti. Tanic in bliadain arr foi sin, ocus foindiltea na lína, ocus fogabad si il lín Fergusa a Míliuc. Tucad co tís hí iar sin, ocus ba ingnad a tuarascbail ocus a delb. Tancatar focaidi di a dercin ocus si is ind ecus, ocus usci impi and. Roboi Toirec Ua Conaing and cumma caiċ ocus brat corcra immi. Roboí si dan oc a sirdercin side. Rofiarfacht int oclaeċ di: "Masa ċ'aisi teit do'n bruc," fors se, "notsia. "Ac," fors si, "ni haisi acú 'c a dercin ecis, act brat corcra roboi im Eochaid in lá robaided hé. Rat fortsa dan," fors si, "ocus fos fis c'inaid in a log sin, ocus ni fab ecen iarfaigid fis c'inaid dogner in cach aisiucht im bia."

Tanic laeċ forgrainni, dub, mór, romarb side a meran-si. Foracaib-si do side ocus di a tuaiċ an gairced fair an otraigib, ocus can an uilc do dígail dóib, no co rotroisctis acci-si. Slechtaid int oclaeċ di iar sin. Roboi iarum imcornam imsi-si. Arbert Comgall robo leis hí, ar is 'n a ferund fogabad hí. Arbert dan Fergus robo leis hí, ar is 'n a lín tarrár hí.

Beoan's curach were a-sailing over the sea, they heard the celebration of angels beneath the curach. Beoan asked: "What is it about which this celebration is?" he says: "It is I who makes it," says Liban. "Who art thou?" says Beoan. "Liban, the daughter of Eocho Mac Maireda, I," she says. "What causes to thee being in that manner?" he says. "I am three hundred years beneath the sea," she says, "and it is for it I have come—for telling to thee my appointment with thee westwards to Inber Ollarba, and let me be attended on with you for the sake of the saints of Dal Araide on this day at the end of a year: and say thou that to Comgall and to the rest of the saints." "I shall not say that," says Beoan, "save unless its price be given me." What price dost thou ask?" she says." "Thy burial with myself in my monastery." "Thou shalt have that then," she says.

Beoan came from the east after that, and he related to Comgall and to the rest of the saints the story of the sea-grazer. The year had come off by that, and the nets were prepared, and she was taken in the net of Fergus from Miliuc. She was brought to land, and her story and form was a wonder. Several came to see her, and she in the boat, and water about her in it. The Chief of the Ua Conaing was in it like every one, and a purple cloak about him. She was accordingly constantly looking at him. The youth asked her: "If thy attention goes to the cloak," he says, "thou shalt have it." "No," she says, "not for this I am looking at it all, but a cloak of purple that was about Eochaid the day he was drowned. Grace be on thee too," she says, "and on the man of thy place (successor), as a price of that; and may it not be necessary to ask who is the man of thy place for ever in every assembly in which he may be."

There came up a terrible, black, large hero, and he killed her lap-dog. She left to him and his tribe their heroism on their filths, and inability to avenge evils done to them, until they should fast at her hands. The youth prostrates himself to her after that. There was then a contention about her. Comgall said she was his, because it was on his territory she was caught. Fergus too said she was his, because it was in his net she happened. Beoan

Ropaid beoán dan co r'bo leir hí, ar rogell fein do. Rotfoirfret ule inna naim rin tra co rucad Dia breith etorro imm an imferain.

Arbert int aingel fri aralin duni and: "Ticfat da dam allaid im barach," for fe, "a Carnd Airend, ocus tabraid-ri in carpat forraib," for fe, ocus in let bertait rin hí, leicid-ri dóib." Tancatar na daim arn a bárach amail rotingell int aingel, ocus rucrat hí co Tech Dabeóc. Tucrat na clerig a rogo di iar rin .i. a bairted ocus a toct docum nimi focetoir ir ind uair rin, no a fuiret in comfot cétna, ocus a tect docum nimi iar fír-raeglaib. Irr e roga ruc-ri a ertect and-rin. Robairt Comgall hí, ocus irr é ainm dorat di Muir-gein .i. gein in mara: no, Muir-geilt .i. geilt in mara. Ainmn aill din dan Funci. Dognitir dan fertа ocus mirmaili tret-ri andorm, ocus ata amail cach naem óig con onoir ocus con airmitin, amail dorindact Dia di in nim.

again said that she was his, because she pledged herself to him. Now, all those saints fasted, that God might give a judgment between them about their contention.

The angel said to a certain person there: "Two wild oxen will come to-morrow from Carnd Airend," he says, "and put ye the chariot on them, and the direction they shall bring her, allow ye to them." The oxen came on the morrow, as the angel foretold it, and they brought her to Tech Dabeoc. The clerics gave her her choice after that, namely, her baptizing and her going to heaven at once in that hour, or her waiting the same period [three hundred years] and her going to heaven after long ages. It is the choice she took—her dying then. Comgall baptized her, and it is the name he gave her Sea-birth, that is, Birth of the Sea; or Sea-grazer, that is, Grazer of the Sea. Another name for her also is Funche [Whiting]. Miracles and wonders are also done through her there, and she is, like every holy virgin with honor and with reverence, as God ordained to her in heaven.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT a GENERAL MEETING, held at the Museum of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, April 6th, 1870,

The Rev. J. H. MARTIN, LL. D., Principal, Kilkenny College, in the Chair,

The following Fellows were proposed, and elected :—

William Henry Lynn, Esq., F. R. I. B. A., &c., 3, Crumlin-terrace, Belfast: proposed by Thomas Drew, Esq.

The Rev. Thomas James, F. S. A., Netherthong Vicarage, Huddersfield; and George Langtry, Esq., Mount Charles, Belfast: proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

The Rev. G. H. Reade was admitted a Fellow *honoris causa*, in consequence of his zealous and successful exertions towards procuring the Queen's Letter for the Association.

The following Members were admitted to Fellowships on compliance with the conditions set forth in the second General Rule of the Association :—

The Right Hon. The Earl of Courtown ; the Rev. S. Malone, R. C. C. ; Robert Malcomson; R. S. Longworth Dames ; A. G. 'Geoghegan ; Richard L. Whitty ; A. Fitzgibbon ; and N. Carolan, Esqrs.

The following new Members were elected :—

His Imperial Highness Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte: proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

The Rev. Henry Octavius Coxe, Librarian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford ; Henry W. Acland, Esq., F. R. S.,

Regius Professor of Medicine, Oxford, Hon. Physician to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, Oxford; and Henry Edward Stokes, Esq., Mount Road, Madras: proposed by Dr. Stokes.

Robert Given, Esq., J. P., Coleraine; and Abraham Stevens, Esq., Duncannon, Waterford: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

The Rev. Eugene Murphy, R. C. C., Kenmare: proposed by Mr. J. O'Daly.

John O'Loghlen, Esq., Inland Revenue Laboratory, Somerset House, London: proposed by A. G. 'Geoghegan, Esq.

Rev. T. Saville Cole, Tracton Abbey, Kinsale: proposed by W. D. Seymour, Esq.

Joseph Hansard, Esq., Dungarvan: proposed by R. R. Brash, Esq.

Gifford Carr, Esq., Kilclamon, New Ross: proposed by the Rev. N. R. Brunskill.

Francis Nowlan, Esq., A. R. I. A. I., Herberton, Cross Avenue, Blackrock, county of Dublin: proposed by Hugh Leonard, Esq.

S. K. Mulholland, Esq., Eglantine, Hillsborough, county of Down: proposed by Travers Wright, Esq.

John Long, Esq., Civil Engineer, Limerick: proposed by the Rev. M. V. Watson.

The Auditors brought up the Treasurer's Account for 1868, as follows:—

CHARGE.

1868.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To balance in Treasurer's hands, ...	309	16	0½
Dec. 31.	„ Annual Subscriptions, ...	247	13	0
	„ Life Compositions, ...	35	0	0
	„ Sale of "Journal" to Members, ...	16	15	0
	„ One year's Rent of land in Jerpoint, . .	1	0	0
	„ Donations towards Printing and Engraving, viz.:—			
	„ The Most Hon. The Marquis of Kildare, ... 10 0 0			
	„ Right Hon. Lord Clermont, . . . 5 0 0			
	„ Right Hon. Chichester Fortescue, . 5 0 0			
	„ Robert Day, Esq., ... 3 6 3			
		23	6	3
		£633	10	3½

DISCHARGE.

1868.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By Postages of "Journal," and Correspondence, &c.,	29	11	2
	,, Illustrations for "Journal,"	86	13	6
	,, Printing, paper, &c., of "Journal" for January, and October, 1868,	43	8	11
	,, General printing and stationery,	13	2	7½
	,, Sundry expenses,	11	15	5
	,, Commission to Agents,	2	1	0
	,, Books purchased,	6	0	7
	,, Rent and caretaker of Jerpoint Abbey,	2	0	0
	,, Rent and Insurance of Museum,	14	12	0
	,, Transcribing original documents,	4	1	6
	,, Balance in Treasurer's hands,	420	3	7
		£633	10	3½

We have examined the Accounts, with Vouchers, and have found them correct, and that there is a balance of £420 3*s.* 7*d.* in the hands of the Treasurer.

March, 21, 1870. J. G. Robertson, P. A. Aylward, } *Auditors.*

Mr. Graves said that the account for the year 1869 would show the large balance of the previous year considerably diminished. The reason of having had so much in hands in 1868 was that there had been an arrear in the printing of the "Journal"; a good deal had been since expended in the printing to bring up that arrear. One part of the "Journal" for 1867 yet remained to be issued; and it might save him correspondence with those seeking explanations on the matter, if he stated now that the cause of the delay was in consequence of the editor having to wait for Mr. Lenihan to complete his transcript of that very curious and most interesting document—Dr. Arthur's "Fee-book." Mr. Lenihan, having been ill, and being besides oppressed with business, had been unable to finish the transcript as speedily as was desirable; but he hoped that very soon this gap in the old series of the "Journal" would be filled up. Of the new series, commencing with 1870, the first number would be issued in a few days; but it would leave one, which ought to come before it, still to be issued—namely the October part of the Journal for 1869. This part was in press; there had been considerable delay at their printer's, but the Fellows and Members

would find that they were amply compensated for it by the value of the contents. The Messrs. M. and A. Fitzgibbon were contributing, at their own expense, some most curious and important documents illustrative of the history of the Desmond Geraldines, and of their own family, which was a branch of that house; and they had gone to a good deal of expense in having the documents transcribed, and procuring illustrative engravings. The necessity of being careful in the printing and collation of documents of this kind was also a cause of delay; but all, as he said, would be amply atoned for by the value and importance of the matter, for which the Association should thank the Messrs. Fitzgibbon.

A conversation on the interpretation of the terms of the Queen's Letter then took place. The sense of the great majority of the Members present was, that the last Annual General Meeting had amended the Rules in strict accordance with its meaning, as interpreted by the Memorial (printed in full at p. 4, *supra*) which had been presented to her Majesty, and to the prayer of which she had graciously assented.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

"The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal," Parts 1 and 2: presented by the Huddersfield Archæological and Topographical Association.

"A Catalogue of Fifteen Hundred Photographs illustrative of the Archæology of Rome." Oxford, 1869, privately printed: presented by John Henry Parker, Esq.

"The Journal of the British Archæological Association," for December, 1869: presented by the Association.

"Archæologia Cambrensis," fourth series, No. 1: presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

"Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," Vol. III., Part 1: presented by the Society.

"Report of the Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire," 1869: presented by the Society.

"The Carlow College Magazine," Nos. 10 and 11.

"The Builder," Nos. 1384–1418, inclusive: presented by the Publisher.

"The Irish Builder," Nos. 232-247, inclusive: presented by the Publisher.

"Scientific Opinion," Nos. 49-60, inclusive: presented by the Publisher.

"Nature," Nos. 1-23, inclusive: presented by the Publisher.

"A Volume of Vocabularies, illustrating the Condition and Manners of our Forefathers, as well as the History of the Forms of Elementary Education, and of the Languages spoken in this Island, from the Tenth Century to the Fifteenth," privately printed at the expense of Joseph Mayer, Esq., 1858; edited by Thomas Wright, Esq., M. A., F. S. A., &c.: presented by Joseph Mayer, Esq., F. S. A.

Mr. Graves observed that this was but one of a series of valuable works printed at the private expense of Mr. Mayer. The last vocabulary in the volume was peculiarly interesting, as being illustrated by fac-simile woodcuts of the drawings which accompanied many words in the original. Mr. Mayer's munificent donation of his noble museum to the city of Liverpool was well known.

A sketch-book, bearing date 1791, containing drawings of several ancient buildings in Ireland as they appeared at that period: presented by Henry Lover, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Mr. Lover suggested how desirable it would be if the Government would, at stated periods, have pictorial records made of the gradual changes which time works in these national monuments, which, were the funds provided, would be a work easy of accomplishment now that photography is so available.

All the Members present fully coincided in the importance of this suggestion, but sad experience of the apathy of Government on the subject of our National Antiquities caused them to feel how little likelihood there was of any such measure being undertaken at the public expense.

Mr. Prim observed that the first sketch represented a portion of old Kilkenny Castle—the south-west tower, as it appeared at the time. There was a very interesting sketch of Clonmel Church, before the serious alterations made at its "re-edification;" and a view of Dunbrody Abbey, with the splendid great western window quite complete. There were very numerous drawings, including much architectu-

ral detail, made at Holy Cross Abbey, and the Rock of Cashel. The fort of Passage, County Waterford, a circular structure since nearly erased, is here depicted quite perfect; as also the Castle of Thurles, a fine keep, enclosed by a bawn with three large circular flankers. There were interesting sketches of Ardfinnan and Moykarky Castles; and a view of the old Church and Castle of Clonmanty, county of Kilkenny, showed very little change to have taken place in the appearance of those two last structures during the past eighty years.

An impression of an ancient Irish ecclesiastical seal, bearing the legend *Pauli O'Duain capellani*—the seal of Paul O'Dvain, Chaplain,—the devices on which were, over a shield fretty, a chalice, surmounted by a dove, with a crescent and star placed one at either side: the seal was of the pointed oval form generally used by ecclesiastics: presented by Mr. T. Alderdice.

Mr. Prim laid on the table a bronze mould for casting spoons, found two years since, in removing an old clay fence on the lands of Pollough-hill, near Kilmanagh, on the farm of Mrs. Purcell, of Kilbrahan; he had purchased it for the Museum for a trifle.

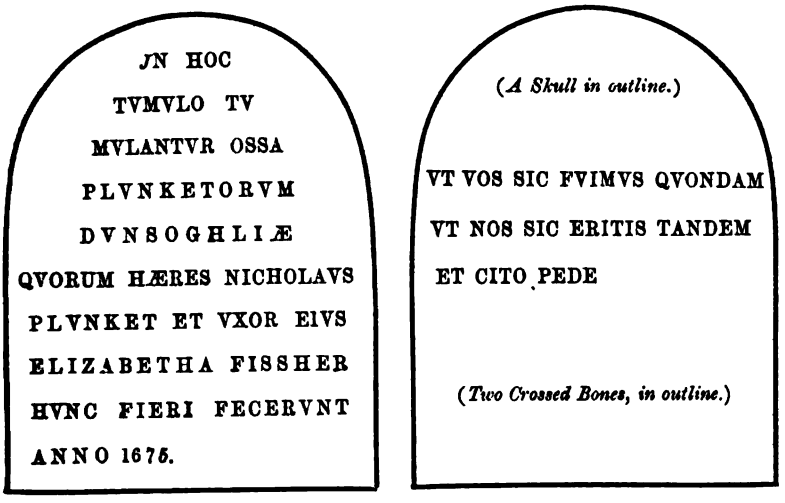
Dr. J. A. Purefoy Colles sent the following note on Dunsoghly, in the county of Dublin, its castle, and the monuments of the Plunkets:—

"I went out to-day (March 19th) to Dunsoghly, and endeavoured to get a rubbing of the very curious tablet sculptured with the instruments of the Passion, which stands above the doorway of the castle chapel there; but failed, owing to the height of the tablet above the ground, and the fact that, while some of the instruments are sculptured in high relief, others (the shaft of the spear, the handles of the scourges, and the impression of the face, hands, and feet on the Veronica) are incised. Below the sculpture is the inscription I. P. M. D. D. S.[1] 1573. The chapel is now a cowshed; and the noble old castle has become much more ruinous than it was when I first saw it in 1852, though it still retains one of the wooden floors (besides the usual stone vault over the ground floor), and a fine open timber roof, apparently of the sixteenth century, and still covered with slates.

"I send you a copy, made to-day, of the inscription in Sir John Plunket's Chantry, on the south side of the ruined parish church of St. Margaret's, county of Dublin, in which parish Dunsoghly Castle stands. As Dalton ('Hist. Co. Dublin') has not noticed this inscription, and as

[1] Dalton, in his "Hist. of Dublin," interprets this as "Johannes Plunket, Miles De Dun Sogly." This Sir John Plunket founded the chantry at St. Margaret's.

the slab of limestone on which it is cut has scaled off in several places, and is, moreover, broken (several fragments are missing, but they do not contain any portion of the inscription), I think that it should be put on record. It stands on the north side of the Plunket Chantry, near its east end, and consequently against the south wall of the parish church. The condition of the stone is such as to prevent a rubbing being obtained; but this is of no consequence, as the inscription is in ordinary Roman capitals, with the exception of the initial I, which is of the shape shown in the copy. (The letters of the first five lines are much larger than those of the rest of the inscription.) The inscription ('Johannes Plunkett de Dunsoghlia Miles. Capitalis quondam Justiciarius Regii in Hibernia Banci, hoc struxit Saxellum') which Dalton mentions had disappeared in 1852, but the recess which contained it still remains above the west door of the chantry. As to the inscription recording the date of Sir John Plunket's death, which Dalton mentions as being inside the chantry, but which he does not quote, I suspect that it really is that of which I now send you the copy, and that Dalton did not take the trouble to decipher it."



Mr. Malcomson, Carlow, communicated to the Association the following particulars of the finding, many years since, at the now disused and neglected cemetery of St. Mary, Castle Hill, Carlow, the effigial tomb of Sir Robert Hartpole, Constable of Carlow under Queen Elizabeth:—

"In 'Ryan's History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow' (Appendix, 379), is a reference to Robert Harpoole, or Hartpole, as 'a strict, vigilant, and active officer, recommended to the Queen (Elizabeth) by the Lord Deputy of the day in very flattering terms; which probably procured him the honour of knighthood which he afterwards enjoyed;' and the writer informs us that a tomb had been discovered with the following inscription: '*Hic jacet Robertus Hartpole Constabularius de Catherlagh. Septuagenarios interuit, 3 Octobris,* 1594.' An engraved representation

of the monument is given by Mr. Sheffield Grace, in the 'Memoirs of the Grace Family,' from which it would seem that the monument assumed the shape of an altar-tomb, surmounted by a recumbent effigy of Hartpole, with kneeling figures of four children, on panels on the side of the tomb, and the family arms at the end. The inscription appears to have run along the edge of the slab upon which the figure of Sir Robert Hartpole rested. The discovery was made by workmen engaged in some repairs at the now disused and neglected cemetery of St. Mary, on Castle Hill, Carlow; and although Mr. Sheffield Grace's engraving undoubtedly affords an accurate representation of the entire tomb, it is said that no more than the covering slab with the effigy, and one of the sides and end of the tomb were discovered, and even these (with the exception of the figure of Hartpole), no longer exist. We have been told that the fragments of the structure, when found by the labourers, were mutilated and defaced by the bystanders, owing to a traditional antipathy to the subject of the effigy. The only portion of the monument saved from this senseless destruction was the figure of the Knight, which was rescued in a dismantled condition by the late Colonel Bruen, who had it carried to his seat at Oakpark, where it still remains in a corner of the farmyard. His son, and representative, Mr. Henry Bruen, M. P., is willing to place the figure at the disposal of the Society, with a view to its restoration and erection on some fitting site; and if the Meeting suggests any feasible mode of effecting this object, I shall be happy to aid in carrying it out."

It was arranged that Mr. Graves should enter into communication with Mr. Malcomson on the subject.

Mr. Day, of Cork, sent the following notice of a find of fragmentary bronze articles :—

"On last January, the 4th, I called on a marine store dealer in Mullingar, whom I had asked on a previous occasion to look up and put by for me any objects in bronze that might be brought to him for sale. He said that a man had sold him a parcel of bronze things weighing 16lbs., and that he had papered them up, and laid them on a shelf in a loft at the rere of his premises; and on my accompanying him, he produced the parcel. It contained three bronze, looped, socketed celts; and more than two hundred objects in bronze, all of which were fragmentary, and comprised portions of bronze vessels of different degrees of thickness, parts of spear heads, sword blades, and of celts. The fractures were all old, and none that I could find were recent; and the various pieces were all small, measuring from one to three inches square. He said they were found in the Co. Roscommon, and that the finder had a quantity more which he expected to procure. The three celts were all imperfect: the socket of one was broken; and the blades of the other two were so gapped and worn, that they were unfit for use. From the comparatively worthless character of the whole find, they could only have been intended for recasting; and if so, this forms another link in the chain of evidence that bronze objects were manufactured in this country at a remote period. I purchased some fragments of the bronze with the three celts, one of which is remarkable for having a well-raised band or fillet encircling the socket."

The following Papers were contributed :—

MEMOIR OF GABRIEL BERANGER, AND HIS LABOURS IN THE CAUSE OF IRISH ART, LITERATURE, AND ANTIQUITIES FROM 1760 TO 1780, WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY SIR W. R. WILDE M. D., VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

(*Continued from p.* 64.)

BESIDES the drawings of landscapes and antiquities made to illustrate his tours, or arranged for publication, Beranger made a number of sketches of antiquities for Vallancey's "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," and also of gold and other antiquities forming the collection of J. S. Cooper, some of the articles in which passed into the museum of Dr. Tuke, and afterwards into that of Dr. Petrie.

The late Roger C. Walker, Q. C., of Rathcarrick, near Sligo town, had a very choice collection of antiquities, which (unhappily for Ireland) were disposed of to the Duke of Northumberland some years ago. Mr. Walker was a learned antiquary, and evidently had access to the artist's MSS. and drawings; for, in a beautifully written book, for which I am indebted to his son, there is an abstract amounting to thirty-three pages, evidently taken either from Beranger's large note-book, or from the missing small books already referred to, and which is thus headed: "Tour through Connaught in 1779, under the direction of the Right Hon. William Burton." The dates are given, but no mention is made of the name either of Beranger or Bigari,[1] and it is a meagre paraphrased abridgement.

There is a rumour that, before his collection of Irish books and pamphlets came into the possession of the Royal Irish Academy, the late Charles Haliday possessed one or more of Beranger's manuscript books or collections of drawings; but they cannot at present be discovered.

[1] The same work contains copies extracted from MSS. in the College and other Libraries of Mr. Bleymire's "Letter from Clonfert," in October, 1738; Downing's description of the county of Mayo, so often referred to by O'Donovan in his Ordnance Letters; and the description of the county of Roscommon, by Keogh, &c., &c. Most of these are well worthy of publication in the present day. There is likewise in it a copy of Molyneux's "Journey to Connaught," in 1709; subsequently printed by the "Irish Archæological Society."

Mr. J. Huband Smith, well known as an antiquarian writer, possesses a large book of drawings of Irish scenery and antiquities, many of which bear the names of Beranger and Bigari. I incline to the opinion that this was the book of collected drawings which Colonel Burton Conyngham had procured for publication. To Mr. Smith I am also indebted for permission to examine a beautiful monochrome series of "Views of Castles, Churches, &c., in the County of Dublin, by Austin Cooper, 1782," containing copies of many of Beranger's drawings, chiefly made by the Rev. John Turner, in 1794.

The "Tour through Connaught, &c., in 1779," commences thus:—"Being appointed by the Hibernian Antiquarian Society,[1] under the direction of the Right Hon. William Burton [afterwards Viscount Conyngham], President, to visit, draw, and make plans of the antiquities of Connaught, in company with Signr Angelo Maria Bigari, painter and architect, of Bologna; we set out from Dublin, June the 9th, ... and arrived at the Castle of Slane, county Meath, where we had orders to halt and study the route given to us." They travelled in an open chaise, sometimes called a "chair," the springs and harness of which were continually breaking during their journey, and causing great delay and inconvenience to the tourists. Beranger gives a graphic account of the beauty of Slane, and drew the eastern flamboyant window of the ruined abbey which crowns the eminence overlooking the valley of the Boyne, and in the "notes and anecdotes" on one of the adjoining pages, where he quotes the story that there "Dagobert, King of Austasia, a part of France, is said to have been educated," he wrote, "see at the end of my first vol. MS. of Irish Antiquities, the form of the windows, font, &c., in the abbey. See

[1] Although I cannot find any precise record of this body under the name of "Hibernian Antiquarian Society," I think it must be that section of the Royal Dublin Society referred to in the following Minute of the 14th of May, 1772:—

"Resolved,—That a Standing Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the ancient state of Arts, Literature, and into the other Antiquities of this kingdom, to examine the several manuscript tracts in the possession of the Society which have not been published, and also all other tracts on those subjects of which the said Committee can obtain the perusal."

Plates 66 and 67;" this reference is quite correct.[1] Strange to say, he has not mentioned the beautiful little church on the Boyne's bank at Slane known as "The Hermitage of St. Erc."

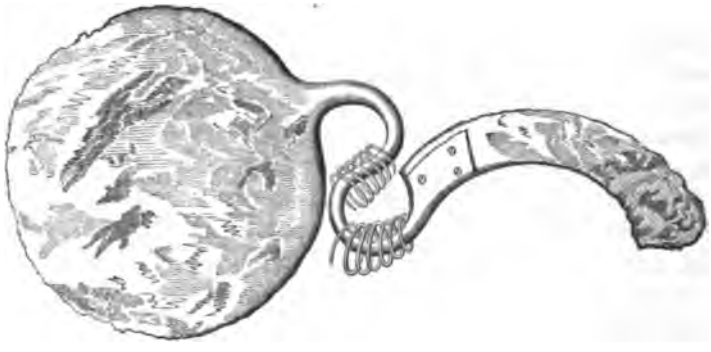
At page 566 of the "Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy," I have described and figured some bronze "Spectacle Brooches," such as those alluded to, by Vallancey in the fourth volume of the "Collectanea," which he considered to be crotals, or musical instruments, and of which he says—"Six of these were found in 1781 in digging up part of the park of Slane; one of them is in the College Museum." This he figured; but it was evidently a restoration, for it had a double disk, and was in other respects unlike the original, the drawing of which is now before me, and is almost a photograph of the article. A few years ago it was in the Trinity College, Museum, but is no longer to be seen there. Vallancey made no mention of Beranger in connexion with this article; and Gough, in his edition of Camden, and also Ledwich and others, have all taken the drawing and description in the "Collectanea" as a truth until now. Here is Beranger's faithful account, attached to the drawing in his large Note Book, and made the very day it was found:—

"An unknown instrument found at Slane, Co. of Meath in the year 1779; this copy same size of the original, and same colour, the whole machine being made of brass. As I was sitting at breakfast [June 10] with the Right Hon. William Burton, at the Castle of Slane, the stuart,[2] came in, and brought an antiquity like the above, but much damaged and broke, which was found in digging a trench in the park. He had ordered the men to stop the work until further orders. After breakfast we went to the spot, and ordered the digging to go on carefully. After a few minutes the above was found, very little damaged, and just as I have represented it. It is of brass, and as thin as a card."

[1] Some years ago, after the publication of the first edition of the "Beauties of the Boyne," and when a snappish criticism had been applied by a London Journal to the word painting of this scene, I had the honour of conducting Macaulay to the top of the tower of Slane Abbey; and after he had feasted his eyes for some time upon that marvellously beautiful scene, crowded with so many historic recollections, he turned to me, and in allusion to the criticism, which, like everything else, he well recollected, said, "Well, I do not think you have overdrawn the view. I never saw anything like it, nor do I think there is anything like it in these kingdoms, except Richmond."

[2] Although a foreigner, Beranger's grammar and orthography were wonderfully correct. The only liberties I have taken with his text consist in extending such words as "ye" for the, "tre" for there, &c.

He gives a minute description, with letter references, to the drawing, the annexed illustration of which, by Mr. Oldham, is reduced by a third, and adds—



"It is fastened with three rivets on another piece of flat brass, which is broken. Whether the two machines were fastened together or to something else is indeterminable at this time; two pieces of small wires, like the worms of a corkscrew, were fastened to the large wire, and when shook did give a rattling sound. May be it was some musical instrument, or part of one. The digging went on, but nothing more was found except a brass half crown of King James."

Vallancey must have had this description before him, when he wrote in 1783.

"11th June. Set forwards; arrived at Kells, a borough of the County of Meath: here we designed the square and round towers, cross, and St. Kevan's cell." From thence they proceeded by Bailiborough, describing the state of the counties of Cavan and Monaghan, which, he writes, "looked poor, the land coarse, the cabins as if going to ruin, half thatched, several bogs close to the road, and digging turf going on almost everywhere." Here the chaise broke down, and the artists had to walk the remainder of the way to "Clones, or Clownish as the inhabitants pronounce it—remarkable for its Round Tower and Rath, which are conspicuous at a distance; otherwise the place is indifferent enough." Mr. Cross, to whom they had letters of introduction, being from home, and the artists having to wait some days to get their carriage mended, they experienced some little annoyance, such as may still happen

to those engaged in like researches in many parts of Ireland. It is best told in Beranger's own words :—

"Sunday 13th June, went out early to reconnoitre the antiquities about the town; drew the Rath at some distance from it, and measured it, also the Round Tower in the churchyard. Mr. Bigari went to mass, after which the priest came to visit us, and offered his service to conduct us to the antiquities, which we accepted. I went with him, and measured with Jacob's staff the height of the Tower. Great commotions in the town; the Protestants gathered, and, taking us for spies, were very clamourous; on the other hand, the Romans, seeing us with their priest, assembled about us, so that the churchyard was full of people. Great debates among the two parties—one was for sending us to jail, the other to prevent us. Returned to our inn, followed by the crowd, and stayed at home for the rest of the day."

In the evening the good priest went to visit them again, and they had a very pleasant party with the landlady of the inn, which is most graphically described. One of the company informed the tourists that there was an opinion prevalent in the town that they had come to remove the Round Tower, and fix it on the top of the Rath with a machine of a hundred horse power.

"June 14th, went out at 6; drew an old church and the market cross; followed by a crowd, some abused us by words, and called us spies. . . . As we could not go abroad even to walk without being followed by a crowd, we amused ourselves within, and dined with our landlady and her daughters.

Mr. Cross, however, arrived at this period, and the Journal continues; as soon as he

"Heard the emotions of the people at our sight, he desired us to take a walk with him through the town; and as soon as it was known we were under his protection and recommended to him (he being a Protestant), every one dispersed, and followed us no more."

From Clones Beranger and Bigari proceeded to Enniskillen, and broke another spring of their carriage. They were cordially received at Florence-Court by Lord Enniskillen, and under his auspices visited Devenish Island on Lough Erne where they

"Drew the Abbey and Round Tower. Prodigious warm day, almost broiled by the heat of the sun. Coming back visited Portsorey [Portora] Castle, and drew *en passant* the Castle of Enniskillen. No expenses here, my Lord having ordered the boat, &c. Returned to Florence-Court, where we arrived past 6; found a dinner ready for us; dined by ourselves, after which joined the family at tea; supped with them, and retired at 12."

Here follows a description of Lough Erne, Enniskillen, Florence-Court, and its hospitable and lordly master, and also the "marble arch," a cavern in the demesne through which a stream of water flows in a succession of cascades. Having scrambled with some difficulty out of this cave which was a task of danger to the foreigners, the writer says:—

"We were met by two men at variance, who came to have their case decided by his lordship; halted; a servant was detached on horseback in quest of a prayer book, which being procured, and the plaintiff sworn, the case was heard, and tried, and decided. This was the first time I assisted at a court of justice on a mountain."

Before leaving Florence Court their noble host provided them with with an interpreter, of whom the following notice is given:—

"Mr. Terence M'Guire well versed in the Irish language, which he writes and reads, whom his lordship had engaged at the desire of the Antiquarian Society to accompany us as an interpreter, and to copy the Irish inscriptions we should chance to meet. This person is a descendant of the princes of Fermanagh, and reduced to the station of schoolmaster of a little village; he was to receive 2*s*. 2*d*. per day for him and his horse, half of which was to go to the owner of the beast, as it was a hired one."

I cannot help pausing here, and reflecting upon the interest that appears to have been taken by nobility, gentry, and men of taste, learning, and patriotism, in the preservation and history of the antiquities of Ireland nearly a century ago—far greater indeed than could have been elicited some years since, or even now. The stagnation of thought, as well as feeling, which followed the Union, may have assisted to produce an apathy in Ireland from which it took more than a quarter of a century to recover. Still I think the antiquarian writers of the last forty years, instead of spending so much time in criticizing the labours of their predecessors, might have brought to light some of the facts discovered, and the truths enunciated, from the early days of the Irish Philosophical Society before the revolution of 1688, and the formation of the Royal Irish Academy in 1793, and some time subsequently. Vallancey, Ledwich, Beauford, Betham, and others whom we have been taught to sneer at, must be tried, like other men in similar circumstances,

according to the light of their times; and while we laugh at their arguments, deductions, and assumption of learning, we must acknowledge that we are indebted to them for many facts that might otherwise have fallen through the sieve on which both grain and chaff were presented to the public. So in part also with respect to O'Halloran.

To resume.—The artists set forward on the 17th for Manorhamilton, in the county of Leitrim, and next day were up early, and passed on to Sligo. The author writes:—

"All the mountains of Cavan, Monaghan, and Fermanagh, which we thought once high, are nothing in comparison to those we passed this day. We looked forwards from the top of the first we ascended, and were astonished to see others as high before us succeeding one another in chains, piled up so that no horizon could be seen. Thinking it impossible to pass over them, we fancied that we had strayed from the right road, and sent our Irish interpreter to inquire, who soon confirmed that we were to pass them. Went on; but if we had the trouble to walk over them, we were amply repaid by the variety of charming prospects every hill afforded, particularly one where we had a distant view of Lough Gill, with its hills around it, and some of its wooded islands. I could not withstand the temptation to take a sketch of it, which see, Plate."

At Sligo they had introductions to Lewis Irwin, Esq., of Tonrego, and William Ormsby, of Willowbrook, collector of Sligo, from both of whom they received much attention. They spent from the 19th to the 28th of June in Sligo and its vicinity; and Beranger's Journal is at this period most interesting, and his description of manners and scenery very graphic—indeed, well-worthy of general perusal, could the scope of this production afford it. It would appear that Bigari now took up the pencil, and performed the chief part of the artistic work; for, although it is constantly stated in the Journal, "We measured and made plans;" and "we remained at home inking our drawings;" and again, "we stayed at the inn finishing our sketches;" Beranger has not in the works now in my possession given any of the Sligo castles, churches, or other standing antiquities, whereas in Grose's Antiquities, published in 1794, we constantly read of Bigari's drawings, and in particular as regards the abbey of Sligo, the ruins of "Church Island" in Lough Gill, and the abbey of Droma-

haire, &c. The following notice has been published by Ledwich, who edited Grose's Works:—"This view was taken from an original drawing by Bigari, in the collection of the Right Honourable William Conyngham." Strange to say, none of Beranger's drawings are ever referred to by Ledwich or Vallancey, although he was the chief artist and describer of the period. Bigari, as I learn from a previous statement in the Journal, did not at the time speak any language but Italian and French.

On the 20th they started with Mr. Irwin to see a famous Cataract at Glan, near Sligo, where in certain states of the wind the water was completely carried off for some distance in spray. After some difficult mountaineering, they "arrived after much fatigue, and Mr. Bigari (a bad horseman) after some falls, at the place, when behold there was no water, occasioned by the excessive heats and droughts." But on returning by the banks of a pleasant lake, these foreigners were rewarded with the view of a scene of good old Irish rustic festivity, which, although described by myself and others, has been so truly sketched by a stranger years ago, that I here insert Beranger's description. On the banks of the lake they perceived,—

"A great crowd, and went up to see the occasion of it; found it to be a dance for a Cake—stopped some time to see the diversion. The scene was pleasing—gentlemen and ladies, on horseback and on foot, being mixed with the country people, and forming a triple ring round the dancers, whilst a fellow standing on some bench or barrel held up a pole, at the end of which the cake was hung in a clean napkin, adorned with ribbands, to be given as a prize to the best performers."

Good old times of the "cakes" and "prinkums," how well I remember them in the neighbouring county of Roscommon, when I schemed out of a Sunday evening to look at the dancers! There, the cake was generally fixed on the top of a churn-dash, which was set upright in the ground, and tied over with a clean cloth; and a fiddler and piper alternately lilted up their jigs, reels, and planxties to the tunes of the "Foxhunter's Jig," "Miss M'Cleod's Reel," the *Batha buidhe*, or Drive the geese to the bog;—while between the more general dancing some one would step forward, and to the tune of "*Mad-*

dah-na-plandie, "the planting stick," imitate in pantomimic dance the tilling, planting, and digging of the potatoe. Then, when the fiddler had rosined his bow would follow the solo of the "Roscommon Hunt," or Carolan's "Ballyshannon Hawk;" and the piper, having mended his bellows and greased his bag from the contents of the grisset, would conclude the first act with "The Hare in the Corn," and an Irish song. Good old times, first broken up by the "cakes" and dance-houses being turned into Ribbon Lodges at a late period of the night, and outrages hatched therein. Then came the Peelers, and then the mutual distrust between the upper and the peasant classes; so that, perhaps, Beranger's description is the last we shall ever read of Irish peasant life in that phase; for Goldsmith's "Deserted Village" is a mixture of both English and Irish life, and we must fall back upon the photographic delineations of Carleton, Banim and Briton.

The tourists spent the 22nd on Lough Gill, with the beauties of which they were charmed :—

"Entered a river, which had a hedge of trees and underwood on each side which seemed to grow out of the water." Had a cold dinner, and "drank the health of the Miss Ormsbys under the name of the Three Graces, which was one of our standing toasts. Walked to Drumahaire, drew and took the plan of the famous O'Rourke's Hall, where he gave the great feast, which the Irish poets have celebrated in a song, of which Dean Swift has given a fine translation. Baited at a gentleman's house; and on hearing that the priest had the original Irish song, sent our interpreter to transcribe it. Went to the Abbey, drew it, and plan, &c., &c. [See the engraving of Bigari's drawing in Grose, vol. i., Plate LV.] "Sat down on 'O'Rourke's chair of marble, against a pillar where he used to judge causes. Proceeded to Church Island where we landed and drew an ancient church." See Grose, vol. i., Plate XCVIII.

"June 23rd, Mr. Bigary[1] not wishing to ride, I went with Mr. Irwin and his son on horseback to Knocknareagh mountain,—seen on the lands of Carrowmore, in the space of a square a quarter of a mile, eighteen circles of huge stones, some with their Cromleghs in the centre standing, some down, but the stones lying on the spot; designed and planned the largest one. Sure it is, that they are not Temples, nor the Cromleghs altars, as the antiquarians pretend, but burial places of chieftains. These eighteen together (I think) settles the matter, and prove this place to have been either a cemetery, or the spot where some famous battle was fought, and

[1] Beranger frequently spells the name thus; but, what is still more strange, his own name is spelled diversely in some of his books as Berenger, Beringer, and Beranger. This, however, is not an uncommon circumstance in Manuscripts of the last and two previous centuries.

the heroes which fell to have been interred on the field where they were slain; but I believe, if some of the antiquarians had heard of eighteen being together in one spot, they would not have called them Temples."

Beranger makes a note on the discovery of these remains under the word "Cromleaghs," and quotes the passage from Vallancey's "Collectanea," No. 5, vol. ii., p. 61, published in 1791, where he says,—

"The huge piles of stones erected from time immemorial in several parts of Ireland, with immense coverings raised in due order, are doubtless of Pagan and remote times, and pass with some for Druidical altars, have the generical name of Leaba na Feine to this very day; these words plainly signify the beds of the Pheni, or Carthagenians; the Irish warriors of ancient times are called Feine or Feinig; and Feinig at this day signifies, for that reason, any brave warlike man.

To this notice Beranger adds :—

"If the Cromleaghs and circles of stones were altars and temples, they would surely have been destroyed by the Christians, as they demolished all the religious monuments of the Pagans; but being known by them to be but burial places, or Mausoleums of the dead, they respected them, and left them untouched.

We therefore learn from this, that not only was Beranger the discoverer and first describer of these monuments at Carrowmore, but that he was well acquainted with the use and origin of the Irish Cromleac. Dr. Stokes, in his affectionately written Life of Petrie lately published, has printed his letters from Carrowmore in 1837, contained in the Ordnance Letter Book for Sligo, placed at the instance of Sir T. A. Larcom in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and, in allusion to them, says :—

"Of the existence of these monuments in Sligo, Petrie had previously been in some degree acquainted by a passage in a MS. diary of the artists commissioned by the patriotic Colonel Burton Conyngham for the purpose of making antiquarian drawings in the West of Ireland towards the close of the last century. But the description by these gentlemen conveyed no idea of the number of these remains, which are here grouped in a limited space."[1]

If Petrie or his learned biographer had had the materials now before me, they would, I am sure, have done jus-

[1] "Life and Labours in Art and Archæology of George Petrie, LL. D., by William Stokes, M. D." London: 1868 p. 238.

tice to Beranger, who alone wrote the Tour in Connaught; for, as already stated, his Italian companion did not at that time either speak or write English. But I am inclined to think that Petrie had, when at Carrowmore, only access to Mr. Walker's MS. book, which I have already noticed, and which is not a true transcript of Beranger's Journal. Here is what the old Dutchman wrote about Knocknarea:—

"Went on, ascended with much fatigue some part on horseback, and part on foot, that high mountain; arrived on the summit, on which is the tomb of Queen Maud, wife of Olioll, King of Connaught in the fourth century. This monument is a huge cairn of small stones, sixty feet high; drew and plan, and measured.[1] On the top we had a fine view of the Atlantic Ocean, and all the neighbouring country." And in a note he adds—

"Knocknarea carne; on the top full of little houses like the children make of slates. Mr. Irwin told me that every one that came there erects such a one, and according to custom we took stones like slates, of which the hill is composed, and made one apiece.

The extract from Mr. Walker's book quoted by Petrie is quite different, and the measurements were probably made by Mr. Walker himself.[2]

On the 24th of June the artists set out with Mr. Irwin to visit the famed island of Innismurry, on the Sligo coast, and have given so accurate and graphic a description of the place, that I am forced to linger upon it for awhile. On their way they "stopped at Drumcliffe to draw the stump of a round tower and a cross," some of the naked figures on which latter rather shocked the delicacy of the Dutchman, who did not appear to know that they represented Adam and Eve in their native unadorned simplicity.[3] Well provided with necessaries by their hospitable host, they were taken across by the "revenue wherry,"

[1] "Drew and *plan*, and measured," is a very frequently used expression in the diary.

[2] In a note on Knocknarea Beranger makes the following remark, "The Irish have three names for mountains; viz.,—
"*Knock* signifies a low hill.
"*Beinn*, a high mountain and precipice.
"*Sleibh* or *Slieve*, a high craggy mountain, continued in ridges."

[3] In the MS. book of Mr. Walker, who resided only a few miles off, I find the following note: "June 24th, the antiquities of Drumcliffe are a stump of a round tower, dimensions on the plan No. 9; and two crosses—the one plain, the other with bass-relief, not very decent. What is remarkable in this cross is a frog in relief on the side. See drawing No. 9." From this it would appear that the scribe had access to the drawings and plans made by Beranger and Bigari, and which were probably in one of the missing books already referred to.

and there, for the first time, they saw a Curragh, which Beranger describes as a—

"Boat made of basket-work, and covered with a horse's or cow's skin. As the members are six or eight inches asunder, and the sun was shining bright, and the skin transparent, it seemed to me to be a vessel of glass, as I could see the water through it. These boats are common in this province."

The visit to "Ennishmurry, in Irish, Inis Muircadhy," is most graphically described at considerable length :—

"As soon as we were landed," wrote the author, "the whole lot of inhabitants came to meet Mr. Irwin, who, having bid us do as we should see him do, &c., embracing cordially all the females, we followed his example, and were conducted to one of the houses, where we dressed our fish which we had caught, viz., mullet and whitings, to which the inhabitants added some lobsters; a table was prepared in a barn, where we went to supper, &c. We had the old Irish candles, consisting in rushes dipped in tallow, which gave but a poor light."

And he then gives the following description of the old *Cunnailawer*, which we, Connaught men, so well remember, before rushes were abolished and brimstone was sold in our markets for making candles. They are still in use in the West, and are rather artistically formed by the turners :—

"The candlestick consists of a straight piece of wood about two feet high with three feet to stand on the floor; on the top is an iron spring, which holds the rush, and which, when put on the table, was too high, and gave hardly light enough to see our victuals; but we got some children at our elbows to hold a candle to each of us at a proper height to light our plates. The inhabitants have them on the ground, and sit round them on low stools or stones."

He also described and gave a drawing of a well-finished four-handled madder, and says—



"The angles being rounded and hollowed out in the inside serve to drink out of. There is a different ornament near [between] each handle, so that, four people drinking together, everyone may know his own corner. June 25th.—Got up at 5; walked over the island, following the shore and examining its curiosities and antiquities, accompanied by the only person of the inhabitants that could speak English. Drew the abbey, the church, &c., and plan. Came to breakfast on lobster and broiled

whitings, caught before our eyes; drank wine and water. Mr. Irwin ordered our rabbits, a turkey, some fowl, and ducks, to be cut up with a leg of mutton, to which he added some greens, turnips, and carrots, and a piece of hare, which being put in a large tosspan he had also brought with him, and having seasoned it properly, put it down on a slow fire, promising us the best olio we ever tasted. Went again to walk; was shown a whale swimming in the ocean, spouting up the water to a great height."

He then describes his first acquaintance with the sea anemones, which abound on the rocks there, and which appeared to be quite new to him, and adds :—

"Saw distinctly the mountain of Croagh Patrick, in the county of Mayo, distance sixty miles. Went in every house, but could not converse with the females, as they only speak Irish; remembered the Irish phrase I formerly learned of '*Torum pogue Calinogue,*' which I repeated to every girl, who immediately came to kiss me; how unfortunate it was I could ask no more! Finished our drawings; came home; adjourned all to the barn, where the olio was served up in the tosspan to have it hot; never did I taste of a better dish, nor ever did I eat so much; notwithstanding, when our dessert of fine lobsters appeared, we fell to again, so that we were obliged to drink a glass extra to wash it down.

"After dinner, Mr. Irwin sent notice that we should embark; accordingly, all the inhabitants—men, women, and children, not one excepted—gathered round the door of our barn, and everything being ready, we walked out, followed by the people, and went to a small plain near the creek where our vessel was moored; there Mr. Irwin made them sit down in a semicircle on the grass, and having opened a packet, distributed 1½ yard of fine broad ribbond to every female, whom we embraced at the time; after that each male and female got 4 feet long of roll tobacco, and a pair of beads each. After which he ordered one of the casks of whiskey to be broached, and be distributed round by glasses. When done, we took our leaves, embracing again the females, and walked to the vessel upon a pier of natural rock, followed by all the people. When we bended our sails, they saluted us by three cheers, which we returned; they continued looking as long as they could."

Such was the picture of Irish life, such the relations between landlord and tenant, and such the reception which these foreign artists and antiquaries received from a true-hearted Irish gentleman of Connaught a hundred years ago. The strangers seem to have been much struck with it, and Beranger adds :—

"I found the scene so affecting, that it dwelt long on my mind. Our guide on the island, the only one who could speak English, told us very gravely that they had neither priest, physician, nor lawyer amongst them; and that they were religious, healthy, and lived in peace without quarrel!"

The party did not reach Sligo until a late hour of the night, as it would appear that "the sperrits had preyed upon" the crew to a considerable extent.

The MSS. from which I quote give a detailed description of the island of Innismurry, which is about nine miles from the coast, and says it

"Is a rock rising out of the sea, which goes sloping gently and like steps to the edge of the water on the east side towards the main shore, but on the west is high, craggy, and all precipice, with some small heads advancing on the sea, through which the fury of the waves have perforated large holes, not unlike ancient arches, where the sea roars horridly in tempestuous weather. About 130 acres are covered with a thin soil of about 5 or 6 inches deep, which produces grass to feed about 4 or 5 cows, as many horses, and 30 sheep; there is also some arable land that produces about 20 barrels of corn, besides some garden stuff; the houses are five in number, and as many barns; and the inhabitants 45 or 46, including children. They are all fishermen, and sell their cargoes on the mainland. They have inhabited this island from father to son for upwards of 600 years, and when crowded send the supernumerary to seek their fortune on shore; they only speak Irish, except one man and an old woman; they are very hospitable to strangers, will treat and lodge them without reward; they love Col. Irwin (by whose means they have been exempted from some county charges), and who every year pays them a visit, by which they never lose. There is an abbey, as it is called, very rude, a church, and some other old buildings said to have been erected by Sts. Molash and Columbkill; the figure or statue in wood of the first they have there in a cell, and have daubed him all over with red paint to make him look handsome. Mr. Bigarry described his holiness upon the spot. They have many traditions, which were all gathered in Irish by our interpreter, and filled some pages of paper."[1]

Beranger, in his anecdotes on the blank pages of his Journal, gives a still further description of the inhabitants, and says, that in the winter months they—

"Subsist on what provision they had gathered, as potatoes, dry fish, milk, and now and then on mutton. The inhabitants are all Roman Catholicks; seem very innocent, good-natured, and devout, but at the same time very superstitious and credulous. They told us, as a most undoubted fact, that during the most horrid tempests of winter, when a case happens where

[1] In Mr. Walker's book, the plans which were made of the antiquities of Innismurray are referred to by letters, and the following is added to the text:—"Tradition says the abbey was built by Sts. Molasse and Columbkill; but the latter being of a hot, fiery temper could not agree with the former, and left him, and went to the main, leaving St. Molasse in possession of the island. In the time we were drawing and planning, our interpreter gathered the tradition of each consecrated spot, and wrote them down in Irish in his MS."

a priest is required, such as to give the extreme onction to a dying person, &c., they go to the sea side, launch one of their little vessels; and as soon at it touches the water, a perfect calm succeeds, which continues until they have brought the priest to the island, that he has performed the rites of the Church, that they have carried him back, and that the boat is returned to the island and hauled on shore, when the tempest will again begin, and continue for weeks together. On asking them how often this miracle happened, and to which of them the care of the priest had been committed, they were veracious enough to confess, it never happened in their days, though the fact was true. There are thirteen places of devotion on the island, called *Stations*, which the Romans Catholicks visit, and where prayers are said, their names are:—

1. Monument of the Trinity, said to be built by St. Molash.
2. Do. of St. Columb Kill.
3. Do. of St. Patrick.
4. Laughty Roory.
5. Tubberpatrick.
6. Tranew.
7. Clushmore.
8. Altbuy.
9. Classahmore.
10. Parcel of small Laughties [Cloughauns].
11. Relick oran.
12. Temple Murray,—a small old church.
13. The Abbey.

"The first eleven stations consist in or are squares of ten or twelve feet, with a wall of dry stones, breast high, and a cross, altar, or pillar in their centre, [like the *Aharleas* of Aran], and might have been made by any one as well as the saints they are said to be made by."[1]

When Otway published his "Tour in Connaught," in 1839, I wrote him a description of the celebrated turning stone of St. Fechin, on the slope of Ben Levi, county of Galway, and thought I was the first to describe the rites belonging to that class of semi-pagan formulæ. Here, however, is Beranger's description in 1779, of "the cursing altar" at Innismurry—

[1] In the Walker MS, I find the following entry on Innismurray, from which it would appear that Beranger attached descriptions to the plans and drawings similar to those given in the three books of sketches in my possession. "The Antiquities are, first, what they call the Abbey which is an enclosure of dry stones from five to seven and eight feet thick. It is impossible to determine whether it is round or oval, and never have I seen more rude workmanship. There are a few cells underground, which are lighted some at the top through a hole, and some through a loophole on the other side," apparently like those sunken Cloughauns, or small rude oratories, to the west of Temple Benin on Aran-more, which I pointed out to the visitors of the British Association during the Aran excursion in 1857.

"A kind of altar of stone about two feet high, covered with globular stones, somewhat flattened, of different sizes, very like the Dutch cheeses; the tradition is, that if any one is wronged by another, he goes to this altar, curses the one who wronged him, wishing such evil may befal him, and turns one of the stones; and if he was really wronged, the specified evil fell on his enemy; but if not, on himself, which makes them so precautionate that the altar is become useless.[1]

"June 26th. Staid at the inn, inking our drawings; and on the 27th set out for Abbey Boyle in the county of Roscommon, stopped at Ballysodare, drew the remains of the Abbey and church about four miles from Sligo. Viewed the cascade occasioned by several falls over rocks of the river Owenbeg: the principal one is about fourteen or fifteen feet high, very perpendicular, and with the rocks about it affords a most romantic sight. We sat down almost fronting it, and enjoyed for some time this charming scene. On the bridge we were shown a stone on which a beggar used to sit constantly, who, on receiving alms, used to bestow on the giver a blessing, which is become a famous toast, under the name of the *Beggar's benison*. Passed through Coloony an indifferent-looking town five miles from Sligo; stopd, and drew and planned the abbey of Balydoon, near Lough Arrow—a fine sheet of water, with several wooded islands, about four miles long, and one mile and a half broad; went on, and drew the Carn or tomb of Olioll, King of Connaught, at Heapstown, and baited or dined there at Mr. John M'Donnough's, farmer, and descendant of the princes of the country. Went on, and passed the Curlieus mountains, which I do not think as high as they are represented. Stopped facing Kishcorren mountain; left our chaise and horses with the servants, and walked through some fields halfway up the hill, to examine the natural cave, the entrance of which is by two openings, which appeared like two huge gothick arches. Got in as far as the light would permit us; but the slippery ground, and strong smell like that of cats, and the darkness, soon brought us to the mouth again. This cavern is said to communicate with that in the county of Roscommon, twenty-four miles in distance, called the Hellmouth door of Ireland [at Rathcroghan], of which is told (and believed in both counties) that a woman in the county of Roscommon having an unruly calf could never get him home unless driving him by holding him by the tail; that one day he tried to escape and dragged the woman, against her will into the Hellmouth door; that, unable to stop him, she ran after him without quitting her hold, and continued running until next morning. She came out at Kishcorren, to her own amazement and that of the neighbouring people. We believed it rather than try it."

This legend is still living among the people of the district, at least it was when as a boy I used to visit on a May morning the great Rath at Crohan, near the rampart of which the cave's mouth is situated, and when all the

[1] I frequently pass by the two wells of St. Fechin, near Cong, in the county of Galway, and often make inquiries about the lost *Leac na Fecheen*, or turning stone, but as yet without success; and I have reason to believe it was thrown into a bog-hole after the death I described in Cæsar Otway's book in 1839.

great Connaught oxen of the extensive plains around were driven in to be bled, and the peasantry gathered in with pots, turf, bags of meal, and bundles of *scallions* to make "possets" with the warm blood as it flowed from the shoulders of the beeves, that were soon to find their way from the Baalfes, Taaffes, Farrells, and Frenches, to swell the coffers of Billy Murphy in Smithfield; when their thick hides formed the buff belts of the soldiery of Europe, and their flesh went to support the navies of Great Britain—"in the good ould war-times of Boney." At Ballintubber Castle, the last stronghold of the O'Conors, eight or ten miles distant, there is another cave, where the same story is told of a calf that dragged its owner under ground until it and she came out at the Rath of Croghan.

June 28th. The artists, with Colonel Irwin, went to Boyle Abbey, and

"Found the inside to be almost a forest, being overgrown with large trees, underwood, and weeds, and could not stir before we *made* our way through them. Drew and planned with difficulty, and it occupied us until 3 o'clock."

I do not find any sketch by Beranger of Boyle Abbey; but in the second volume of the arranged drawings there is a very good representation of its exterior by Mr. John Warren, Senior; and upon the top of the page, Beranger has written—"I compared this with the original on the spot in 1779, and found it exact." There are three plates and a plan of this Abbey given in "Grose's Antiquities," and of the third, which is far the best, Ledwich writes in 1794, p. 82, vol. i.—"This represents an inside view of that beautiful structure, which was taken from an original drawing by Bigari, in the collection of the Right Hon. William Conyngham." It is probable that a large number of Beranger's drawings, as well as those of Bigari, were handed over to Colonel Conyngham; but the present Marquis, who has kindly made search for me, has not been able to discover any of them at Slane. They were not, probably, those referred to at page 65. The Journal continues:—

"Set out from thence for Kingston [now called Rockingham], two miles distant, on foot, passing through a delightful forest. Arrived, and were by Colonel Irwin presented to the Earl of Kingston, and his brother,

the Right Hon. Henry King; dined, and were told by his Lordship that he had ordered his boat to be ready at our orders for the next day. Set out past nine, crossed by moonlight the same forest, and arrived at Boyle at 10.

"June 29th.—Set out early; went to Lough Key; found his Lordship's boat ready, with four oars, and his sportsman acting as captain, who showed us some guns and fishing tackle which he had provided by his Lordship's order, without which nobody could sport on the lake. We embarked on this delightful sheet of water, which presents to view such a beautiful scene, that I confess to be unable to give a description of it, but only a faint sketch. The lake is about five miles across, being nearly of a circular form, surrounded by mountains covered with woods—some sloping to the water, others advancing a little like a promontory in the lake. Six islands, nobly wooded, are dispersed in it, which, by the brightness of the sun, and the clearness of the sky, struck our eyes with the lively variety of their greens, and represented to us an idea of the Elizian fields of the poets. We made for Ennis M'Creedy island, where being arrived, we found it impossible to land—the weeds, particularly the hemlock, being two feet higher than ourselves, and so thick grown, that even the sight could not penetrate them. Kept a council of war, and resolved to make our way by knocking them down with clubs, in which operation the crew was a great help. Arrived at the church; drew and plan; also the little chappel, both overgrown with weeds."

The Walker MS., which, as I already stated, was evidently extracted from the note-book description of the pictures, like that in the small books referred to at page 63, thus describes the buildings at Ennis Macreedy under the same date:—

"This abbey, as they term it, is an oblong building, very much ruined, and seemingly of ordinary workmanship. The building was divided in two parts; its windows are of the loophole kind. At some distance is a little chapel, with two small loopholes to give light, which must have been admitted very sparingly, and make the place dungeon-like when it was roofed; no traces of any tower could be found. The island is covered with wood, and the whole surface of the ground with weeds and hemlock seven feet high, without road or path; we were obliged to beat them down at every step for a quarter of a mile. The inside of the church was the same, so that the operation was laborious to plan and measure. We were sick of the odious effluvia of the hemlock which was knocked down. See Drawings, &c. &c., No. 15."

Beranger's Italian companion, who was celebrated for his interiors, made a very beautiful drawing, which was subsequently published in "Grose's Antiquities," where Ledwich writes—"This view was taken from an original drawing by Bigari, in the collection of the Right Hon. William Conyngham."

"Returned to our boat; went to another island, where we landed easily, as it was a fine continued lawn shaded nobly by a grove with some

underwood, on which a temple was built, which has a large room to dine in, and a smaller to retire to to take a nap, with a kitchen separate from the building. From this summer house one has a charming view of the lake and its islands; re-embarked; went to another, also wood and lawn, where his Lordship keeps bullocks fattening, which were the largest I ever had seen."

The great long-horned Connaught ox figured by Youatt, and which I described many years ago in my Paper on the ancient races of oxen in Ireland (see "Proceedings," R. I. A., vol. VII., p. 69), has now become quite extinct. The head of the last of the race was kindly procured for me by the late Rev. Lord de Freyne, and is now in the Museum of the Royal Dublin Society. In a note, Beranger adds:—

"They put me in mind of elephants; they were very shy, and fled on our appearance to very thick thickets, where they hid themselves." Went to a fourth island, "in which are the walls of a very large building, with various rooms erected in the last century by some of his Lordship's ancestors, intended to retire to with the whole family if the plague,[1] which raged on some part of Ireland made its progress to this country. This island is well wooded, part lawn and part underwood. Refreshed ourselves here, and set out for M'Dermott's Island, the smallest of them all, of a circular form, and surrounded by a strong high wall, rising from the water edge, where it would be impossible to land, was it not for a breach on one side. In this island, thickly covered with trees and underwood, is a castle, so covered with ivy that no stone can be seen on the outside. There is an eagle's or osprey's nest on the top, and we could hear distinctly the cry of the young ones from the top of some broken stairs which went formerly to the roof, but found no means of access to them. Re-embarked; lay on our oars at some distance, and drew a general view of the island and castle."

I do not find any representation of M'Dermott's castle among Beranger's drawings, but the view given in Grose, at p. 85, vol. i., and which was evidently drawn from the water, would appear to be the one described above, and Ledwich says this view was taken from an original in the collection of Colonel Conyngham. Had

[1] The seventeenth century was fertile in "plague, pestilence, and famine; battle, murder, and sudden death," beginning with the rebellion of Tyrone, and the destruction of crop by Mountjoy; then the plague or typhus that raged in the early years of the century, and the rebellion and massacre of 1641, followed by the fever and dysentery of that calamitous period. Afterwards the small-pox, and further outbreaks of fever and dysentery, with scurvy; successions of unfavourable weather, and bad crops; and in the end of the century, influenza, epizootics, and flights of locusts, &c. &c., leave us a very large list of plagues to choose from for that particular one that naturally created consternation in the Kingston family.

it been Bigari's, he certainly would have acknowledged the authorship. Ennis Macreedy, in its external fortification of unmortared work, bears a great resemblance to Iniscreawa, on Lough Corrib. The legend respecting M'Dermott's Island is thus told by Beranger :—

"Tradition has preserved an anecdote which is current in this country, i. e., that M'Dermott, prince of this country, had a beautiful wife, of whom he was very jealous; that, to put his mind at ease when he went on some expedition, he fortified this island by raising the high wall (which remains) from the water edge, and building the castle, in which he used to confine his wife when he took the field; but that, notwithstanding, a favourite lover of hers used to hide himself in one of the nearest islands, from whence at night time he leaped in the lake, and, like another Leander, went to visit his Hero."

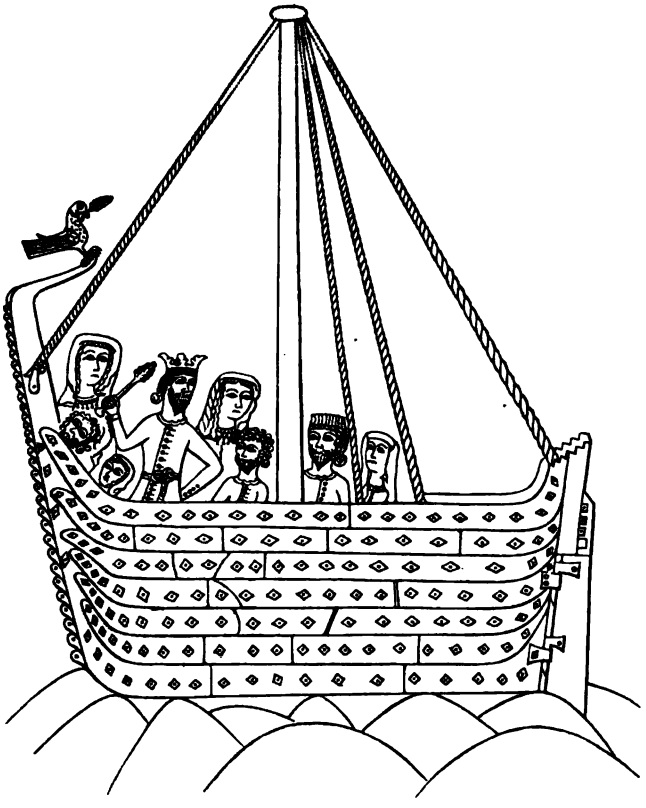
Here follows a description of the town of Boyle, and the statue of William III., then on the bridge, which Beranger says was "very like." On the 30th they set out for

"Ballymote, a small village, inhabited mostly by weavers. Drew the castle and abbey, and dined there, and went to lodge for the night at the village of Tubbercorry, in which poor place Mr. Bigary and I were surprised to find an elegant supper served up, by the care of Colonel Irwin." In a note he adds: "Here was wrote a large manuscript folio, containing annals of the kingdom, Brehon laws, poems, &c.; also all the different alphabets of the ancient Ogham used by the Druids; it was wrote about 300 years ago; is called 'The Book of Ballymote,' and contains a paragraph which says that it belonged to the Mac Donoghes, and had cost 140 milch cows. It is wrote on parchment, each leaf fifteen and a quarter inches high, by ten broad, and contains 250 pages, including a rough drawing with pen and ink on the first leaf, representing a ship with four men and four women, one mast and some ropes. It is at present in the possession of the Chevalier O'Gorman, of Auxerre, in Burgundy, who lent it to me to copy the various Oghams, the explanation of which was wrote by Mr. Gorman, teacher of the Irish language."[1]

In another place Beranger acknowledges his obliga-

[1] In his Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History, delivered in 1856 at the Catholic University, and published in 1861, Eugene O'Curry thus mentions the Book of Ballymote:—"This noble volume, though defective in a few places, still consists of 251 leaves, or 502 pages of the largest folio vellum, equal to about 2500 pages of the printed "Annals of the Four Masters." It was written by different persons, but chiefly by Solomon O'Droma, and Manus O'Duigenann; and we find it stated at folio 626, that it was written at Ballymote, in the county of Sligo, in the house of *Tomaltach og* Mac Donogh, Lord of Corann, in that county, at the time that Torlogh *óg*, the son of Hugh O'Conor, was King of Connacht; and Charles O'Conor, of Belanagar, has written in it the date 1391, as the precise year in which this part of the book was written."

tions to this Irish scholar. The accompanying reduced facsimile of the drawing intended to represent Noah and his family in the ark on the fly-leaf in the "Book of Ballymote," and which I described in the "Catalogue of the Museum, Royal Irish Academy," Part II., p. 301, is interesting as showing the artist's idea of early Irish costume when the



book was written or transcribed. The extract here given presents to us also the fact that Vallancey, who published his treatise on the Ogham writing of the ancient Irish in 1790, made use of Beranger's materials, derived from the "Book of Ballymote." *See* p. 60 of the "Collectanea," Vol. V. It is greatly to be regretted that the Bishop of Limerick's text of the Ogham writing in that work, which was printed by the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society

many years ago, has not been given to the public, but has remained in sheets with the printer since 1853.

July 1st, they visited, drew, and made plans of the Abbeys of Banada and Court, and proceeded to Coloony; and, having returned to Sligo, they spent two days there working at their drawings and sketches. On the evening of the 3rd they accompanied Colonel Irwin to Mercrea, the seat of the Right Hon. Joseph Cooper, where they were well received; dined, supped, and lay there that night. Next morning they crossed Traccuchullin on the strand, and

"Stopped to draw a plan and view of Cuchullin's tomb, a circle of stones, 27 feet in diameter, but much covered by the sand which the waves carry on it."

Here Beranger quotes Mac Pherson's Ossian, as the situation appeared to him to agree very well with the description given by the Irish Bard, who says,

"'By the dark rolling waves of Lego they raised the hero's tomb.' Sligo was formerly called Slego, in our historical writers; take off the S, and we will have Lego. Antiquarians have more than once twisted and curtailed names more than this; and Mr. Mac Pherson said, in one of his notes, that 'Cuchullin was killed somewhere in Connaught, which must have been near Lough Gill, in the vicinity of the town of Sligo, upon the tract of land between Tanrego Bay and Lough Gill, there being only three or four miles' distance from the verge of the one to the strand of the other.'"

Such was the knowledge of his day, and perhaps it gives as much authentic information as the original Fenian tales, to which, no doubt, Mac Pherson had access. It is well known that the tales respecting most of Cuchullin's battles have placed them in this neighbourhood, and between that and the *Ford of Sods* on the Boyle Water.

The tourists spent a couple of days with their generous host, Colonel Irwin, at Tanrego, beneath the foot of Knocknarea, and

"were shown (when the tide was out) two islands, which, when the tide is in, are not accessible but by a boat, on which cattle were grazing; the foundation of which islands are oyster shells, with about six inches of earth over them. Walked round them, and was amazed at the sight. The oysters are so plenty at Tanrego, that they are got by cars full, only paying the carriage;"

[1] Bigari's very beautiful drawing of Ballymote Church, from the Cunyngham collection, has been engraved in Grose's "Antiquities," Vol. II., p. 76.

and then he adds, rather ruefully, "they were not in season at this time." He says they spent some days at Tanrego,

"working at our drawings, and walking about in the evening. The Colonel procured an old man in the neighbourhood, who sung to us in Irish the feats of the old hero Cuchullin; ordered our interpreter to write it down, and added it to our other MSS. of his writing."

What a charming party this must have been! It only wanted an Irish harper to render it perfect; but, no doubt, some of the beauties among the Irwins, Joneses, and Ormsbys, who were present, enlivened the party with the harpsichord or spinnet.

On the 6th, they all set out for Tubberpatrick, the seat of Captain Jones:—

"Designed by the way a cromlegh, called *Clogh Glass*, i. e. the Green Stones.

"July 7th. As Mr. Bigary had protested against all ridings, I went with Colonel Irwin on horseback, and drew Cromleaghs and a circular fort of dry stones on the hill of Skryne, or Skreen."

On the 8th they went to Fortland, the seat of Robert Brown, Esq., near Easky Bridge, and of this he writes:—

"On this coast are an immensity of Round Raths, or Forts, or Mounds, or Barrows, or Tumuli, with each their fosse;—some at musket shot, some half-quarter of a mile from one another, from which this place is called in Irish Lishagan—Fortland. They are of various dimensions. We took the plan and section of the largest amongst them. Walked about the concerns, and under a fine shade of trees, along a rivulet, which was very comfortable in the extreme warm weather we had, Mr. Bigary protesting it was as warm as in Italy.

"June 9th. Set out with Colonel Irwin, interpreter, and servants on horseback, to draw a famous Cromlegh, called Finmacool's Griddle, situated in a bog ten miles long, and about three broad. Took two guides on the verge of said bog. Went by various windings, until arrived at a small hill, on which this old monument is fixed. Drew a plan; but Mr. Irwin, looking at his watch, and seeing dinner-time approach, asked our guides for a short cut to go to Fortland, which he knew there was. They seemed ignorant of it, but undertook to try and find it out. We followed, when, all of a sudden, my horse sunk under me in the bog. This stopped us; and, as he could not get out, the guides were sent for assistance and spades to dig him out. We left our interpreter and servants on the spot; and the Colonel, trusting to his memory, undertook to guide me, and we set forwards on foot, making many zigzags on the worst ground I ever trod on, sinking at every step halfway of my boots, and being obliged to walk, or rather run, pretty fast, for fear of sinking. After an hour's travelling, we could see nothing but the heaven and the bog, and the ground became softer and wetter, so that we could not advance without

sinking in it. We tried to the right, then to the left, and twined and twined so much that we knew not which way to go, the Colonel having lost sight of his landmark. We continued moving on, as the Colonel told me that we should be lost if we ceased moving one moment. I confess here that I thought it my last day. The anxiety of the mind, the fatigue of the body, the insufferable heat of the day, and the intolerable thirst I felt, made me almost unable to proceed; but remembering that to stop a moment was instant death, I followed Mr. Irwin, putting my foot from where he withdrew his, as nearly as I could on this ground, which was now quite liquid, and appeared a lough to me. Two hours more were we in this situation, when Mr. Irwin got sight of some other mark, which gave me new courage; and little by little the ground grew firmer, and we made for some stacks of turf, and so forth on firm ground unto Fortland, where we arrived at seven, having been since three o'clock wandering in this horrid wilderness. We found the family alarmed (as our horses were arrived some hours before), and [they] had sent men to find us out in the bog. I threw myself on a chair, not being able to stir; could not eat, but only drink wine and water, which, being warmed out of precaution, did not quench my thirst. Mr. Bigari was all this time capering about the room, and felicitating himself that he had not been of the party. As for the Colonel, he was but little fatigued, and eat his dinner, whilst I went to bed dinner and supperless."

On the 10th they went to Rosslee Castle, on the sea shore near Fortland, which they drew and made a plan of; Beranger adds the following note thereon :—

"Tradition has handed down a peculiar anecdote of the proprietor of this castle, who must have been a great epicurean in fish. The castle stands on the sea side, and next to it runs a rivulet, much frequented by salmon, in which the proprietor had contrived to build a trap, the door of which had a wire communicating to a bell in the kitchen of the castle. As soon as a salmon entered the trap, the bell rung, and the servants went immediately, fetched the salmon alive, and dressed it for their master."

A similar circumstance is related of the Abbey of Cong, County Mayo, and of other places also.

On the 11th they left the house of their kind host, and

"set forwards [towards Mayo]. Stopped near Castle Connor, to visit a subterraneous cave under a rath, called Rathmullan; got candles, went in, and planned. Ware is greatly mistaken in the description of this cave in his Vol. II. of 'Antiquities,' p. 138, and in the plan and section, Plate I., No. 5, as it is a zigzag, which comes much nearer the figure he gives in same plate, No. 6, and I think it may be a mistake of the number."

Of this cave Ware says : "The entrance was for many centuries closed up, but in the year 1640 was accidentally discovered and opened by a cowherd. The chambers in

it are quadrangular, and built of vast stones, archwise, over which a great quantity of earth is heaped, and formed into a hill, but the passage into the chambers is circular. *See* Plate I., No. 5. A geometrical plan of the area of this arched building, together with the form of one of the vaults to which the others are correspondent, at the same time were described by Mylo Symner, an able mathematician, who, with a lighted candle, took an exact view of it soon after it was discovered."[1]

"On coming out of the cave we found all the inhabitants of both sexes gathered on the rath, and amongst them two beautiful young women, who attracted our sight, and whom we could not cease to admire. The Colonel bid them all welcome, and ordered a gallon of whiskey to be brought; invited them all to sit down on the grass. The whiskey went about; we embraced [kissed] all the females, the two beauties included; repeated it several times; made, at our example, the men do the same; were very merry, and quitted them after they had bestowed many blessings on us. Set forwards and arrived at Ardnaree, the seat of Mr. Jones, County of Mayo, where we dined, and were told that Colonel Cuffe was waiting for us, and should join us after dinner, which he did."

From thence they passed on to Newtown-Gore, on the banks of Lough Conn, and say:—

"This seat is an old castle, which has been modernized. The rooms are large and spacious, environed by a grove and gardens. It is situated near Lough Conn, a branch of which runs by the garden, along a thick, shady walk, which afforded us a cool shelter, and where we resorted in the height of the heat. It is the property of the Earl of Arran."

On the 13th July they set out with Mr. Cuffe, Colonel Irwin, and his son, and, passing through Ballina,

"famous for its salmon fishery, arrived at Killala; were presented to the Bishop by Colonel Cuffe; took part of a collation of fruits and wine; went with Messrs. Hutchinson, the Bishop's sons, to see the Round Tower;[2] drew it, and a skull of a whale which came on shore there; returned to the Palace; took our leave, and set out." "The Palace," he adds, "has a small court before it; looks like a farmer's house, only two stories high; in the dining room floor you are under the eaves, which are seen, and the rooms there are appropriated for bed chambers. Stopped at the Abbey of Moyne, on the wide part of the River Moy, near the Bay, about two miles

[1] For plans and descriptions of several caves of this description, see Wilde's "Lough Corrib," c. vii., pp. 202-209

[2] In the Walker MS. there is the following entry, giving details of the tower, evidently taken from Beranger's notes:— "The Tower of Killala seems well built; the roof damaged. It is 84 feet high, 51 in circumference, and the walls 3½ feet thick. There is a hole in it towards the middle of the height, which was made by lightning. The door is plain, 5½ feet high by 2½ wide, and 11 feet from the ground. See drawing No. 28."

from Killala. Drew and plan. Eat here the largest cockles I ever had seen—as big as eggs, and drank some wine Colonel Cuffe had taken in his chariot, with some loaves; a tomb served as table. Set out for the Abbey of Rosserk, two miles further; drew and plan, and returned at Newtown Gore by six in the evening."

They remained at home the next day, working at their sketches, as was their usual custom; for the artists in these days were as energetic as they were accurate. As Newtown-Gore, where they were staying, afforded a fine view of Nephin mountain, on the opposite side of the lake, Beranger made a sketch of it, which, although not very artistic, is truthful, even as it now stands before me in his sketch-book, No. 4, and in which the following is a description differing only in a word or two from what he wrote in the large original note-book :—

"View of the mountain of Nephin, County of Mayo, and Province of Connaught, about 120 miles from Dublin, taken from Newtown-Gore, four miles distant. This high mountain, which rears its lofty head above those in the neighbourhood, has a spring of water on its summit, which, after rain, forms a furious torrent, which has dug for itself a bed in the mountain (though composed of white marble), and, running down, spreads itself at the foot, forming a lake. This bed I took for a high road at the distance, until I was informed of the contrary, and told what it was."

Having taken their leave of Colonel Cuffe, they proceeded to Foxford, also on the Moy, and which place, says Beranger—

"is famous for abounding with Lampreys in the river, which nobody there will eat; got four large ones for 6*d.*, and got them packed in grass.[1] As

[1] The Lamprey, *Lampetra Rondeletii* or *Marinus*—the true *Petromyzon* of writers on natural history—is said to be found in some of the rivers of Ireland, and is generally called "nine-eyes," on account of the nine or seven respiratory apertures along the sides of the neck; but it is often confounded with the Lampern, *L. Fluviatilis*, and also the Pride, *Annocætes branchialis*, the small mud lamprey, or "stone grig," which may be found in many of our small streams in Ireland. I remember catching some small Lampreys, when a boy, in the River Suck, at Castlerea, but they were there considered great rarities, and not vivified horse-hair, as was generally believed of the common fresh-water eel. At this distance of time, I am not able to state what the exact species to which I have referred was. Lampreys formerly abounded in Lough Corrib and the surrounding districts of Connemara; and Roderic O'Flaherty, writing in 1684, says, "the water streams, besides lampreys, roches, and the like, of no value, breed salmons (where is recourse to the sea), eels, and divers sorts of trouts." See p. 10. The Irish name for lamprey is a mere adaptation of the English term. The lampreys I have been able to procure from the Oughterard river and Lough Corrib at its mouth, and which I have transported to my ponds at Moytura, on the other side of the lake, were evidently specimens of the Pride; and the moment that I put them into the water, they at once burrowed into the soft, turfy sides and bottom of the ponds, with great rapidity and a wriggling motion. It is said that large lampreys are occasionally

it was a market day, went to walk about the place (whilst the horses baited); the place looks poor. I observed all the countrywomen who came to market having their aprons about their necks, instead of cloaks; but, on being amongst them in the market, we were surprised to find that to be their only upper covering, having neither gown nor shift, which we supposed was owing to the excessive heat of the weather.

"Set forwards to Castlebar. Drew, by the way, the Castle of Bally laghan, the Abbey of Strade, and Turlough Round Tower. Here we had a most horrid stony road, the rocks being like trees laid across the way. We did not go at the rate of a mile an hour, and were afraid of our carriages breaking down, which at last happened to Mr. Irwin's cabriole, the fore axle-tree snapping at Strade, where he left it under the care of a servant to be mended; and, after having drawn the Abbey, he mounted the led horses with his son; and we arrived at half-past eight at Castlebar, having our Lampreys, amongst other things, for supper."

He then relates the following characteristic incident, which will be read with interest by those who remember the history of the tour of "lying Dick Twiss:"—

"Whilst we were surveying this Abbey [Strade], we were accosted by two genteel dressed ladies who came to view us, having been told that Mr. Twiss was in our company. Our greatest anxiety was immediately

seen in Lough Corrib, attached to boats and submerged timber, but I have no personal knowledge of the matter. William Thompson, our Irish naturalist *par excellence*, refers to the Lamprey and the Pride chiefly on the authority of others, especially the late Dr. Ball, but has not added much to the natural history of this animal. From the day when the early Norman king made too hearty and fatal a supper on stewed lampreys, down to the present, they have been used as food in some parts of England, and were formerly an article of commerce as bait for the Dutch fisheries, as may be seen by the extended description of the *Petromyzonidæ* given by my good old friend and instructor, William Yarrell. In Ireland, however, we have no notice of their being used as food until the days of Beranger.

In the third edition of Yarrell's "Fishes," Sir John Richardson has been good enough to quote my observations, published in 1840, upon the Lancelet, *Amphyoxus*, a genus allied to the Lampreys, but has not yet convinced me that it is a true fish. I am indebted to Dr. Gawley, of Foxford, for the following particulars respecting the Lamprey. "In the Moy, at Foxford, they are taken in great quantities in the hot months of July and August, when the water is low, from two to six pounds' weight. They are fished for by little boys, who gaff them with pike hooks, and such other means, when they are seen attached to stones, sticks, bridges, or other resisting bodies, and are eaten by the people, but are not exported from the locality. Their fry is not observed to come up the rivers, like those of the common eel, which abound in the river at Foxford."

An interesting question here suggests itself, as to whether the Lamprey migrates to the sea, as the lake and river eels do. It is, however, a curious circumstance which naturalists have overlooked, that the upper portion of the Moy is a habitat of the Lamprey, and that the first notice thereof should be taken from the MS. of Gabriel Beranger, written a century ago.

June 21, 1870.—While revising the above, I received from Dr. Gawley some fine specimens of the true Lamprey from the Moy. Some of them were full of ova, and as my informant says the fish were proceeding *up* the river, it is possible they were going to spawn in the upper waters of the Moy. The subject should be investigated by some of our naturalists, when possibly this rare fish may become an article of commerce in the Dublin markets. Some of these lampreys measured 30 inches.

to convince them that the report was false, and thoroughly to acquaint them of our business. As soon as they were assured of their mistake, they inveighed against Twiss for his slandering that province. We joined heartily in this, and refused politely their offers of refreshments, as the day was advanced, and we intended to be early at Castlebar; but the real cause of our quick departure was, the fear that the neighbourhood might think like them, and that we might be insulted by the country people."

Writing of Castlebar, he says:—

"The town looks decent enough. The church is new, and the steeple composed of squares, octagons, and circular figures, which gives it an odd look at the distance. It has this inscription: 'This church was built at Castlebar in the year ——;'[1] and in a note he adds: 'one of the troopers newly arrived in this garrison read the inscription and answered, 'and where the devil else could it have been built?' but still that inscription remained when I was there, notwithstanding its absurdity. At the end of the town is the seat of Lord Lucan (*then abroad*), in which are thick groves, which afforded us comfortable walks under their shades.'"

On the 16th they proceeded to Newport-Prat, and report:—

"The bridge being broke down by the floods, we forded the river with some difficulty; set up at the inn, and a very good one, where we were well entertained; sent notice of our arrival to the Earl of Altamont, at Westport; received an answer before ten, that he should be glad to see us. Here Mr. Irwin got a touch of the gout."

On the 17th Beranger and Bigari drew and planned the Abbey of Burryshool, about two miles distant, on the Erris road; and the former writes:—

"We were surrounded by a vast number of people, amongst whom we observed some uncommon whisperings, and goings and comings. Mr. Bigari thought that their intention was to rob us; but we came off safe, and returned to Newport."

They then proceeded to Westport, where they were hospitably entertained by Lord Altamont; and on mentioning that they

"had left Colonel Irwin in the gout at Newport, his Lordship sent an express with an invitation to his house. After dinner, his Lordship showed us his wolf-dogs, three in number; they are amazing large, white, with black spots, but of the make and shape of the greyhound, only the head and neck somewhat larger in proportion. We had here at supper the largest shrimps I had ever seen, being almost as big as prawns."

"July 18th. Stayed and worked at our drawings; took a walk after dinner with my Lord to a large circle of stones, having a cromlegh in the centre, situated on his Lordship's ground on the sea-side; told him my notion, that they were burial places, and not temples, and proposed to get

[1] The church at Castlebar has been rebuilt since, and an inserted slab respecting the former one can be seen in the churchyard wall, near the gate.

it opened, to which he consented, and fixed next morning for that operation; took a view and sketch of the famous Croagh Patrick, which could be then fairly seen. See Plate."

This drawing forms No. 6 of the note book No. 4, and to it, as well as that of a second view in the same book (No. 7), the artist has added the description given below. The latter is a very pretty picture, and enables us by contrast with the present aspect from the same point of view, to judge of the great improvements made at Westport since; for what was then a mere wall, margining the shore, is now a flourishing quay.

"No. 6.—'View of Croagh Patrick, taken from the sea shore near Westport.' This mountain, one of the highest in Ireland, is famous for the residence St. Patrick made there, and from whence he expelled all venomous reptiles (as history tells us—*vide* Sir James Ware). The view from the summit is most extensive and delightful, having before one Clue Bay and its 400 islands, and for a background the mountains of the baronies of Erris and Tirawley. On the right Westport and Lord Altamont's domain; on the left the Islands of Achill, with the Island of Clara; and in the rear the wild and romantic Joyces' Country. This mountain forms the southern shore of Clue Bay, which the foot entirely occupies, being a distance of near eight miles, as I was told; the summit, in the form of a cone, is generally enveloped by clouds; and though it appears pointy, has a large area at its top, where there is a stone altar built, on which mass is said on the saint's day.[1] I believe it to have been formerly a volcano—at least it has very much the look of one, as may be seen by the drawing."

"No. 7.—'View of Clue Bay, taken from the rear of the house of the Earl of Altamont,' showing Croagh Patrick, the high island of Clara, on which, I was told, the inhabitants are about 1500 in number, and the extremity of Lord Altamont's park. All the points and headlands seen in this view are part of the numerous islands this bay contains, which are said to be 400 in number. They are of various extent and height; some are cultivated; some have trees and grass; others are mixed with rocks; others bare rocks (on which sea monsters [seals] lay basking in the sun, of which I saw many whilst I was sailing from Westport to Croagh Patrick). I thought to reckon them from the top of the mountain, but found it impossible—some appearing like a single island, when in fact they were separated by small channels, and others partly hid behind the high ones, so as to be half covered by the hill, and prevented the eye to distinguish whether they were joined or detached from it; beside, the whole is so confusingly arranged that one is bewildered, and I am certain it is impossible to count them from that eminence. At the left of the drawing is represented a wall, which was building; and since, I hear a quay and custom house has been erected there, to serve the town of Westport."

[1] And there I have seen the Black-bell, *clogh-dubh*, or "Bell of the Reek," exhibited, before I purchased it for the R. Irish Academy. *See* Wilde's "Lough Corrib," p. 197.

A railway now, 1870, proceeds to this precise locality. He then continues, under the same date—July 18th—in the large MS. book already referred to :—

"This mountain rises from the edge of the sea, in gradual slope, to a great height. Its summit is composed by a cone (called the Reek), which denotes it to have formerly been a volcano. This reek is generally hid in the clouds, except the day be extremely clear and serene."

"July 19th. After breakfast we set out with his Lordship and a large company of labourers, with all the tools required to blast and remove large stones. The top stone of the cromleagh was broke, and removed also its pillars or supporters; but, as the work went on slowly, the men working unwillingly, murmuring, and saying it was a sin to disturb the dead, his Lordship made them observe that the person buried there was not a Christian, but a heathen, which, being d—d, it was no sin to dig up his bones; to which they agreed, and fell to work with alacrity. At about four feet deep was found a kind of circle of paving stones, in the centre of which were bones which had been burned, some of them being sound in one end, but of a brown colour, and the other end like charcoal. The skull, though broke, was found, and, near it, a ball as round and of the size of a billiard ball, which, being washed and cleaned, appeared to us to be marble, which his Lordship kept. There were smaller bones found, and the jaw bones of an animal with tusks, which we supposed was his favourite dog. The circle of stones which contained these bones was about two feet diameter. Having thus assured ourselves that this monument was a mausoleum, and not a temple, we got the bones re-interred, and the grave covered, and one of the fragments of stone put over it."

And in the additional notes on the left-hand page of this memoir, after quoting Keating and other authorities respecting the ball of brains recorded in the history of Connal Cearnagh of Emania, already well known, he adds:—

"The opening of this monument, the bones found, &c., confirms that those circles of stones were mausoleums or burial places. In vain does Mr. O'Halloran insist that they were temples. I know it answers his purpose, but still it is an error, and a rash assertion, of which I am obliged to take notice."

He then gives a pen and ink sketch of the ground plan of the circle of pebbles or paving stones, which was two feet in diameter, while the tomb or chamber itself was about four feet deep under the centre of the top stone. Many of my readers will remember that the theory of the "altar" character of these circles and tumuli was advocated thirty years ago; and it was only when the discovery of the tumulus in the Phœnix Park in 1838 was brought under the notice of the Royal Irish Academy, that full converts were made to the fact of their being places of interment. Had Beranger's opinion been promulgated previously, it

would have hastened the period when exploration and fact superseded speculation and empiricism. The Diary is thus continued :—

"Dined at my Lord's in company with his brother the hon^ble^ John Brown, Collector of Newport, who told us that we were near being seized by the people of Burryshool, who had taken us for spies; that they had applied to him for an order to lodge us in jail, but that he had charged them at their peril not to molest us, as he knew our business—which accounted for their uncommon behaviour whilst we were amongst them. Settled our journey for next day to Murrisk or Morrisk Abbey, at the foot of Croagh Patrick, Mr. Brown having ordered the Revenue barge and crew to be ready for next morning early."

"July 20th.—Set out in the barge with Mr. Bigari; hoisted sail, navigated through Clew Bay, an Archipelago of near 400 islands, of various sizes, some wooded, some cultivated, and some bare rocks. We were delighted with the scene, and could not cease to admire that variety of objects. We had for guide his Lordship's sportsman, who was an excellent player on the German flute, and regaled us with music, which he now and then interrupted to fire at the sea monsters swimming about us; a heavy shower of rain interrupted our sport. We arrived at Murrisk, drew the Abbey and plain; rain again, took refuge in the house of Mr. Garvey, who insisted on our dining with him; dined heartily; rain continued heavily; were obliged to pass the night here; were very merry with the family, had the music of the German flute, and our crew singing and drinking in the kitchen. After supper, about ten, Mr. Bigary and I were surprised with a sudden and thundering noise, which made us think that Croagh Patrick was tumbling down, and going to bury us under its ruins; the company perceived our surprise, and told us that the noise we heard was occasioned by the torrents running down the mountain, dragging and carrying rocks and stones before them. Mr. Garvey offered to give us a sight of them, which we accepted, as the weather was fair. One of the torrents was running just by the side of the avenue, and even overflowed part of it. It would require the pen of a poet to describe the awful scene that presented itself to us. The thundering noise and roarings of torrents at various distances, heightened by the stillness of the night; the moon covered with clouds, which, gliding over it now and then, afforded us a sight of the immense region of Croagh Patrick, filled us with a kind of horror, which made us quake, though we were sure that there was no danger. We staid for some time looking and listening, and lost in contemplation, and returned home, the mind filled with the grand objects we had seen, which made us grave the whole evening."

"July 21st.—Got up early, and under the guidance of Mr. Garvey we ascended Cro. Pat. to the foot of the reek; there, turning about, we had a most glorious view, having before us Clew Bay and all its islands, and for back ground the mountains of Erris and Tyrawley. To the right Westport, and to the left the Islands of Achill, with the high Island of Clara, and in the rear Joyce's Country.[1] Mr. Bigary proposed mounting up the

[1] This is a popular topographical error—Joyce's Country extends from the Killeries to near Cong, and does not include the barony of Murrisk, south of the Reek.

Reek; but, as it was enveloped in clouds, which would have obstructed the view of any object, and would have wet our clothes, we over-ruled him, and descended the hill, having got a good appetite for our breakfast. Croagh Patrick is situated in the Joyce's Country, and forms the southern entrance of Clew Bay; it is very rocky, and affords some pasture for sheep. The Reek is composed of rock, which seemed to me divided in small stones, &c.; though the summit seems to terminate in a point, our interpreter (who went there to gain indulgences) told us that it is pretty flat, and forms a plain somewhat hollowed, where there is built a stone altar to say mass on the saint's day. See Anecdotes."

Here the narrator quotes Harris's edition of Ware respecting the Reek, and also M'Curtin—4to edition, Dublin, 1717, p. 17, and then adds in the diary:—

"Eat our breakfast, and walked about until 10, when our vessel was afloat. Took leave of the good family who had entertained us so well. Embarked and set sail, and arrived at Westport at 12; where, to our great joy, we found Mr. Irwin and his son arrived.

"22nd of July.—Rain all day, worked at our drawings."

Here Colonel Irwin had to leave them, and with true Irish liberality informed them that *their* portion of the account had been lost!

On the 23rd they set out for Ballinrobe, where they had letters for Mr. Gallagher, "Sub-sheriff to Lord Westport, eldest son to Lord Altamont." Then follows a short description of Westport, both the town and the residence. Beranger then gives an account of the barony of Erris, from information derived upon the spot. He was informed that there were no antiquities, and writes:—

"That if we intended to try it on uncertainty, we must leave our carriage, take horses and provisions, and penetrate into a vast tract of wilderness, composed of mountains and bogs, without town, village, or hamlet; where we would not even see a tree; that our lodgings must be in one of the cottages which we chanced to meet, there being now and then an odd one found where chance had left an arable spot; that wherever we found a cabin we must take a guide to the next one, and so on; that without this precaution we should be lost amongst the mountains and bogs, and that we should hasten our journey to the Mullet [Belmullet] the most western part of the barony, and the only one inhabited. That summer was the only time to undertake this journey, which in autumn and winter was impracticable. In regard to the inhabitants, we were told they were very hospitable, never shutting the doors of their cabins; that any poor stranger gone astray, or travelling along, might freely come in whether by night or day, and take his share of what the house afforded. All these difficulties made us lay aside the intention of penetrating in that country, since we were uncertain to find any antiquities there."

(*To be continued.*)

SIR EDMUND BUTLER OF THE DULLOGH, KNIGHT.

BY THE REV. JAMES HUGHES.

Sir Edmund Butler was the second son of James, the 9th Earl of Ormonde. He was born about the year 1534, and, as soon as he was able to bear arms, he began to serve the State, with all the zeal for which the house of Ormonde was remarkable. The Butlers of Ormonde had been long known, in Ireland, for their loyalty to the Crown and their many public services. Their devotion, in this respect, was particularly observable during the reigns of the Tudor princes, when the father and eldest brother of Sir Edmund, the 9th and 10th Earls, had been most successful in their opposition to the public enemies of the kingdom. Their merits not only brought them the favours and honours of the Crown, but also acquired for them more substantial benefits—namely, large grants of landed property, which the Government had then to bestow. After their example, Sir Edmund devoted himself to the service of his Sovereign against all rebels and traitors, though it afterwards happened that he joined a confederacy which put the English interest in the greatest peril, and the suppression of which cost the Queen a great deal of men and money.

His father, the 9th Earl of Ormonde, died in London in the year 1546, when Edmund was about twelve years of age. By his father's will he received the Dullogh—the western part of the barony of Idrone in the county of Carlow, which, with the Roscrea property, was considered to be worth £400 yearly. The 9th Earl had purchased the Dullogh from the Kavanaghs, and had no other title to it than that which they gave him. The Kavanaghs had been in the occupation of the lands before and since the Conquest; and their title had never been controverted, as far as they knew, until Sir Peter Carew put forward his claims in right of his ancestors, the lords of Idrone. It was in defence of this property against Sir Peter Carew that Sir Edmund came into conflict with the Government, and finally joined the rebels.

In the year 1562, the Crown put Sir Edmund in the commission of the peace for the county of Carlow, while the Deputy was absent against Shane O'Neil, in the North. About this period, also, he received[1] the return of all writs in the districts of Ormond, Elyogarty, and Elyocarroll, in Tipperary, and so high did he stand in the favour of the State, that he was knighted in 1567. He had done great service in Leix, against the O'Mores, who, at that time, were a great trouble to the Crown. In the conflict he slew Terelagh Mac Shane and Teage O'Dowlyn, and sent[2] their heads to the Lord Justice; and Cox says that at this time he pretended to act against James Fitzmaurice,[3] with whom he was afterwards in league. His rewards for these services were not confined to the honour of knighthood, which was conferred upon him "for the losse of his blod dyvers tymes," as he also received many grants of the monastic lands. In 1566, the Queen directed[4] the Deputy and Chancellor to give him a grant in fee farm of the monastery of Innistioge, in the county of Kilkenny, the monastery of Cahir, in the county of Tipperary, the priory of Connall, in the county of Kildare, the monks' land parcel of the Abbey of Baltinglass, and the late Abbey of Kilkilihine,[5] in the county of Kilkenny, or so much as should amount in value to 300 marcs a year. It appears that this grant was not made out, as we find a different

[1] Morrin, "Chancery Rolls," vol. i., p. 509.

[2] "Historical Notes," Ireland.

[3] Fitzmaurice was the famous leader of the Munster rebels. He was the grandson of the 14th Earl of Desmond, and commonly styled himself "James, the son of Maurice, the son of the Earl." In the absence of the 16th Earl and his brother John, he was the accredited head of the southern Geraldines, and all Desmond followed him as their leader. He not only endeavoured to win over to his cause the Irish chiefs and Anglo-Norman lords, but he also strove to enlist foreign powers in his behalf. His greatest military exploits were the storm of Kilmallock and the defence of Castlemayne.

His correspondence, edited by O'Donovan, is given in the "Kilkenny Arch. Society's Journal," vol. ii., New Series, p. 354. There are curious details concerning Fitzmaurice in the life of Sir John Perrott; and in Wright's "Ireland," vol. i., p. 436, is given the ceremony of his submission, in 1573, in the church of Kilmallock. Having landed on the Kerry coast, in 1579, he was proceeding over the Shannon, to the Burkes of Clanrickard, when he was slain in a skirmish by the eldest son of Sir William Burke. His body was hung in chains in Kilmallock, and his head was sent to the Deputy.

[4] Morrin, "Chancery Rolls," vol. i., p. 498.

[5] Kilkilihine, otherwise Kilcleheen, is in the county of Kilkenny, opposite the city of Waterford. It was a nunnery, founded in the year 1151, by Dermot, son of Murchadh, King of Leinster. By 26th Elizabeth, it was granted to the Mayor and Corporation of Waterford.

letter[1] in 1567, directing the Deputy and Chancellor to give him only a lease in reversion of the late monastery of Connall and of the Abbey of Innistioge, for sixty-one years, unto him and his heirs male, and so much of the possessions of the Abbey of Baltinglass as should amount to the sum of £140 yearly.

The Queen, to whom Sir Edmund was related,[2] showed her esteem for him by preventing his prosecution[3] in the matter of coyne[4] and livery, which he and his younger brothers rigidly exacted; and the Earl, when obliged to go to England, left the Palatinate[5] of Ormonde under his charge.

Alienated from the Deputy in the matter of coyne and livery, and refusing to serve against Fitzmaurice, whom the Government had declared a rebel and traitor, Sir Edmund, with his brothers Edward and Piers, began, in the year 1567, his disorderly proceedings. Sydney, in his progress through Munster, in this year, states that O'Magher's Country was devastated by the younger brethren of the Earl of Ormonde. Sir Edmund invaded the territories of Oliver Fitzgerald, in company with Piers[6]

[1] Morrin, "Chancery Rolls," vol. i., p. 509.

[2] The Queen and Sir Edmund were descended from the 3rd Earl of Ormonde. The Queen descended through the elder son, James, the 4th Earl; and Sir Edmund came through the younger son, Sir Richard Butler.

[3] Hamilton's "State Papers," vol. xviii., June 6, 1566.

[4] "The Verdyt of the Commyners of the towne of Kylkenny, Oct. 1537," charges the noblemen and gentlemen of the county and district with the maintenance of coyne and livery. It brings a similar accusation against the spiritual peers, the Bishop of Ossory, the Abbot of Jerpoint, the Abbot of Kilcooly in Tipperary, the Abbot of the Holy Crosse, the Prior of Kells, the Abbot of Duiske or Graignamanagh in the county of Kilkenny, and the Bishop of Leighlin. It was raised by them for the maintenance of soldiers, who were necessary for the defence of their country.—"Annuary of Kilkenny Arch. Society," vol. i., part II., 1868, p. 116.

This matter of coyne and livery was the first occasion of alienation between Sir Edmund and the Deputy. Sir Edmund was prosecuted for taking coyne and livery, and would probably have been punished, had not the Queen interfered. The Deputy insisted that not only should Sir Edmund himself give up the practice, but also that he should assist in suppressing it in others. Sir Edmund bitterly complained that, in suppressing coyne and livery, he was forced to ride up and down through the country "like a priest," that is, without the usual retinue and exactions of an Irish chieftain. Carew's "Calendar," vol. ii., p. 343.

[5] After Sir Edmund's pardon, in 1573, the Earl again appointed him one of the officers of the Palatinate. On this occasion, however, he associated others with him in the Commission—Lord Dunboyne, Richard Shee, John Talbot, and Tobyn, Sheriff of Tipperary. The Earl's officers had some differences with Sir John Perrott, and stood upon the rights and liberties of the Earl in his Palatine district, but the matter was settled by their yielding to the President.—"Life of Sir John Perrott," p. 86.

[6] Piers Grace spoiled the towns of Ormonde, in 1564. He received protec-

Grace, a notorious outlaw, who had inflicted many injuries on the Earl and Sir Edmund. In concert with his brother Edward, Sir Edmund harassed and spoiled the young Lord Dunboyne's property. Edward Butler, with a force of 1100 kerne, and bringing Piers, the eldest son of Sir Edmund, with him, invaded the country of M'IBrien Ara, who complained of the outrage in a letter to the Lord Justice. Piers Butler spoiled and preyed Lord Power's district in Waterford, while Edward Butler committed similar outrages in the White Knight's[1] territory; so that there was nothing but violence and disorder in Ormond and the neighbouring districts. This was the state of affairs from 1567 to 1568.

In January, 1569, Sir Edmund sat for some time in the second Irish Parliament of Elizabeth. He had certainly departed from Dublin by the month of April, as the Commissioners of Inquiry found him at that time in Clogrennan. His parliamentary conduct gave great offence to the Deputy, whose threats forced him to retire.

In June, 1569, Sir Edmund broke out into rebellion in concert with the Northern and Southern rebels, and carried on for three months a partisan warfare against the Queen's subjects. He submitted at the end of August, on the arrival of Ormonde, and lost, during that time, his

tion for a time, and when the period expired, he again gathered his followers to live like a highwayman or outlaw. The gentlemen of Tipperary and Kilkenny sought a pardon for him. He was an outlaw for eighteen years.—"Historical Notes," Ireland.

[1] John Fitzgerald, son of Thomas the Great, and commonly called John of Callan, as he was slain there, in 1261, was married twice. By his first wife he had Maurice, who fell with himself at Callan, in Desmond. This Maurice was the father of Tomas-an-Appa, and the ancestor of the Desmonds.

By his second wife, John of Callan had four sons, who are the ancestors of the Munster Fitzgeralds. The eldest son of the second wife, according to many, was Gilbert, or Gibbon, *a quo* FitzGibbon. His father made him a knight, by the name of the White Knight. His district was the present Condons, or Clan Gibbons, in the Co. Cork. The second son was Maurice, made Knight of Kerry, or the Black Knight. From him descended the Fitzgeralds of Alloone (Allen), in the Co. Kildare, now extinct; the Fitzgeralds, Palatine barons of Burnt Church, in the county Kilkenny; and the Fitzgeralds of Imokelly, in Munster. John, the third son, was made Knight of Glyn, or the Valley. Thomas, the fourth son, was the ancestor of several families of Fitzgeralds in Kerry and Limerick, the chief of them being the Fitzgeralds of the Island of Kerry.

John of Callan, their father, was Count Palatine of Desmond, and, by virtue of his royal seigniory, made three of his sons Knights. The family of the White Knight is extinct, but the Knights of Kerry and Glyn, in the male line, are represented by their descendants.—"Archdall's Lodge," vol. i., p. 61; "Burke's Landed Gentry," p. 480.

castle of Clogrennan, with the district of the Dullogh, besides many men who were accustomed to serve under the Earl. He had some compensation for these losses in the great spoils which he made, not only in the Pale, but in many of the neighbouring districts.

In September, 1569, he submitted to the Deputy at Limerick, and was brought before him in Dublin Castle in the following October. His violent attack on Sir Henry Sydney caused him to be thrown into prison, from which he escaped, but again submitted in February, 1570. The Parliament passed an Act of Attainder against him in this year. He was allowed to stand out on the Earl's recognisance, till the Queen's pleasure was known. Between 1570 and 1573 he served the State with great fidelity and ability against Fitzmaurice, and was pardoned, with his two brothers, in the October of 1573.

Sir Edmund married Eleanor Eustace, daughter of Rowland Lord Baltinglass, and sister of James, the third Viscount, who was attainted in Sir John Perrott's Parliament. He had four[1] sons, Piers, John, James, and Theobald, afterwards Lord Tullophelim. His father-in-law, Rowland Lord Baltinglass, was sent to him to prevent him from joining the rebels, but with little success. Though Sir Edmund got possession of Clogrennan again, he does not appear to have lived there. Probably it was in a dismantled and ruinous condition. Between 1580 and 1590, Sir Edmund died at Innistioge, in the county of Kilkenny, and was buried in the church of St. Canice.

That part of Sir Edmund's life which the following State Papers regard, and which was the most important, extended from 1567 to 1573. That time may be divided into four periods—the first comprising his disorderly proceedings in Ormonde and the neighbouring territories, and extending from 1567 to 1568; the second period refers to his parliamentary conduct from January to April, 1569; the third regards his rebellion, from June to the end of August, 1569; and the last extends from

[1] Besides the four sons above named, Sir Edmund had a natural son, who joined the party of Viscount Baltinglass in the rebellion of the Pale.—See Notes by Malbie, "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts," vol. ii., p. 311.

his submission, in September, 1569, to his formal pardon in October, 1573.

The Deputy having returned from England in October, 1568, and having been informed of the violent and disorderly proceedings in which Lord Ormonde's brothers had been engaged, sent for Sir Edmund. He pretended to obey the summons, but still contrived not to present himself. At the same time, he affected to be justified in all which he had done. The Deputy, finding that Sir Edmund would not comply with his invitation, and that the cry for redress from the injured was becoming louder, sent Commissioners to make, at the scene of these outrages, local inquiries into the charges against Sir Edmund and his brothers. They were empowered to examine witnesses, and to make a report or declaration thereon to the Government. The Commissioners appointed were—Luke Dillon,[1] the Queen's Majesty's Attorney, John Thomas, the Chief Remembrancer, and Edward Fitzymon, Justice of the County of Wexford. Their declaration referred to the events between 1567 and 1568. Their journey was made in April, 1569, and their report was presented in June, 1569. They then drew it up from memory, and in all probability would not have been required to do so, had not Sir Edmund then joined the rebellion. The following is the declaration of the Commissioners, taken from the Irish Records in the London State Paper Office. It gives a sad description of the miserable state of the country.

"*The declaration of Luke Dillon, the Quene's Ma^tie^ Atturney, John Thom^as^, her Chiffe Remembrancer, and Edward Fitzymon, Justice of the countie of Wexford, Commissioners appointed by the right honorable Sir Henry Sydney, Knight of the moste noble order of the garter and L. Deputie of Ireland, of such parte of their proceadinges in that commission as concerne S^r^ Edmunde Butler, Edwarde and Piers Butler, the Ladie of Dunboine, S^r^ Will'm O' Carroll, and M^c^IBren Arra.*

"13 *Ap'll*

"1. First in our jorney from Dublin we cam to Sir Edmunde's house of Cloghgrenan in the county of Catherlagh the 13^th^ of Aprill, and delivered him yo^r^ L. Lr̃es, parte of the contentes thereof as we remember beinge for attendaunce upon us, and our salf conducte in the contrie under the Earl his brother's rule: he promised to accomplishe the same, and the next

[1] Luke Dillon was son of Sir Robert Dillon of Newtown, Co. Meath, Judge of the King's Bench. In 1567 he was the Queen's Attorney, and in 1572 was made Chief Baron. Sydney so trusted him, that he used to call him "meus fidelis Lucas."

day we departed to Kilkenny to kepe cessions there, and from thence we sent to the Ladie of Dunboyne, Edwarde Butler, M^c^Ibrien Ara and Sir Willm̃ O'Caroll advertism^t^ of our commission, the severall tymes and places when and where we mente to deale for endinge and determininge of their causes, all w^ch^ ℔res and advertism^t^ were to either of them delyverid accordinglie.

"2. We gave Sir Edmunde Butler then knowledge, that in o^r^ returne from Waterforde, where we went to contynewe fyve daies for holdinge cessions there, and endinge of suche controversies as in that tyme we might, we wolde take the Erle's house[1] of the Carrig in our way to the countie of Tipperarie, to thende both he and Edwarde w^t^ the gentlemen and freholders of the countie of Tipperarie might meete us there, and conducte us to Feddert, where we ment, accordinge of our former determination to them by ℔res sygnified, after cessions ther holden, to heare and determine the causes betwixt the said Sir Edmunde, Edwarde, and the Ladie of Dunboyne; Sir Edmunde said, he wolde not be there him selfe, but that the gentlemen and freholders should not fail to be there, but when we cam to the Carrig, neither the one, nor the other cam to us, so as we were faine to ride to Feddert w^t^hout any conducte, although Sir Edmunde admonished us at our first metinge, that the way was dangerouse and not passable wi^t^out good conducte; whether he so said to the ende we shoulde not holde on our jorney or not, we cannot presiselie say, but we had cause as we thought, not to thinke our selfs well dealt w^t^hall.

"3. After cessions holden and ended at Feddert, the Ladie of Dunboine produced witnesses, w^ch^ proved the substance in effecte of her complaint against the said Sir Edmunde, w^ch^ for the more parte did consiste in levienge of exactions, and spendinge of the landes of her and the younge baron of Dunboyne her sonne; and although the same seemed to us verie intollerable, and a greate occasion of povertie of the poore people, who made pitefull exclamac̃on for redresse of it, yet for that Sir Edmunde alleged the same to have been don at such tyme as he had comission of the L.L. Justice's for service in the contrie, we forbare to proceade against him, although we knewe any service either don or then necessary to be don, might well be atchieved w^t^hout committinge dyvers of those offences w^ch^ then were complayned of.

"4. The complainte against Edwarde were in manner confessed, and by conference betwixt the Ladie and him determined to be frendlie compounded, the composic̃on was, that she frelie forgave all that was past, so as from thencefurth he wolde faithfully swere not to use the like, and if he did, she to have the benefit of her said complaint against him, the same composic̃on notw^t^standinge: and although those extorc̃ons of Edwards were very outragious and excessyve, and w^t^ the misdemenor of others (the chief cause as we tooke it of the miserable estate of the contrie), as was by their unfained and piteous exclamac̃ons affirmed, yet we forbore to deale w^t^ him, till we had perceyved how the most henious matteres against him, complained of, wolde fall out, wherin our Instruc̃ons bare us so to do.

"5. Duringe our beinge at Feddert, we receyved from Edmunde Poere, of Mothell, in the countie of Waterforde, grevous complaint against Piers Butler, declaringe that certaine of the said Peirs his kerne to the nomber of [*blank*] w^ch^ the day before were in the said Peirs is

[1] See note "Kilkenny Arch. Society's Journal," vol. iv., New Series, p. 277.

companie, had assalted the said Power in the churche of the [*blank*] in the countie of Tipperary, and wolde have burnt him and his companie in the said churche, and tooke from him 9 horses, Peirs himself at the time of his assalt being not farre off, and when he perceyved that the said Edmonde Power stood to his defence, dissembled a counterfait rescue of the said Edmonde power, and had him furth upon his saulf conducte, but he refused to prosecute the said kerne, or yet to gett restitucõn of the spoile taken w^ch^ he might have don, as the said Power affirmed.

"6. At the same time, we had intelligence by certaine men of Clõmell, that the saide peirs was directlie to be charged with the pray of Kilmaynyn, in the pursute after such as took the said pray 7 or 8 honest burgesses of Clomell were slaine.

"7. We were informed likewise, that Peirs was in personne at the pray taken from Philip m^c^Rerie, w^ch^ Philip was then w^t^ Sir Edmunde in our companie, suinge to the said Sir Edmunde Butler for restitucõn, and the said Philip declared to us, that Sir Edmunde had secretlie promised him restitucõn of one hundred kyne of the said pray, w^ch^ some of us advised him to take, for eschewinge the daunger of impudent deniall accustomed in cases of plaine apparance by those unrulie pray takers.

"28 *Ap'll.*

"8. We cam to Templemore the 28 of Aprill, where we appointed M'Ibrien Ara to bring his witnesses, and there we receyved his lres, declaringe he durste not repaire thither for feare (as he termid it) of the Butlers.

"9. Whereupon we sent him lres by his said messenger willinge him w^t^ his witnesses to be with us on friday following beinge the 30^th^. of Aprill at Roskree, w^ch^ was the place and tyme appointed for hearinge the witnesses of Sir Willm Ocarroll, and Edward Butler.

"10. When we came to Roskree, Edwarde had no witnesses there, nor wolde be persuaded to produce any thither, affirmīge his witnesses were farre off in Ormonde. And requested us to go to the Enagh in Ormonde, to heare his witnesses, M'Ibrien Ara cam to us accordinge to our apointm^t^ w'hout any witnesses, and answerid as before, that he coulde not w'hout perill, bringe his witnesses thither, but said he wolde bring them to the said Ennagh in Ormond. Whereupon we determined to take Sir Willm Ocarrolls proves there at Roskree accordinge our first conclusion. And further, that we wolde be at Enagh, w^ch^ is distant thence 19 miles, by 12 of the clocke on Saterday, being the last of Aprill, and all that day after attende the hearinge of Edwarde Butlers proves, and the next day after, to examyne M'Ibrien Ara is witnesses; w^th^ this order both Edwarde and M'Ibrien Ara seemed well pleased.

"11. After this order taken, Sir Edmunde, Edwarde, and Peyrs, tooke their leave of us, affirming they wolde departe to Ennagh to have their witnesses in rediness against our cominge the next day, leavinge us behinde examininge of Ocarroll's proves. They had in their companie, as we judged, about 40 or 50 horsemen and 200 kerne.

"12. Not long after their departure ther cam to us in greate haste, to the place where we sat examininge Ocarroll's proves, from Sir Edmunde Butler, as he said, one Purcell cõmonlie called the Baron of Loughmoue, who affirmed in Sir Edmunde's behalf, that Sir Willm Ocarroll had laid an ambushm^t^ of horsemen and footmen in the said Sir Edmundes way, as he shoulde passe, and that Edwarde espienge two of the said horsemen

upon an hill shakinge theire speres, was of himself, against Sir Edmund's will and contrarie to his comandm^t, gon after them, and doubted there wolde be some killed eare he returned; we went furth presentlie a flight shot from thouse, and sent for Sir Edmunde from amonge his horsemen w^ch stood in aray upon an height, not full half a mile from the towne. And when he cam to us, we founde falt w^th this matter, he answerid as before was reported to us by the Baron of Loughmooe, and cursed Edwarde, prainge God he might never returne, for he was gon against my will said he; we willed that so soon as Edmunde were come, that both they wolde speake w^th us. And so we w^tdrewe into the house about our busines. Not long after Sir Edmunde sent us woorde, that Edwarde was returned, and we were informed, that two of Sir Willm Ocarroll's men (beinge the best householders in his countrie) were by Edwarde and his men slaine. Thereupon we went to the place where we lefte Sir Edmund, for they wolde not come to the place where we were. And Sir Edmunde, Edwarde, and one more on horseback cam to us, levinge the rest of their horsemen and kerne not far distant.

"13. At our meetinge, Edward seminge collorablie to excuse this outragious slaughter, contrarie to that was before declared to us by the Baron of Loughmooe and by Sir Edmund affirmed, he said that where he had two of his plowghes, plowinge certaine of his own grounde, not far thense, some of Ocarroll's horsemen and footmen forciblie unyoked his ploughes, and dreeve away w^th them his garrans, w^ch when he perceyved he pursuide to rescue his garrans, and in the pursuite two were slaine, the contrariety of his sayinge from the Baron of Loughmooe's former messadge w^ch Sir Edmunde affirmed was apparant; nevertheless as then we thought not convenient to reprehend it, yet we declared unto him the murder or slaughter of these men was unexcusable. Albeyt it were no otherwise don then he himself declared, and that we were assured your L. wold take it in evill parte. Edwarde then offred to lay himself in our handes (for so he termed it), so as Sir Willm Ocarroll wolde put in our handes his son Teige, w^ch was chief causer of all their controversies (as he affirmed) as pledge to performe any order that shoulde be taken, w^ch he wolde of his parte performe thoughe it cost him his life: we accepted his offer, and tolde him that we wolde move Ocarroll to have his sonne delivered to us, and so they departed to Enagh.

"14. We commanded them to kepe the peace for there was no tyme to take bandes of them.

"15. At our returne, we finished the examinac̃on of Sir Willm Ocarroll's witnesses, by w^ch the invasion of his contrie w^th banner displaied, the cruell murthers, slaughteres, burninges, robberies, praies and spoiles by him complained of against Edwarde and his men, were directly proved w^t other beastly accidentes, that then happenid, over foule and lothsome to be harde recited.

"16. After these examinations taken, we called for all suche as were able to testifie concerninge the murther of the said two men, and had them sworne, and their depositions written, by w^ch and other intelligence we had it appered that Ocarroll to the intent to have his people come safely to us to be examined, had his sonne Teige Ocarroll w^t 8 horsemen, whereof 5 were unarmed, and 32 kerne or there aboute, to waite in the frontier or edge of his own countrie distant from Roskree 2 miles and half, and that the said two horsemen, w^ch Edwarde and his companie persued,

came onlie to salfe conducte 5 men and a woman, wife to one of the 5 men w^ch^ were cominge to Roskree. And when those that were on foott sawe the two horsemen assailed by Edwarde, doubtinge what might chance to themselves, they made towarde a woode or fastnes neare, and when Edwarde nor his horsemen colde overtake the said two horsemen of Ocarroll, they returned to the said men on footte, and murdered two of them out of hande, Edwarde being present, and as some of the witnesses affirmed, w^t^ his owne handes strake one of them. The woman was left naked after the murther of her husband and the other three like to have ben slaine but for some alliance they had to some of Edwarde's men, but they were taken prisoners, and after enlarged.

"17. By the said deposic̃ons, and other directe knoledge w^ch^ we had there, it appered to us that the murder was comitted before the plowghes were unyoked, and after by Edwarde's owne men the plowghes were losed, and the garrans driven away.

"18. The next day, we took bande of Ocarroll that his son Teige should mete us at our return to Dublin, for performance of suche order as your L. or any other by your appointment wolde take in those matters. And that he and his followers, and servants, shoulde kepe her Majesty's peace to the Erle of Ormond, his bretheren, tennants, followers, and servants, w^ch^ we perceyved he was verie like to do; for upon the comittinge of the said murdere as we were informed, he sent his commandm^t^ to all his contrie, not to attempt any thing against any of the Earle is Bretherne their tennants, or followers.

"19. After we repaired toward Ennagh, and came there about 12 of the clocke in the forenoone, mindinge at afternoone to examine Edward Butler's witnesses, accordinge to our order, but at our cominge, we founde him otherwise occupied, for the same verie morninge his brother Sir Edmunde, the said Edwarde, and Peirs with 60 horsemen and 60 galloglasse and kerne (as we were informed) were entrid into M^c^Brien Ara's contrie, to cut certaine passes within the same contrie, which they did against the will of the said Ibrien Ara, and burned the wood, so that we sawe not Edwarde untill it was towardes night; the same day came unto us M^c^Ibrien Ara is messenger, and declared that his master's countrie was spoilled, his passes cut against his will, his people all fledd out of their houses into the woods, and mountaines, for feare of the army (as he termede it), so that he colde not in any shorte tyme gather them together. We sent him woorde to be w^t^ us in the morninge promisinge that Peirs Butler and the Constable of Ennagh shoulde salf conducte him, upon w^ch^ promise he came and brought some of his witnesses w^t^ him, thoughe not all, yet sufficient to serve the turn.

"20. The said M^c^Ibrien Ara proved the spoiles made by the said Edwarde's men, but not in some things to so greate a value as was alleged in the complainte, the robbinge of the Churches don by his men, the ravishinge of the women, the burninge of the towne, and certaine children in it, don by the said Edwarde's men, but not to the nomber of so many as are contayned in the said complainte, and also the killinge of his cozen Teige M^c^Doughy Rowe O'Brien.

"21. Before we departed Ennagh, we commanded Edwarde in the presence of Sir Edmund, to make him redie to repaire w^t^ us to Dublin, w^ch^ he said he was evill able to do, and after many excuses by him made, and by us disallowed, he condiscended to come in our company to Dublin: on

Sunday at night Sir Edmund, his brother Peirs, and we came to the Baron of Loughmooe's house, and so after us cam Edwarde, w^t a greate nomber of kerne, w^ch pilfred and spoiled the poore people of the towne, so as all night we had but howlinge and crienge; in the morninge we soaght the redresse of it, w^ch colde not prevaile.

"22. Consideringe what (as affore is written) we herde of Peirs and the generall clames that was against his extorc̃on neadelesse spendinge of the countrie and mantainings of evill men, we determined to trayne him w^t us to Kilkenny, and there to comitt him, w^ch w^thout danger we colde not have don before we came thither; but at our departure from the Barron of Loughmooe his house, Peirs was sore sick in his bed, or so fained himself, w^ch prevented our purpose.

"23. Edwarde Butler accompanied us untill he cam to the moore[1] called Monelay, where he made petic̃on unto us to license him to departe home againe, and he wolde presentlie come after us to Dublin, we refused to answer his demande untill we were over the moore, and so sone as we cam on the hard grounde, we called him unto us, and willed him to shewe us the cause wherefore he desired to returne; he colde alledge non, but want of money w^ch we presentlie offred him, w^th good persuac̃ons to shewe himself a good and loyall subjecte to the Quene; no persuac̃ons wolde serve, either of us or any of his friends. In the ende we determined that Master Atturney, shoulde charge him upon his dewtie of allegience to goe w^t us, declaringe unto him what daunger it was to disobey that comandm^t if it were geaven by one havinge authoritie from the prince, not w^thstanding he departed against our wills.

"24. To stay him by force we colde not, for Sir Edmunde havinge 16 horsemen in his companie, dispersed them in the countrie before, so that then he had but two horsemen; he alleged unto us the cause was for that he wolde not burden the countye of Kilkenny w^t them, and so the whole nomber of horsemen were Edwarde's w^ch were in nomber 12.

"25. To comitt him at any tyme, we were not able, for he never came to us after the examinac̃on of Ocarroll's matter, where occasion was ministred to comitt him, but with such strength of horsemen and kerne, as we colde never have any advantage of him.

"26. For taking sureties of him for his apperance before your honours, his doings were so evill, as no man wolde enter into bande for him.

"27 The said Edwarde observid no tyme or place appointed for bringinge of witnesses to prove the contente of his complainte. And Sir Willm̃ Ocarroll, M^cBrien Ara and their followers affirmed openlie, that those practises were experimental by Sir Edmunde, Edwarde, and Peirs to disapoint, or at least disturbe the taking of the proves of the said Ocarroll and M^cIbrien Ara.

"28. The com̃on voice of the people was, that unles their uttrages and wilfull attempts might be w^tstande, they wolde overthrow all the good subjects in these partes, and leave the countries waste; and to prevent it, and for safe guard of them, divers required us to move your L. that Edwarde and Peirs might be sent to come and remaine at Dublin, w^ch we told your L. at the Newrie, when we made reporte of the reste of oure proceadinge in that jorney.

"29. Sir Willm̃ Ocarroll sent his sonne Teig accordinge the tenor

[1] Marked as "Monely Bog" in Petty's Map, which is given by Cox in "Hib. Angl."

of his bonde, w^th^ after returned homewards, for that the said Edwarde came not.

"30. And this is the some of all our proceadings in that jorney touchinge the matters before recited, so neare as we can call to our remembrance.

"31. At our first cominge to Kilkenny, Sir Edmunde Butler upon some occasion was in collar, and said, that your L. trusted him not, and that if occasion happenid (his dutie saved to her Majesty and the Governor) he wolde serve Sir Henry Sydney accordinglie, w^th^ divers others inorderlie speeches, w^ch^ for that as then we mente not to reporte them, and now we cannot directlie remember what they were.

"32. Nevertheless, after he had ben w^th^ us in the countie of Tipperary a while, and as we then tooke it, by reason of suche persuac̃on as we made to him, seemed verie desirous to reconcile himself to your L., and required that it wolde please your L. to forget any thing conceyved against him, and if you wolde, that ther was not in all this lande, any that with more faithfull herte and good will woulde serve your L., whereof we were glad and all that jorney shewed himself outwardlie to us in apperance the same man that he professed. And at our departure from him on this side Catherlaghe, when we tooke our leave, after his commendac̃ons in verie hartie manner willed to be done to your L. he required that we wolde not forget to testifie his reconciliac̃on to your honour, but also to procure yours to him, and with that, the teares rowled in his eyes, as before we declared to your L. at the Newry, and this was the cause we moved your L. to write to him in lovinge and friendlie maner, as your honour did from the Neurie.

"A trew copie examined.

"E. Molyneux."

This declaration of the Commissioners shows the miserable and distracted state of the Earl of Ormonde's territories, and of the adjoining districts. Their report also brings out the difference of character in the brothers, which was borne out by subsequent facts. Throughout the whole journey, the Commissioners seem to have been overreached, but not deceived.

After these disorderly proceedings in 1567–1568, in which Sir Edmund and his brethren were engaged, comes the second period, regarding the Parliament in which Sir Edmund greatly incensed the Deputy. This Parliament commenced its sittings in January, 1569, and Sir Edmund took particular care to discountenance and oppose the measures of the Deputy.

The second Irish Parliament[1] of Queen Elizabeth was

[1] The Acts of this Parliament are the first which were printed of the Irish Statutes. The credit of this is due to Sir Henry Sydney, who says — "Now approached the Parliament, in which what Acts were made may appear and be extant in the printed book of Statutes, of which printing I was the first author, I am sure to the benefit of the subjects of that land." "Calendar of the Carew MSS.," p. 350.

The list of Members of this Parliament is not given.

summoned in the latter part of the year 1568, by Sir Henry Sydney; and with one great exception regarding coyne and livery, the laws passed therein had little influence[1] or effect. One of its greatest objects was to abolish coyne and livery. This it did so effectually, that no attempt to enforce it was ever afterwards made in the kingdom. The tax substituted in its place caused, however, for many subsequent years, great troubles and discontent. The rest of the legislation of this Parliament was quite ineffectual, as we may see by examining its enactments.

One of its principal objects was to attaint Shane O'Neil, to abolish the name of the O'Neil, and to vest his property in the Crown. Laws to carry out these purposes were duly made, yet the name of the O'Neil was held by Turloch Lynoch, with whom afterwards the State was frequently in treaty; and as to the property, it did not fall into the hands of the Crown till the flight of Tyrone in James the First's time.

This Parliament also abolished the Irish captainries, and thereby caused great discontent among the Irish chiefs, and disposed them to revolt. The State expected by this measure to loosen, if not to destroy, the dependence of the people on the heads of the clans; and yet in a later session of this same Parliament, the value of this legislation was greatly weakened, because the Deputy was empowered to regrant these Irish captainries with their privileges to any chief applying for them, and to the few who did make application they were willingly given.

It also enabled the Deputy to accept the surrender of their lands from the Irish, and to regrant them to be held of the Crown according to English tenure. This did not effect much good, for whenever such grant was made, it affected only the head of the clan, who thus became an English tenant, instead of being an Irish chief; but all the other gentlemen of the clan, the commons, and the dependants, were untouched by this measure, and remained as before, holding their lands and giving their service after the Irish fashion.

This Parliament also sanctioned the division of Mun-

[1] Sir John Davies' "Tracts," p. 189.

ster and Connaught into shires; and yet in Connaught, for many years afterwards, no writs ran in the counties, and no judges held sessions or courts of assize. The province was governed by a President and Council, and martial law more frequently prevailed in it than the rule of the civil courts. In a word, the most of the legislation of this Parliament had little effect, except in exciting general distrust and hostility. The ecclesiastical element did not come in, as this Parliament was not concerned with Church affairs, excepting the grant to the Deputy for ten years of the nomination of the dignitaries in Munster and Connaught. What most excited the enmity of the Irish chiefs and gentlemen was the abolition of the captainries, and of coyne and livery, because that struck at the root of their military power.

The legislation of this Parliament was not only disliked, but its very constitution was objected to, by the Irish and Anglo-Irish who sat in it, amongst whom was Sir Edmund Butler. The Deputy, wishing to have a majority favourable to his own views, interfered[1] in the elections. The result was, that the Court party were in a large majority. The Irish members of the House, who were chiefly Catholic, immediately[2] objected to the constitution of the assembly, as some of the members were returned for towns not incorporated; some others, who were mayors and sheriffs, had returned themselves; and others were returned for boroughs where they had never resided, as the law required. The Judges, admitting the validity of the first and second objections, disallowed the third, and by this decision the Government party were still in a majority. This had the effect of exasperating the feelings of the minority, and of heightening their opposition.

Foremost in this opposition was Sir Edmund Butler. His answer to Devawe shows his feelings on the subject—"Sooner than agree to the Parliament proceedings of the Deputy, he would be torn with wild horses." His example naturally had great weight, as he was the chief representa-

[1] Maclean's "Life of Sir Peter Carew," Hist. Introduction, p. civ.

[2] See Cox, "Hibernia Anglicana," Part I., p. 329.

tive of the landed interest in the Commons. His opposition annoyed the Deputy so much, that he received[1] Sir Edmund in the Presence Chamber in the Castle, "rayling and skolding him so as to make him afraid to look on him." It was here, also, that Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick insulted Sir Edmund. In the end, the Deputy, exasperated by Sir Edmund's opposition in Parliament, and by his refusal to surrender his land to Sir Peter Carew, threatened him so much, that Sir Edmund thought it necessary to retire into the country, notwithstanding his privilege of Parliament.

The third period is the rebellion of Sir Edmund in the summer of 1569. To consider this rightly, we must go back to that which was the chief cause of it—namely, the suit of Sir Peter Carew in 1568; and it would be also desirable to see the three different attempts through Devawe, Baltinglass, and Sweetman, which were made to dissuade Sir Edmund from his enterprise, after his flight from Parliament.

The dissensions between the Deputy and Sir Edmund regarding coyne and livery, the revolt of Fitzmaurice, the turbulent proceedings in Ormond, and the Parliamentary opposition, would have never driven the latter into violent courses, were it not for the adverse decision of the Deputy and Council in the suit of Sir Peter Carew. Sir Edmund's attachment to the Queen, to whom he constantly appealed, the many favours which he received from the Crown, and his family's traditional loyalty, would have kept him in submission, had not a great sense of injustice induced him to abandon these interests, and to ally himself with the hereditary[2] enemies of his house. The injustice done him consisted in the arbitrary decision given by the Deputy and Council, by which Sir Peter Carew was awarded the Dullogh or western Idrone, the chief part of Sir Edmund's property. The decision so unfavourable to Sir Edmund was given on 17th December, 1568, and Davells, Sheriff of Carlow, gave possession of the whole barony to Sir Peter before Christmas.

Sir Peter Carew claimed the barony in right of his

[1] Maclean's "Carew," Intr., p. cvii.

[2] The Geraldines of Munster.

ancestors, the Carews, who were the Lords of Idrone. In Harris's[1] "Hibernica" it is stated that the grand-daughter of Strongbow, Margaret, Countess of Norfolk, who owned the county of Carlow, gave the barony of Idrone by certain services in fee to the family of the Carews. By an Inquisition taken in the time of Richard II., it appears that Sir John and Sir Leonard Carew, who lived in the reign of Edward III., died seised of this barony. To these Carews Sir Peter claimed to be the heir.

From the genealogy of the Carews in the Lambeth MSS., which corresponds with that recorded in the Herald's College, it appears that Nicholas Carew, who was summoned to the Parliament at Lincoln in 1300, and who died in 1312, was married to Avice, daughter and heiress of Digon, the acknowledged Lord of Idrone. This Digon derived the property by descent from Margaret, Countess of Norfolk. Until the time of Richard II., the Barons Carew were called, and answered for the rents, in the Royal Exchequer, and at that time, in consequence of the general rebellion, and of the weakness of the central Government, the Kavanaghs kept it by the strong hand. Sir Peter Carew now came forward to resist their usurpation, and to re-enter on the property of which his ancestors had been unjustly deprived.

As Sir Peter's claim comprehended the whole barony, he was opposed by the principal men of the Kavanaghs, five in number, who inhabited Idrone East, as also by Sir Edmund Butler, who was the owner of Idrone West.

The reply of the Kavanaghs to Sir Peter's suit was, first, a demur to the jurisdiction of the court; and, secondly, a proof of title to their property, by showing their descent from Dermod-na-gal, King of Leinster. In their case there was not much weight in the first objection, as it is very doubtful whether the Kavanaghs, being mere Irish, would have had a better chance in the ordinary Courts of Law in Ireland, constituted as they then were of Englishmen, than in the peculiar court in which the matter was settled, namely, by the Deputy and Privy Council.

Their second plea was regarded as vain and frivolous,

[1] Notes on Regan's "Fragment of the History of Ireland," p. 30.

as it was said that they could not inherit any property from Dermod, King of Leinster. He had but one legitimate child, Eva, from whom they were not descended. To this it might be said that their illegitimate descent might have been a bar to them in English law, but not according to the Brehon code, which prevailed amongst the Kavanaghs, and which made no distinction between legitimate and illegitimate sons in regard of the succession of property. Judgment, however, was given against the Kavanaghs.

In their case, this was the reality. The Kavanaghs dwelt in Idrone before and after the Conquest. Strongbow, and Earl Marshal, his son-in-law, and Digon their successor, held it by the sword, and forced a reluctant obedience from the inhabitants, whenever they could. On the decay of the English interest in Ireland after the time of Richard II., and during the English wars of the Roses, the Kavanaghs maintained their independence, and were ready to give an armed resistance to any claimant on their property. During this time, they had never heard of the Carews, nor paid them tribute in money or kind, nor given them service, military or otherwise. Now, when the royal power was reviving in Queen Elizabeth's reign, Sir Peter Carew, having the influence and power of the Government to sustain him, came and seized on Idrone under the guise of law, but in reality by the power of the sword.

Sir Edmund Butler did not attempt to show his right to Idrone West, but denied the competency of that Court, which was about to try the title to his land. He had no better title than the Kavanaghs, his father Lord Ormonde having acquired the property from them. His object was to have the case tried before the proper tribunal, which was the Court of Common Pleas, or any of the other ordinary superior Courts, and if judgment were given against him there, he was willing to surrender; but he had every hope, founded on the prejudice against Sir Peter's claims, and on the interest and sympathy felt for himself by all classes and races, that no such adverse decision would take place.

The Government determined not to give this advantage

to Sir Edmund, and accordingly resolved to have the matter tried before the Deputy and Privy Council, and not by any of the ordinary superior courts. This step was not taken without some hesitation, as the general opinion of lawyers was against such a proceeding. The Judges being consulted were, at first, unfavourable to the Deputy's views, but afterwards gave judgment in secret, that it was competent for the Queen's representative and Privy Council to try such a case. This was in effect decisive for Sir Peter's success, as the Deputy and Privy Council immediately determined the cause in his favour. This was the injustice of which Sir Edmund Butler complained, namely, the usurpation of the jurisdiction of the ancient courts of the kingdom. This was his justification for the rebellion in which he engaged. His continual complaint and great grievance were, the injustice of the Deputy, and the seizure of his property without any process of law.

It is true that in litigated cases concerning land, which arose in countries made colonies, or formed into plantations, the Sovereign or her representative had jurisdiction and authority, but the county of Carlow was neither a colony nor a plantation. It was then regular shire ground. Davells was the Queen's Sheriff in the county, and the Queen's writ ran in the district. To take then a litigated case of land in this county out of the ordinary courts of law was to usurp their jurisdiction, and to interfere with the administration of justice.

This mode of proceeding was not only unjust and unwarranted by the state of the kingdom, but, considering the actual position of affairs, was exceedingly impolitic. Sir Peter's claims were very numerous, especially to lands in Munster. The possessors of these lands, who were some of the most powerful of the southern chiefs, became agitated and excited on hearing the decision against Sir Edmund Butler. Their property was thereby rendered very insecure, for if Sir Christopher Cheevers, in the heart of the Pale, and Sir Edmund Butler, English by blood, and of ancient lineage, of great connexions in the kingdom, and with great influence at Court, could be thus dispossessed of their estates, the claimed property lying in

the Irish districts would fall an easy prey to the cupidity and ability of Sir Peter Carew.

The gentlemen against whom Sir Peter had claims were not the only persons concerned. In effect, every landed proprietor was touched by this mode of proceeding which the Deputy adopted, for if any of them became obnoxious to the Government, either from religious or political reasons, they could in this Court, under show of technicalities, deprive him of his estate. This new principle was of its own nature calculated to beget distrust and to excite hostility at all times; but to insist upon it at that time in particular, seems to have been impolitic, for the Crown had then enough of enemies to contend against, without raising up, for the sake of Sir Peter Carew, a new and powerful one in the house of Butler. All Desmond was then in revolt under the leadership of Fitzmaurice. The north, which was far from being subdued, was ready to act against the State under Turloch Leynoch, the next O'Neill. The Burkes and the O'Connors of the west were disaffected, and it appears to have been very unwise, in this position of affairs, to have made an enemy of the house of Butler, hitherto the unwavering ally of the Crown, in order to advance the doubtful claims of Sir Peter Carew. The events which followed showed how unwise this policy was, as they led to "the Butlers' warres."

Some few years afterwards, when the rebellion was over, and when the opposition was less formidable and dangerous than it had been in 1569, Sir Peter urged on the Queen the further prosecution of his claims, in regard to his Munster property. Her reply to his suit was his recall to England, lest, through his means, new troubles and disturbances should be excited in Munster. This was a departure from, and a condemnation of, the policy of 1569, and a virtual acknowledgment that it had produced bitter fruits. It was, however, in 1572 that Sir Peter's suit was placed on its proper footing by Sir John Perrott,[1] then

[1] Sir John Perrott is commonly said to be a natural son of Henry VIII., by Mary Berkeley, who held the place of maid of honour in the Queen's Court. Naunton broadly states the fact, and says that his picture, his gestures, and his voice greatly resembled those of the King. However that may be, he was one of the greatest Englishmen who came to Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth. His valour, wisdom,

President of Munster, who, when consulted on the subject, advised "that her Highness the Queen should take his title into her hands, and give him some piece of land in England, and that he wished the matter to proceed no farther, till time would more aptlie serve."

In the President's letter,[1] he clearly shows the impolicy and want of wisdom there had been in allowing Sir Peter's suit, in 1568, to be urged against Sir Edmund Butler. "But yet my L. as one that wissheth well unto your L^p^ government and to the State, I am to put you in remembrance what sturres grew on the like occasion, offered in the late L. Deputie S^r^. Henry Sydney's time (yea by such a one as was civilly brought up, having great frinds and other means to tye him to obedience) when that tytle was had in question, the flame of which fire could never be quenched untill within these xiii. dayes."

Ever afterwards, during the life of Sir Peter, the State refused to allow the prosecution of his claims, except by way of peaceful composition.

The ill-advised and unjust decision of the Deputy and Council, by which Sir Peter Carew received the barony of Idrone, or, as Lord Ormonde expressed it, "these rash dealings in matters of land," made Sir Edmund think of open resistance, and join the confederacy then spread like a network over the kingdom.

and ability were unfortunately marred by being associated with violent and impetuous passions. In the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary he stood well with the Court. In Queen Elizabeth's time he, in the beginning, became a great favourite, and accordingly had great appointments. He was made President of Munster, Admiral of the Fleet, and finally Lord Deputy of Ireland. In the last capacity, he summoned the third Irish Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, and his presence and appearance were the admiration of the assembly. For the first time every member of the Parliament sat in English dress, the Deputy having English apparel made for the Irish members, and obliging them to use it. In Sir Henry Sydney's Parliament some of the members wore Irish dress, for M'Carthy More, who sat in some of the later sessions in 1570, appeared in the ordinary apparel of an Irish chieftain.

When Sir John was President of Munster, he reduced Fitzmaurice; and when Deputy, he extinguished the rebellion of the Pale, headed by the third Lord Baltinglass, whose title is ever since under attainder. His government of Ulster being interfered with by the Queen, he indulged in some reflections on her courage, which were immediately reported, and exaggerated by his enemy the Chancellor. He was then deprived of his government, thrown into the Tower, charged and convicted of high treason. His rage was so great on learning his conviction that he died from its effects.—"Life of Sir John Perrott."

[1] Letter of Sir John Perrott to the L. Deputy and Council from Limerick, the 19th of March, 1572.

Not that Sir Edmund sympathised with the ulterior objects of the confederacy, which were the bringing in of the Spaniards, and the abolition of the State religion where it was then established. Of this there seems to be no proof. His sole design seems to have been, to have kept his property secure, and when it was unjustly seized to recover it, as also to be revenged on his enemies,[1] the Deputy and Sir Peter Carew. With these objects, in the absence of the Earl, whom his messengers could not reach, and the Queen being dead, or supposed to be dead, he joined the rebel confederacy. The heads of the confederacy were, James Fitzmaurice, of Desmond; M'Carthy More, otherwise called Earl of Clancare;[2] Donogh O'Brien, Earl of Thomond; Turlogh Lynoch, the O'Neill of the North, and Sir Edmund Butler.

All the Ormondists followed Sir Edmund Butler, except Lord Cahir and the young Lord Dunboyne, who was a minor, and who was in England. The Deputy said that Sir Edmund had all the fighting men of Kilkenny and Tipperary. The most of the M'Carthys and O'Sullivans went with M'Carthy More. M'Donagh was his chief follower. He had also O'Keefe, O'Sullivan More, and O'Sullivan Bere. The Geraldine chiefs of Munster obeyed Fitzmaurice, as they had elected him captain of Desmond. The most powerful amongst them was Fitzgerald of Imokelly, commonly called "The Seneschal."

The Earl of Thomond did not openly revolt till after the departure of the Deputy from Limerick in September, 1569. His forces, aided by many Scots, were defeated by Sir Edward Fitton, the President of Connaught and Thomond. The battle was fought near the Shrowre on the confines of Clanrickard. Turloch Lynoch O'Neill, whose powerful and experienced army, was the most to be feared, was prevented by an accident (the shot of a jester) from

[1] Sir Edmund's enemies were the Deputy, Sir Peter Carew, Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, Cosby of Leix, and Gilbert, afterwards Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

[2] The title of Clancare differs from that of Clancarty. The former was conferred by Queen Elizabeth, in 1556, on M'Carthy More, who left no male issue. The title of Clancarty was conferred, in 1658, by Charles II., on a younger branch of the M'Carthys, who received from Charles I. the title of Viscount Muskerry. The present Earl of Clancarty is descended from the junior branch through the female line. Burke's "Dormant and Extinct Peerage," p. 344.

playing his part in the war. Besides the active leaders of the confederacy, there were many who either wished to remain neutral, or who, in secret sympathy with the revolt, cautiously remained at home themselves, but permitted their people to go to the war. Those who really opposed the war had their countries ravaged, and many of their castles won, by the powerful force which the junction of the Butlers and Geraldines brought into the field.

In the south, some of the lords of English descent remained faithful to the State, the Viscount De Decies and the Lord Power in Waterford, the Lords Roche and Barrymore in Cork, the Lord Fitzmaurice in Kerry, and Sir William Burke, Captain of Clanwilliam. This Sir William Burke was afterwards made Lord Castleconnell, his eldest son having slain James Fitzmaurice. Joined with these were some Irish, who were not of great consequence, such as M'Carty Reogh.

In the west Richard, the "Sassanagh" Earl of Clanrickard, remained true to the English interest. He could not, however, prevent his son John of Clanrickard from joining in the rebellion. The O'Connor Don and O'Rourk of Breffney were supposed to be disaffected. Sir Edmund Butler had despatched messengers to the captains of Connaught, and his safe conduct was sufficient to protect travellers through the western districts, which looked as if Sir Edmund was in alliance or friendship with the chiefs of these countries.

In Leinster Lysagh and Kedagh, chiefs of the O'Mores, were suspected, as was also the sept of the Kavanaghs. Some of the latter did not join Sir Edmund, who thereupon ravaged their territories; but those of Idrone, when Sir Edmund raised his banner there, gave him all the co-operation in their power. This is not surprising, as by the same decree which deprived Sir Edmund of the western part of the barony, they were losing Eastern Idrone, which they held at least from the time of Dermod-na-gal. In this general defection, the Earl of Kildare remained in his fidelity and good offices, and was appointed, with Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, to protect the Pale, when the Deputy would march to the north or to the south, as the war required.

This was the state of the conspiracy of which Sir Edmund was one of the principal heads. Before he broke

out into open war there were three attempts made to dissuade him from his undertaking. The first was made by the Deputy through his messenger, Devawe. After his withdrawal from Parliament, Sir Edmund's proceedings seemed to tend to an open rupture with the Government, the Deputy thereupon determined to summon him before himself and the Privy Council at Dublin to answer for his conduct. This attempt of the Deputy's preceded that which he made through Baltinglass and Shee. Accordingly he despatched his messenger, John Devawe,[1] or, as Edward Butler[2] styled him, "the Standard Bearer," with letters for Sir Edmund and Edward Butler, requesting their presence in Dublin. Devawe was to bring back their answer. The difficulty was, to find Sir Edmund and Edward Butler. In his deposition, made on the 16th June, Devawe states that he pretended he was Lord Ormonde's servant, with letters from the Earl to his brothers; and that, having been informed that Edward Butler was at the Castle, which probably was Kilkenny Castle, he called there for him.

[1] The deposition of John Devawe touching the manner of his jorney and the delivery of such letters as were commytted to his charge, and addressed by the right honorable the L. Deputy and Counsaill to Sir Edmunde Butler, Knighte, Edward Butler, and to William Swetman, to apprehend Piers Butler, brethren unto the Erle of Ormond, upon divers and sundry haynous complaints exhibited against them; taken at the counsaill board the 16th of June, 1569. Irish Records, Queen Eliz. vol. 26, p. 62.

[2] Edward Butler was the sixth son of James the 9th Lord Ormonde. He resided at Cloghinche in the Co. Tipperary. He was brought up as a page in Dublin Castle during the Viceroyalty of Sir Henry Sydney. Besides the participation in the rebellion of his brothers, he was guilty of many other offences. Sir William O'Carroll, Prince of Ely, suffered greatly from his hostile incursions not only in 1568, but also in 1579. Mc IBrien Ara's letter shows the outrages which Edward Butler committed in his country. Edward Butler besieged in his castle the Archbishop of Cashel, and did him grievous injury, for which the Lord Justice Drury brought him to Dublin in 1578.

It is clear that in the rebellion of 1569 he would not have submitted to Ormonde, his brother, had he the means of further resistance. Besides this misunderstanding, the Earl at another time was obliged to banish him out of his territory on account of his dissolute life. Edward Butler then went with a hundred swords to the mountains of Clanrickard, where he kept for some time. Another difference arose between him and Ormonde, when the former wished to marry Desmond's sister, but they were reconciled through the medium of Pelham the Lord Justice.

Sydney speaks of him in the most sarcastic manner. He calls him "that blessed babe, Edward Butler;" and again he styles him "his pretty and foregrown page;" and he adds, "that after his submission he never laid an eye on his old servant Edward."

Edward Butler fought against Fitzmaurice in 1570, and was ready to do so again in 1579. He also joined in the Desmond war against the Earl, and was ever ready to co-operate in any Butler feud against the Munster Geraldines. He married Lady Margaret Burke, the eldest daughter of the Earl of Clanrickard, and by her had one son, James Butler, who died childless.

Edward Butler, alarmed by the intelligence that the Lord Deputy's "Standard Bearer" was in the country in quest of him, retired into the woods. He left his servant in the Castle, who was instructed to bring him any letters which might arrive. As Devawe saw in these precautions that he was discovered by Edward Butler, he then proceeded to the county of Tipperary in search of Sir Edmund.

Arriving in Templemore, having previouly left Sweetman's letters at his house, he then came to Myles Cantwell's house, where he found Sir Edmund, and gave him the Deputy's letters. He here requested Sir Edmund that he would take charge of the letter of Edward Butler, and cause it to be delivered to him, which he undertook to do. With this object, Sir Edmund sent to Edward Butler, Piers Cantwell, the foster-father of Edward, and the vicar of Callan, with the Deputy's letter for him. They went to the place where Edward was staying, and, after some difficulty, were admitted into the house. There they did not find Edward Butler, who had retired into the woods; but a boy of his, who stayed behind, stated that he did not know where his master was. Cantwell and the Vicar insisted that he should guide them to him; and, in the words of Devawe, "they reported that the boy ledd them such a way that they never went before, up to the myddle in reedes and other such bagadge, and so being not able to goe no further, they delyvered the ire to the boy, and desyred him to give hit to his master; and the boy departed, and tarryed for them halfe an houre, and brought the letter backe againe, and they supposed Edward Butler saw the letter, but he wold not open hit, but sent hit backe againe." Thus so far as Edward Butler was concerned, the delivery was ineffectual.

As to Sir Edmund, Devawe proceeded with him to Cashel, where he dispersed his company. The gentlemen of his following required him to repair to the Deputy, and openly told him that otherwise they would not attend upon him, as they had care, and charge, and somewhat to lose. Sir Edmund then pretended to go to Thurles, but stopped all night in the open country, and early in the morning brought Devawe alone with him to Piers Butler's

house[1] of the Grallaght, where after long hesitation he gave a verbal answer to the Deputy's summons. The following are the words, which passed between him and Devawe:—

"Sir Edmond said, I knowe not what my L. Deputie hath to charge me w^th^all, except it be for parliament matters, w^ch^ rather than he wolde agree unto he wolde be torne with wild horses; notw^th^standing tell him from me that I will not come at him excepte his L. will grant me a pardon. Sir, said I, I beseech you for that your woorshipp promised me from tyme to tyme to make your repare unto my Lorde. I trust your woorshipp will gyve me my answere in wrtinge; w^ch^ he said he wolde not, by G——s w——s, for none of them all shall take hold of my handwrytinge. For, said he, there is suche a sorte of flattering knaves about my Lord w^ch^ doth enform him of as many lyes and tales as they can hear of me, that I dare not come in his sight, for he will take on, rayle and skolde w^th^ me that he maketh me afraid to looke upon him when he doth send for me, and further, that if he should go to Dublin he wold crave the combatt of my L. and the counsaill against Sir Peter Carew, for that Sir Peter said he was a traytor. And for Sir Barnabie Fitzpatrick,[2] he wolde fight w^th^ him where-

[1] Sir Edmund's mysterious movements would admit of explanation. From the few followers who were there with him he wished to conceal his visit to Piers Butler's house of the Grallaght, and he was desirous of bringing Devawe alone with him there, because it was there he determined to give Devawe his reply to the Deputy. Piers and his two sons were in the rebellion. The two latter were named in the Act of Attainder of 1570. Their house was a rendezvous of the conspiracy. James Fitzmaurice and four of his men were in the house, and the probability is, that Sir Edmund wanted to get the advice or instructions of Fitzmaurice before the delivery of his answer. Devawe states he saw Fitzmaurice and his men, but it does not well appear from his statement that Fitzmaurice was there *before* Sir Edmund's reply. He was certainly there after it. "Moreover," says Devawe, "that at the day of the partinge, neither James Fitzmoris nor Sir Edmond wold suffer him, or any other that ware Englishe apparell, to come neare them, but made both him and the rest stand aloof of, as in disdaine and spyte of, the Englishe facon."

[2] Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick was the son of the 1st Baron of Upper Ossory by his wife Margaret, the eldest daughter of Piers 8th Earl of Ormonde. He was, therefore, nephew to James, 9th Lord Ormonde, and cousin german to Sir Edmund. Sir Barnaby was educated in England, and spent some time in the Court, where he contracted a great friendship with Edward VI. He fought against the Emperor, and distinguished himself in suppressing Wyat's rebellion; and Ryan, in his "Worthies of Ireland," says that he was knighted when serving against the Scots by the Duke of Norfolk. Maclean says, however, that he was knighted by Sir Henry Sydney, in 1566. His great service in Ireland was the subjugation of the O'Mores of Leix, killing Rory Oge O'More, on whose head a thousand marks were set.

Sydney writes of him in terms of the highest commendation. In a letter to the Lords of the English Privy Council, in 1575, he says, "Upper Ossory is so well governed and defended by the valour and wisdome of the baron that nowe is, as, savinge for the suretie of good order hereafter in succession, it made no matter if the countrie were never shired, nor her Majestie's writ otherwise curraunt than it is; so humblye he kepeth all his people subject to obedience and good order." And again he observes in his instructions to Lord Grey, "The moste sufficient, the moste faithfull, men that ever I found there were the Baron of Upper Ossory, Sir Lucas Dillon, and Sir Nicholas Malbie; these for principale men, both for councell and action, and who ever most faithfully and diligentlie discharged that which I committed to them, and trulie they be men of great sufficiency." Ryan's "Worthies of Ireland."

soever he mett him for that he said to his face, he cared not a straw for him, in the presence chamber in the Castle of Dublin, and w^th^ this answer he departed from Sir Edmond. And at his departure Sir Edmond told him that he wold send John Ro with busyness of his to my L. by mouth and not by wrytinge. And as for religion he said he was neither Papist nor Protestant, but as the Quene was."

On account of the great danger which then threatened the State, and not from any love of Sir Edmund Butler, the Deputy made another effort to detach him from the rebellious course which he was likely to pursue, and to win him back to his duty. He hesitated also to throw in the whole strength of the Butlers with the rebel power, and to make an enemy of Ormonde, by proclaiming his brother a traitor. Accordingly, when Sir Edmund was breaking out into open and public disorder in the beginning of June, the Deputy selected two gentlemen of influence to have a conference with him. These were Roland Lord Baltinglass, the father-in-law of Sir Edmund, and Mr. Richard Shee, of Kilkenny, afterwards knighted.

The following contains the instructions given to Lord Baltinglass and Mr. Shee by the Deputy and Council :—

"By the L. Deputy and Counsell.

"Instructions and Articles given by the L. Deputie and Counsell to oure verie good L. Rowland Viscounte of Baltinglas and Richard Shelte, of Kilkenny, Esquier, the 17th of June, 1569.

"1. Firste you shall make your immedyate repaire to Sir Edmonde Butler, and deliver unto him our lres.

"2. *Item.*—Ye shall declare unto him that there is no cause of suspicion he ought to conceive against my L. Deputie, but that he standeth his good L., and hath ever both tenderlie loved him and his house, and that he may safely come unto him without anie danger of his person and thereof assure him.

"3. *Item.*—Ye shall declare the great danger he standeth in at this presente if he should continue his disobedience, and that the same may turn her Majesty's indignac̃on against him, as consideringe how bountyfull she hath delt with him, besydes the utter undoinge and ruine of him and his house; and therefore, that he take heede in tyme to avoyde it, and add further, in that pointe, as to your wysdomes and discressyons shall seme mete and convenient.

"4. *Item.*—If that persuac̃on take no place, ye shall declare unto him, that we mean to proclaime him rebell, and that in the most notorious manner, by an harrald at arms in all the princypall townes of the counties of Kilkennye and Tipperarie, and that then, it will be all to late to hope or crave favour.

"A trew copie examined by

"John Chaloner."

What success they had in their conference, appears from the following report, in which answers in detail are given to the different instructions. Sir Edmund makes a distinction between the Queen's troops, led on by the Deputy in person, and these same troops not so commanded when assisting his enemies. In the former case he would not oppose them. In the latter case he would do the best he could to mischief them. Practically he acted on this distinction, for when Sir Henry Sydney was in the field, Sir Edmund avoided him, and returned some prisoners made by his men; and it was this same idea which led to the loss of Clogrennan Castle, for Sir Edmund's warders had instructions to deliver it to the Deputy, did he summon it in person. When the Queen's troops, commanded by Sir Peter Carew, made their attack, the warders were made to believe that the Deputy was present. One of them accordingly came out to parley, which led to the loss and plunder of the castle.

"The Conference and Answere that we whose names are hereunto subscribed, had of Sir Edmund Butler of the Grenan, Knight, upon such Instructions as we had of the L. Deputy and Counsaill.

"To the first of the said instructions your honors may understand that we sought the said Sir Edmond in sundrie places before we could have metinge w^t^ him, till long journeyinge, he cominge from Emayll, having the pray of Talbotston resortinge to Rathville, we overtook him; in w^ch^ Rathville M^r^ Manneringe and Shane McTeig were prisoners, w^ch^ prisoners, sought by us to be enlarged uppon our sureties, was refused by the said Sir Edmond, unto such time as he were satisfyed of all such hurts and trespasses as the said 20 prisoners and their men did onto him.

"To the second he answered, and willed us to give over our flattery, bragging, and dissimulation, willing us to declare in his behalf, that he nor any of his bretherne will come to the said L. Deputie's hande, before such tyme as they and theire men had protecc̃on or pardon, affirming that he hard, and had sufficient proffe, that the L. Deputie's only seeking was to chop off his head, and his brethern's, of w^ch^ purpose he should misse, if he could, notwithstanding that his adversaries, Sir Peter Carew and Sir Barnabie Fitzpatrick, that only were the procurers of the governor's indignation against him, had don so much as lay in them for furthering thereof.

"To the third, he saith he will submytte himself to the only judgement of the Quenes M., by whom he will be tryed, and seinge his man was imprysoned at Waterford, by Armiesbie, one of the serchers there, and not suffered to take shippinge there, who had letters to the Quene of the said Sir Edmond's greiffe, he will at no man's persuasion, but stand as sure as possible he may of his lyfe of them, who were the procurors of that stay. And for any danger, that we told him was like to ensue by

meanes of his evill demeanor to himself, his posteritie, and the house he came of: his answere was, that no house, noe land, posteritie or substance, was so dear to him as his life.

"To the fourth, he answered swearinge a greate oth, if he be proclaymed rebell, he will make their heads fly from their bodyes that were causers thereof. And in a radge at that tyme, willed us often to departe, and declare unto the L. Deputie, that Sir Barnaby nor Sir Peter Carew were so true servitors to the Quene's Majestie, as he, w^th^ your L. sufficiently knew, and willed us further to declare, that they bredd such a sturre in Ireland, as they will never well redresse. And so that it wold please the Deputie to graunte unto him, and his bretherne, and men, protecc̃on and pardon, they wold be ready to attend upon the L. Deputie, to serve in her highnes warres, where it pleased him to appoint w^t^hout wages, albeit that Sir Barnabie and Sir Peter w^th^ divers others, served but for wages, whose service there, if the L. Deputie doe not like dischargінge then his protection, and permyttinge them freely to goe away, they will defend themselves the best they can. But to levie warre or to fight in fild against her highnes, or her governor (as dyvers false reports were made of him), he wold not during lyfe. Neverthelesse, he willed us to declare, if any of the Quene's garrison came to helpe Sir Barnabie, or any of his enemyes, so her highnes or her governor were not personally in the fild, he would doe the best he could to mischieffe them.

"Rowland Baltinglas.

"Richard Shethe.

"This conference being redd before the L. Deputie and Counsaill, the said Rowland Viscomte of Baltinglas and Richard Shethe being present, and sworne upon the same, acknowledged hit to be true and confessed as above.

"A trew copie: examined.

"E. Molyneux."

Endorsed—"19 Junii, 1569. Copie of the deposic̃ons of y^e^ Viscounte Baltinglas and Richard Shethe relating their conference w^th^ Sir Edmonde Butler upon y^e^ L. Deputie and Councell's instructions unto them and Sir Edmond's answers and demeanour, &c."

Not satisfied with his offer of service through Lord Baltinglass and Mr. Shee, Sir Edmund sent his own chaplain, Sir Nicholas Comerford, to the Deputy, with a similar proposal. Sir Henry Sydney made no reply, but having detained the messenger, sent 300 of the Queen's horse, under Sir Peter Carew and Captain Gilbert, to apprehend him. This brought matters to a crisis, and the war immediately commenced.

There was a third attempt made by Sweetman of Castellyf,[1] in the county of Kilkenny, to stop Sir Edmund in his fatal course. Their interview shows clearly Sir

[1] The present Castle Eve, between Callan and Kells, Co. Kilkenny.

Edmund's complicity in the rebellion, and his position with regard to the Confederates. Sweetman must have stood well with the Butlers, and must have been favourably disposed towards them, otherwise he would not have undertaken to remonstrate in so strong and earnest a manner. He took care, however, to provide himself with safe conduct from Sir Edmund and Edward Butler, before he went into their camp. His discussion there with Sir Edmund elicited the real views of the Confederates—namely, that Sydney wanted to banish all the Irish by birth and descent, and to make a conquest of their country. Nothing was said about the common story among the Irish, that Leicester was to be King of England, and Sydney King of Ireland. This interview shows how deeply Sir Edmund was committed to the Confederate cause, and how bent he was in maintaining it. He said in this matter that he would not be ruled by the Earl, his brother, while he at the same time openly exhibited the letters and treaties of the rebel alliance.[1]

"The Enformacõn of Willm̃ Sweteman of Castellyf in the countye of Kilkennye Gent. unto the Lord Deputy and others hir Majestie's Privie Counsell at Kilkennye the 27th of July, 1569, of his owne mere motion as in dyscharge of his dutie of allegiance to the Quene's Majestye.

"He enformeth that upon Mondaie last being Saint James his daye, he went upon salf conduct of Sir Edmond Butler and his brother Edward, to speake w^th^ them at Killoughe. And findinge the said Sir Edmund there, he toke hym asyde, and entred into talk and persuasyon w^th^ him (being glad that he had got him apart from Edward Butler, for that he saith Edwarde is beyonde reason incensed w^th^ overweening, and not ruled by Sir Edmonde, but thinketh to have all Ireland under himselfe) and then thus he began unto Sir Edmonde. 'I doe marvell what enterprise is this, ye have began: it is the most unreasonable and outragious, that may be, for ye do herein no other than attempt to dystroye, and confounde this realm your contrey, dystayn your lineage, whereof surely you are not rightlie sprounge, for you are rather a Desmonde than a Butler, and take rather of your mother, than of that noble man that was supposed your father, and to be playne with you, it cannot come to good ende w^th^ you, for I can see no grounde you have therein, nor wherefore you do it.' And thereunto Sir Edmond Butler saide, 'I do it not to make war against the Quene, but against those, that banishe Ireland, and meane conquest.' And thereunto the said Sweteman replied, 'Tushe you do but

[1] Edmund Moore writes from Mellifont to the Chancellor, that messengers went from Sir Edmund and James Fitzmaurice to Philip O'Reilly, to Turlough M'Henry Mac Shane, to M'Mahon, and to Turlogh Lynogh.

vainlie pretende suche matter, w^ch^ neither is apparaunt, nor probable, nor credit to be geven you therein, but your doings there whiles apparant to be against the crowne, and your plea will not be admytted to devide your quarrel so, but will have surelye a naughtye ende, and bring yourself and your two brethren w^th^ you, and all that take part w^th^ you, to confusion. And therefore, although alreadye to muche harm be done through you and them, better were it yet, ere you go further therein, to use some suche messadge, and submysion to my Lord Deputie and the Counsell, whereby they may inclyne mercie and favor towards you, and your brethren, and the rest whom you have misled, afore it come to the uttermost. And be you well assured my lord your brother, is right so ashamed, and discomfited to heare of theis your doings, tending so muche to the dishonor of his howse and bludde. And comying over, he will do his utmost also to aprehend and deliver you unto Justice.' 'Thereto (qd Sir Edmunde Butler) if my lord my brother come, I will not in this quarrel be ruled by him, nor come in his hands. I have forsene and provided well enough for that,' and shewed to the said Sweteman the lres and treatyes betwene James Fitzmoryce Desmonde and him, and lres from Turelagh Lenagh O'Neyll and him, w^ch^ lres the said Sweteman redd, and conteined (sayth he) that accordinge to Sir Edmonde had required, Turelagh Lenagh promised to ayde him in this enterprise, and that as farre as the Lord Deputy should invade the Southe, so far wold Tyrrelagh Lenagh from the Northe invade the Englishe pale; recyving Sir Edmond's promesse to the said Tyrrelaghe to invade likewyse the englishe pale so farre as the L. Deputie shold invade the Northe. And saieth further that he saw Tyrrelaghes messenger there at the same tyme, which brought these lres, whom the said Sir Edmonde conveyed w^th^ conduct through Connaught northewardes. The like effect, was receyted of the combynac̃on of the said James Fitzmoryce his messenger w^th^ Sir Edmonde, and Tyrrelaghe, and that he saw there also the said James Fitzmoryce his messenger w^th^ Sir Edmonde. And he saieth further, that he understoode by Sir Edmond's talke that he practised also in like manor w^th^ the Earles of Thomonde, and Clanrycard, and others the captaines of Connaught, but what answare he had from them, he perceyved not. But plainely perceyved by his talke, that if the erle of Ormonde came over, he nor his two brethren wold not obey him, nor wold never submytt nor geve over their enterprise for any offer of pardon w^th^out the lyke weare also given to every of their confederates and suche an ende taken as they all wold agree unto. And that the covenante betwene the said Sir Edmonde and James Fitzmoryce containeth that the saide James had promised the lyke against the Erle of Desmonde. And further talk therof (he saieth) he had not to his remembraunce. All w^ch^ matters enforced the saide Sweteman ofreth at all tymes to justyfye for witnes wherof he hath hereunto subscrybed.

"Willm̃ Sweteman."[1]

These attempts proving ineffectual, the war began. In the early part of the year 1569, several skirmishes, with

[1] This information of Sweetman's, like some of the other documents, was drawn up at the instigation of Sydney, who wished to present to the Queen legal proof of Sir Edmund's treason. He was naturally afraid of the influence of Ormonde with Elizabeth, both as a kinsman and faithful subject.

regard to the occupation of the Dullogh, took place between the men of Sir Peter Carew and Sir Edmund Butler. Sir Peter had not only got legal possession of the barony from the Sheriff of Carlow before Christmas, 1568, but he also, a little later, had received from the Crown the post of Constable of Leighlin Castle; so that he was then a neighbour of Sir Edmund's, seated in a strong place in the heart of Idrone. The principals in the quarrel did not, however, come to blows until June, 1569, when Sir Edmund disregarded the efforts of Baltinglass and Shee, and despised the powers with which they were invested. It was then that Sir Peter Carew led the Queen's troops against Sir Edmund, the Deputy having beforehand proclaimed him and his two brothers rebels and traitors, and given them fourteen days to surrender. This proclamation was not made public in the county of Kilkenny, where Sir Edmund then was, until thirteen of the fourteen days allowed had expired; so that, if Sir Edmund were willing to surrender, it was hardly in his power to do so.

During the latter part of June, Sir Edmund sent several letters to the Chancellor and Council, offering service, and requiring a protection, which he knew through Shee he would not get. Sir Edmund at this time had not the slightest desire to surrender, but commenced to carry out the part in the war which was assigned to him by the Confederates.

Their plan was to rise in arms in all parts of the kingdom, to distress and capture the corporate and walled towns, which were chiefly English, and to levy compositions from them for the support of the war. Turlogh Lynoch O'Neill was to invade the Pale if the Deputy marched to the south, and Sir Edmund was to do so if the Royal force went to the north. Ambassadors[1] were despatched to foreign powers; and from the King of Spain, particularly, great supplies of men and money were expected. Many of the Scots had by this time arrived to strengthen and aid the O'Neills in the struggle.

[1] The Ambassadors were the Catholic Bishops of Cashel and Emly, Drs. Fitzgibbon and O'Brien. Joined with them in their commission was James Mac an Erle, so called as being the youngest brother of Desmond.

Before Sir Edmund openly rose out, he took care to collect all the arms in the county of Kilkenny, and to despoil all the English inhabitants, so that they were quite unarmed, while his own followers were well supplied. Having collected a great company in the Dullogh, he then raised his banner, despoiling Idrone, and invading the Pale from the side of Rathvilly. In Talbotstown, in the county of Wicklow, he made great spoil; and it was on his return to Rathvilly that Lord Baltinglass and Mr. Shee overtook[1] him, with Mannering, an English gentleman, led up and down in a halter, and Shane M'Teig and many other prisoners.

While Sir Edmund was thus desolating the Pale on the southern border, Turlogh Lynoch advanced from the north with the Scots; and as it was here that the chief danger was apprehended, the Deputy accordingly turned first to it. At the same time, Edward Butler marched with a great force into the county of Waterford—the Lord Power's country—and spoiled it; while James Fitzmaurice—accompanied by M'Carthy More, who renounced the title of an English Earl (Clancare)—invaded and devastated the barony of Kerrycurrihy in the county of Cork, between Cork and Kinsale. They took Tracton Abbey, the house of Warham St. Leger, and put to death all the ward which they seized on. Marching then to Cork, they encamped under the walls. They required the citizens to deliver up all obnoxious persons, and to expel all the Protestants, whom James Fitzmaurice styled "Hugnettes" (Huguenots).

After the spoil of Idrone and the Southern Pale, Sir Edmund's next attempt was in Leix. Accompanied by his two brothers, and probably by many more of the Butlers, he led a force of horse (29 June, 1569) into Leix. It was a midnight foray, in which they assailed the settlements of the English planters. Sir Edmund's guide was Cahir Kedagh Omore, one of the chieftains of Leix. They took the towns

[1] Malbie, in his letter to Cecil, 21 June, records a significant piece of information omitted by Lord Baltinglass, namely, that Sir Edmund "bid him to avoyde w^th spede, or ells he would deteyne him prisoner."

of Ballyknockane,[1] Loughteoge, Stradbally, and Ferny Priory, and returned into Iduff in the county of Kilkenny. This foray must have terrified the English planters in Leix. Cosby[2] lost no time in sending an account of it to the Deputy:—

"FRANCIS COSBY to the LORD DEPUTY.

"Right honorable, my humble and bounden dutie premised, This maye be to please your honor, to understande that Edmonde Butler, and his two brothers Piers and Edwarde, this night last before the date hereof, abowte the goinge downe of the moone, burnte theis townes w^th^in Leix as followeth, Stradballie, Ballieknockane, Ferny Priory, and Loughteogie. Some prey they had, but not greatly to be accompted of, and they lost of their men: letting your Lordship farther to be advertised, that M'Cart OMore, and James M'Morish Odesmonde, beinge of great force, departed from the company of the said Edmonde Butler and his brethern before this acte comitted. And the Butlers themselves are gone into Iduffe at this present. Thus most humblie I take my leave wishing you most increase of honor. From Stradballie this friday morninge, 2 July, 1569.

"They have slaine all the ward of Ballyknockon.

"Your honor's Orator,

"FRAUNCIS COSBIE.

Endorsement. "The coppie of M^r^ Cosbies letter to the Lord Deputy."

On his side, the L. Deputy was not inactive. He despatched Sir Peter Carew and Captain Gilbert to dislodge Sir Edmund from the Dullogh, to capture his castle of

[1] In the ancient map of Leix and Offaly given in the "Journal," vol. iv., new series, p. 344, we have marked upon it "Stradbesx" (Stradbally) otherwise "Castle Cosbye," "Loghteog," a castle on the borders of Ferano Prior; "Balicnogan," a castle in the midst of Ferano Lauler, and "Disert," otherwise "Castle Pigot."

[2] The family of Cosby, which was one of the earliest settlers in Leix in Queen Mary's time, still exists there. Its early annals equal in varied fortune those of any of the Scotch families on the Border. Francis Cosby of Monasterevan, who wrote to the Deputy, was the Cosby of Mullaghmast notoriety. He was slain in the valley of Glenmalure, in Wicklow (1580), fighting against Phelim M^c^Hugh. His son Alexander, the first of Strabally, and his grandson Francis, fell in the battle of Stradbally Bridge, 1596, in their terrible contest with the O'Mores. Their wives, Dorcas Sydney and Ellen Harpole, witnessed the fall of father and son from the windows of the neighbouring Abbey. All their royal grants and patents and other muniments were seized, and the Abbey was plundered and given up to the flames, the young heir of the Cosbys, William, then a child in the cradle, being saved by the fidelity of his nurse.

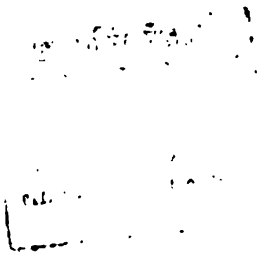
This William Cosby, having died young, was succeeded by his uncle Richard, who had all the valour and ability of his house. He defeated the O'Mores in a pitched battle under the Rock of Dunamase, and destroyed for ever their power as a clan. Carried wounded from the field, he was brought to Dysert the house, of Sir Robert Pigott, whose daughter, Ellen, he married, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his mother, Dorcas Sydney. She then disinherited her son of all the property except Timahoe. For a full history of this family, see John Burke's "Commoners," vol. iii., p. 154. The present representative is Robert Cosby, Esq., D. L., of Stradbally Hall.

Clogrennan,[1] and, if possible, to seize his person. Their force greatly strengthened and secured the Queen's castles of Carlow and Leighlin Bridge. Captain Collier and his men were sent to Kilkenny, and their arrival proved the source of safety, as otherwise the city would have fallen into the hands of the enemy. The Pale, by the imposition of a tax, raised for its own protection an army which the Lord Deputy put under the command of Lord Kildare. He protected the Southern Pale from Sir Edmund, and when the Royal force went to the south, he lay on the northern border. The chief force of the Queen was led by the Deputy, who had the conduct of the war, in person.

The Queen's troops having arrived at the Castle of Leighlin Bridge, of which Sir Peter Carew had been made Constable, a company of foot was sent to Sir Edmund's Castle of Clogrennan, three miles distant, to summon it to surrender. The surrender being refused, Sir Peter marched with the whole force, and sat down before it. His shot did little execution; and he was preparing to mine the place (a dangerous operation while Sir Edmund with a large force was in the neighbourhood), when the chief warder, according to Sir Edmund's instructions, inquired whether the Lord Deputy was with the Queen's

[1] The remains of this ancient and historic castle are still considerable. In the year 1569 it was captured by Sir Peter Carew. In 1643, in the civil wars, it was taken by Lord Castlehaven, a Confederate General. At that time Lord Ormonde held it for the Crown. All Sir Edmund's direct descendants appear to have then left it. Piers, his eldest son, did not reside there; he lived in Roscrea. Theobald, Lord Tullophelim, his youngest son, had possession of Clogrennan till his death. It then came into the hands of Thomas Butler, who is said to have been lineally descended from Sir Edmund. He was made a Baronet in 1628, and called Sir Thomas Butler of Clogrennan. His family shortly removed to Garryhunden, in the county of Carlow, when the castle came into the hands of the Earl, afterwards Marquis and Duke of Ormonde. The Marquis of Ormonde appointed his "fortified house of Clogrennan" as the place of assembly for the Royal army in 1649. The army was composed of Catholic Confederates and Protestant Royalists, to the number of 14,500 foot, 3500 horse, and 4 pieces of cannon. From Clogrennan they marched northwards against the Parliamentarians.

The first Duke of Ormonde settled Clogrennan on his second son, Richard Lord Arran, to whom it gave a second title, Baron Butler of Clogrennan. It afterwards fell to the second Duke of Ormonde, to whose brother, Charles Lord Arran, it gave a second title, Baron of Clogrennan. On the attainder of the second Duke, Lord Arran, in 1721, did not repurchase this part of the property, as in that time it was in the hands of John, the second son of Speaker Rochfort, who was afterwards Chief Baron of the Exchequer. He had two sons, George, the father of Lord Belvidere, and John of Clogrennan. From the latter is descended the present Horace Rochfort, Esq., D. L., of Clogrennan. The remains of the castle form the entrance gateway to his demesne.



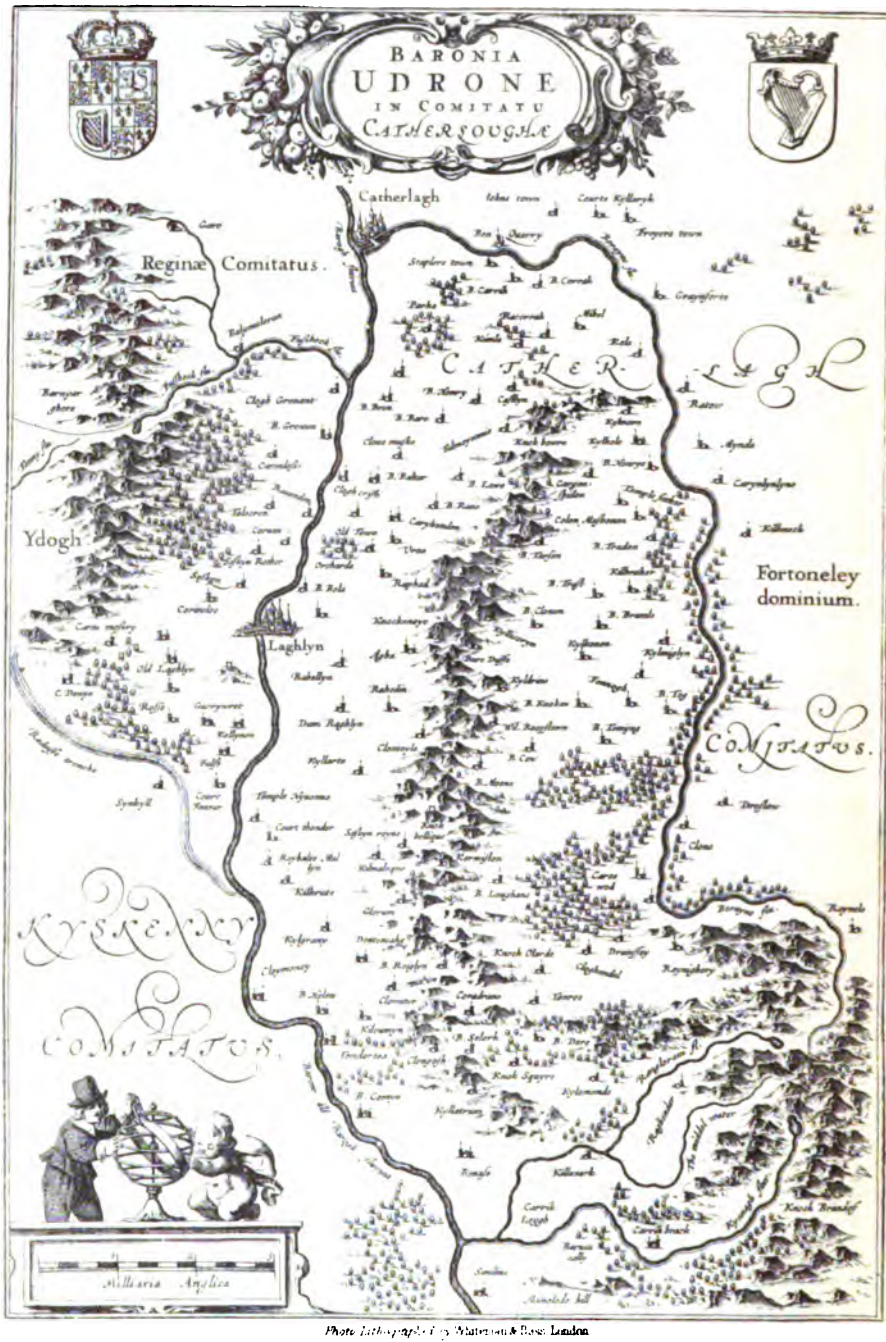


Photo-Lithographed by Waterlow & Sons London

troops; and being told that he was present, came out under safe conduct to agree to a surrender. Finding out his mistake, he was returning when a soldier named Baker threw a log of wood between the outer and inner doors of the castle. He then stabbed the warder in the back, or, as some accounts say, shot him. Thus the besiegers forced an entrance into the castle, which was given up to plunder, and all in it, men, women, and children, were put to the sword. (July 1st, 1569.)

"Clogh Grenant," the scene of this struggle, is given in the annexed ancient map of Idrone, which was published by Gerard Mercator not long after the cessation of these troubles. Lower down a little on the Barrow appears the bridge of Leighlin which was the great pass into Munster, and which was commanded by the Queen's "hows." The remains of this "hows" are visible at the present day and are still called "the garrison." From the left bank of the river the land extends in a plain for about a mile west, and then rises in gentle elevations to the top of "The Ridge." The woods of the Dullogh shown on the map were then more extensive than they are now. On the right bank is Idrone East, much the larger part of the barony, and then held by the Kavanaghs.

The map also gives the positions of many places which in ancient times were of great importance, Old Leighlin, Agha, Ballymoon, and Ballyloughan, &c.

After the capture of Clogrennan Sir Peter with his force marched to Kilkenny, having learned that Sir Edmund was in the neighbourhood. Though the citizens were inclined to the Butlers, they nevertheless received Sir Peter and his company, as they came in the name of the Queen. As soon as Sir Peter discovered that Sir Edmund's chief force was at Kilmokary,[1] not more than two miles distant, he surprised them by an attack of his horse, and defeated them, as they had no leader, Sir Edmund being away. The force was chiefly galloglass, and each of Sir Peter's men carried a battle axe of the slain galloglass into the city, as an ensign

[1] The present Kilmagar, in the parish of Clara and barony of Gowran.

of victory. The Earl of Ormond thus describes the affair to Cecil. "Sir Peter and Gilbert salied out of Kilkeny, with 200 horsses, and set upon 400 footmen or somewhat more, and slew a fowr score of all sortes, among which 2 Captens of galeglas that wear tall felloes, and always sarved with me were slain, not without loss of Sir Peter's horsemen." (4th July, 1569.)

After this victory, Sir Peter[1] returned from Kilkenny to his post of Constable in Leighlin Castle. He held Clogrennan and the Dullogh for the Queen; but after his death, in 1575, they again came into the hands of Sir Edmund Butler.

Sir Edmund was so incensed at the defeat and dispersion of his men, that he no longer affected any concealment, but openly avowed his alliance with the Confederates. About the middle of July, James Fitzmaurice and M'Carthy More joined him with a large force. In this Sir Edmund so far prevailed, that he brought the Confederate force into his own country, while his troops gave no assistance to them in the south. They encamped at a little distance from the city of Kilkenny, and demanded its surrender. Were it not for the arrival of Collier, it would have been forced to do so. Even with his assistance, it was greatly pressed and straitened, the rebels burning the granges and villages up to the walls, and threatening to take the city by assault, even though it cost them half their men. They mustered in great force, having 1400 galloglass, 400 pikes with shirts of mail, 400 gunners, and 1500 kerne, besides 800 men under the separate command of M'Carthy More. The following is the account given by the So-

[1] Hooker, in his Life of Sir Peter, relates some extraordinary escapes which Sir Peter had from assassination at the hands of the Butlers. At Kilkenny Castle his life was attempted three times by a servant of Lord Ormonde's; and on the last occasion he was saved by the timely interference of the Dean of Cashel, chaplain and steward to the Earl. Hooker also relates two ambuscades laid for him by Sir Edmund—one at Thomastown, county of Kilkenny, where Sir Edmund and his men lay in wait, in the evening, for Sir Peter coming from Waterford. The other referred to was, as Hooker states, planned in Dublin by Sir Edmund, who there hired men to assassinate Sir Peter on his way to Carlow. At Bolton Hill, in the parish of Castledermot, they waited for him; but he, either seeing them, or knowing their intent beforehand, turned aside from the high road to the Barrow, and thus reached Carlow in safety. Hooker was so great a partizan of Sir Peter's, and so great an enemy of Sir Edmund's, that his authority with regard to these statements cannot be estimated as of much value.

vereign and his brethren of Kilkenny to the Lord Deputy, who was incensed against them for having made a composition, and for having given hostages to the enemy. The document is signed by the Sovereign, the two Shees,[1] Captain Collier, and one of the Butlers in the city. The Bishop did not sign, although they acted in accordance with his advice.

"The Sovereign, &c., of Kilkenny, to the Lord Deputy.

"Ryght honorable, our dutie humblie premised, we have all these five days paste expected your honor's repaire hither, by reason whearof, we stayed sendinge any our letters unto your Lordshippe, fearing leaste, that throgh the earneste searche that our Enemies make for letters, the same beinge founde, it wold be an occasion for them the better to provide, in forderinge their wycked enterprises. We are, sins Saturdaye at nyghte, besedged with rebelles, in suche sorte (as assuredlie) if that your honor had not the better provided for us throgh Mr. Captaine Collier is sendinge for our defens, your L. shuld have had but heavie newes from us. Our victualls weare all spente, save the littel provision we had of greane corne, and feawe sheaps wee saved from the spoile of the said Enemyes, before the rampire and closinge uppe of our gats. They are in nombre mustered, 1400 galliglasses, 400 armed picks with shurts of mayle, and 400 gunniers, beside the nombre of at leaste 1500 kearne and horsemen sette in three battayles, seavorallye campinge, and so neare our town, as once a daye, they camped w^th^in a little to the calliver shotte of our walles. All our fermes and grandges in the contrie are spoiled of all the cattayle and husshold stuffe we hadde, w^ch^ was the onlye maintennance, and provision of our Towne. This present day, they wickedly prepared bothe stoode and harrows to distroye our greane corne, and sent us a messadge, that they wold burne our said villadges, and assault our towne, although

[1] The two Shees were, William Shee, and Richard Shee, uncle and nephew. William Shee was the third son of Richard Shee, of Kilkenny, by his wife, Joan Archer, of Ross. He was a burgess of the city, as is related on his tomb in St. Mary's choir. He married Margaret Walshe, and had many children, the eldest of whom, Pierce, was Recorder of Kilkenny.

William Shee's eldest brother, Robert, was married to Margaret Rothe. His eldest son was Richard, so frequently mentioned in connexion with Sir Edmund Butler, and who often gave him important information. The Elias Shee of Holingshed was the younger brother of this Richard Shee. Richard Shee inherited from his father Uppercourt, in the county of Kilkenny, and Cloran, in the county of Tipperary. He was Seneschal of Irishtown in 1568, Treasurer of the Regalities of Tipperary in 1571, and Deputy to the Lord High Treasurer in 1576. He was a follower of the house of Ormonde. His name frequently occurs in the "State Papers." In 1583 and 1584 he fell into disgrace, and was twice pardoned. In 1589 he was knighted by Sir William Fitzwilliam. He was the founder of Shee's Hospital, in Kilkenny. He is the ancestor of the Shees of Cloran, now represented by Mons. Guillaume O'Shee, of Pontois, Colonel in the French army; and of the Shees of Sheestown, now represented by Power O'Shee of Gardenmorris.—John Burke's "Commoners," vol. ii., p. 121; Burke's "Landed Gentry," p. 1133; and Maclean's "Life of Sir Peter Carew," Appendix H, p. 237.

they were sure to lose half their men, unless we wold put in ostadges. To graunt all their requests w^ch^ when we refused, and stood at deffiaunce, upon great intreaties for avoydinge of further mischeves, we were content havinge my L. Bushope and Mr. Colliers advise, to putte in ostadges to answere any thinge lawfullie that they were able to charge us to w^t^hall, they putting to us ostadges, not to anoye, spoile, nor burne our suburbes, and grandges w^t^hout our walles, w^ch^ accordinglie we have done, as uppon your Honor's repaire hither your L. shall better understand. Notw^t^h-standinge our ostadges, they remaine campinge at Killnebolle,[1] w^t^hin towe myles to our towne, and whate continuance they mind to have thear, we can not yet learne. The earle of Clancartie is gone awaye yesterday with the nombre of eighte hundred men, above the nombre aforesaid, and pro-mised shortlye to retorne to them againe, for he went awaye to provide victualls to continue heare the longer w^th^ the said rebelles. And thus be-seaching god to send your honor prosperouse successe in all your affaires, we take our leave. From Kilkennye the 21^st^ of July, 1569.

"Your honor's moste humbly
"to comand,
"WALTER ARCHER S.
"WILLIAM SHETH.
"WILLIAM COLLYER.
"EDMUND BUTLER.
"R. SHEETHE."

(Address). "To the Righte honorable and our verray goode Lorde the L. Deputie; in haste."

(*Endorsement*). "The Suffren and his brothern of Kilkeny and Capten Collier to the L. Deputie."

Supplies failing in the Confederate camp, they had to strike their tents, and break up, M'Carthy More marching to the south. A short time before the junction of the Confederates, the whole country was open to them, and they spoiled it without mercy. Sir Edmund's men overran the whole county of Kilkenny.

Piers Butler took the town of Callan, robbing Fulk Quemerford, the servant[2] of three Earls of Ormond, of a large sum of money, which was afterwards repaid him by the State.

The walled towns and cities, at this period, were greatly distressed. The country districts of the greater part of the kingdom, the Pale excepted, were in the hands of the rebels, who drove all the English whom they did not kill into

[1] Kilenaboul, a wood near the city of Kilkenny, in the townland of Grange.

[2] Among the servants of Thomas, tenth Earl of Ormond, were Richard White and Teig M'Carthy. White was probably an Englishman.

the cities for protection. The towns—Cork, Limerick, Kilmallock, Kinsale, Youghal, Waterford, Kilkenny, Carlow, and many others—were reduced to great straits, and earnestly sought relief.

The Mayor and Corporation of Waterford (July 8), wrote to the Deputy, that all in the country parts were forced to join the rebels, and upon their refusal were treated shamelessly; that men and women were driven almost naked into their city; that Kinsale, they had heard, was forced to compound; that their county of Waterford had been preyed by the Butlers; that Mr. White's house at Knocktopher had been sacked, and that Callan was given up to the plunder of Piers Butler's men.

From Cork the citizens sent an account of the capture of Tracton Abbey and Carrigaline, and of the threats of James Fitzmaurice under their walls. In Limerick the alarm was still greater. They informed the Deputy that Castletown, in Kerry, had been given up to Fitzmaurice, who, with the Earl of Thomond and John of Clanrickard (the son of the "Sassanagh" Earl), had a conference at Blackstone; that there was a rumour abroad that forty Spanish ships had arrived; and that they wished to know what course was to be pursued with the rebels.

Kinsale had been forced to compound, and Kilkenny was obliged to do the same, and to give hostages. Gerod Meagh, the Sovereign of Kilmallock, wrote to say that James Fitmaurice was devastating the whole country. In the letter of the Mayor of Youghal to the Deputy he says, "As far as we can perceive, and understand, if your Lordship do not come hether in all haste, with a mayne army, all the whole country is like to be overthrowne."

Langham, the Governor of Carlow, writes to the Deputy "of the great threatenings to this poor town, which he will to the uttermost defend." Carlow, being so near Sir Edmund's country, was in the greatest danger, while its proximity to the Pale was a great advantage to it; and it was well served and defended, not only by Langham, but also by Baltinglass, Harpole, and John Eustace. When Piers Butler threatened the town, these gentlemen looked to its defence. They wrote, that they with their "rising out" were on the Carlow borders; that Piers Butler was in

the woods of Sliemargy and the Dullogh, and that they were too weak to face him. They earnestly requested aid from the Pale. At a later period, in the middle of August, when Sir Edmund was coming over the Barrow with a large force, they had Lord Kildare on the borders of the Pale to meet him, and thus for the time dispersed Sir Edmund's company. Afterwards, when Edward Butler, the fiercest of these partizans, rode past Carlow, and burned Little Noroth, in the County Kildare, they again repaired to Carlow. They called in the "holding kerne" appointed for the defence of the county, but these to a man joined the rebel. By their exertions, however, Carlow was saved. It did not so happen with Enniscorthy, which was taken by Sir Edmund, the Queen's treasure seized, the castle sacked and plundered, and the inhabitants abandoned to the license of the soldiers.

From the middle of June to the end of August, 1569, this was the condition of the walled and corporate towns, the English settlements, with fear and consternation pervading the minds of the inhabitants; while all the open country was in the hands of the rebels.

(*To be continued.*)

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT A GENERAL MEETING, held in the Apartments of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, July the 6th, 1870,

J. A. PUREFOY COLLES, ESQ., M. D., in the Chair :

The following Fellow was elected :—Frederick Adolphus Jackson, Esq., Inane, Roscrea : proposed by Dr. Stokes.

Three Members of the Association were admitted to Fellowships, viz. :—The Right Hon. Lord Gort, the Right Hon. General Dunne, and J. A. Purefoy Colles, Esq., M. D.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Right Hon. the Earl of Antrim, Glenarm Castle, Antrim : proposed by Dr. J. S. Holden.

John O. Westwood, Esq., M. A., Walton Manor, Oxford : proposed by Dr. Stokes.

Albert Courtenaye, Esq., Bank House, Clogheen ; James Prendergast, Esq., Ardfinnan Castle, Clonmel ; and William Clarke, Esq., "Chronicle" Office, Clonmel : proposed by Maurice Fitzgibbon, Esq.

Joseph Johnson, Esq., 22, Suffolk-street, Dublin ; C. W. Dugan, Esq., M. A., Derry ; John P. Coghlan, Esq., M. D., Kilmacthomas ; John Copeland, Esq., Ballymore Eustace, County Kildare ; Rev. Michael Malone, R. C. C., St. Michael's, Limerick ; and William R. Molloy, Esq., A. B., Ex-Sizar, T. C. D., Mullingar : proposed by Rev. J. Graves.

Jacob Powell, Esq., J. P., St. Kearns, New Ross : proposed by Captain Beauchamp Colclough.

Matthew W. Berry, Esq., M. D., Belfast : proposed by J. W. Gray, Esq.

Lewis Lloyd, Esq., Whitby Villa, Small Heath, near Birmingham: proposed by M. Prendergast, Esq.

Edward Fitzgerald Ryan, Esq., R. M., Alma, Wexford; Robert Guerin, Esq., 16, Bloomfield-avenue, Dublin; and Rev. W. K. Hobart, Templeshanbo, Wexford: proposed by W. A. Mahony, Esq.

Andrew O'Callaghan, Esq., Inspector National Schools, Derry; J. E. Sealy Fraser, Esq., Education Office, Marlborough-street, Dublin; and Thomas Plunkett, Esq., Enniskillen: proposed by W. F. Wakeman, Esq.

Rev. W. E. Mulgan, A. B., Dunaghy, Clough, Belfast: proposed by E. Benn, Esq.

On the motion of the Rev. J. Graves, seconded by the Rev. Dr. Martin, W. E. Mahony, Esq., was elected Honorary Local Secretary for Enniscorthy, and C. W. Dugan, Esq., for Londonderry.

Mr. Graves read a communication from the Secretary of the Royal Institute of British Architects, proposing an exchange of publications with this Association, which was assented to.

Dr. Colles, the Chairman, brought before the Society a proposition for taking such steps as might be calculated to preserve from destruction the far-famed architectural and monumental remains of Glendalough, in connexion with which he read the following statement:—

"The efforts of our Association to check the further ruin of the Churches of Clonmacnois have been so successful as to induce me to call attention to the present state of the far more interesting and picturesque buildings at Glendalough, in hopes that similar efforts may be made on their behalf. The Cathedral and the 'Priests' Church' (of which latter little remains but the foundations), standing in the most popular burying-place of the county, have suffered wofully from sacrilegious hands. The other churches, round which burials no longer take place, have escaped this danger; but are rapidly being broken up, and reduced to mere heaps of stones, by the luxuriant growth of young trees in the crevices of their walls. Having spent three days at Glendalough during last month, examining the present state of the ruins, I would offer the following suggestions for their repair; beginning with the most easterly churches.

"1. The *Abbey, Monastery*, or *Priory of St. Saviour*, is the only church which retains any of its Romanesque features—namely, the chancel arch; of which the bases and shafts on both sides, and two out of the three capitals (the third has disappeared since Petrie described the arch) on the south side, remain *in situ*. Nearly all the voussoirs of the arch have been collected within the last few years, and are lying in the chancel. A number of the carved stones forming the inner face of the east

window have also been collected. The walls are rapidly being broken up by the growth of young trees, which should be cleared away. The nave is blocked up with a heap of ruins, six or seven feet high, which would probably yield materials for the restoration (along with the stones now collected) of the chancel arch and east window, and perhaps also of the south doorway, of which only the jambs now remain.

"2. *Trinity Church* is the most perfect in the valley, but the trees are beginning to destroy it. The south nave window is already considerably distorted by them, and some of its stones have been forced out. The central voussoir of the fine chancel arch has sunk considerably. The square building at the west end, which originally carried a round tower, is very ruinous; and the curious south doorway of the nave (which, if we can trust the drawing given by Ledwich, had a triangular head), is now a shapeless breach, of which the upper part must soon fall. The jambs—of which the lower parts remain—should be carried to a sufficient height, a lintel inserted (slabs of clay slate fit for the purpose abound on the spot), and the rest of the breach filled with masonry; and, above all, the trees should be cleared away.

"3. The *Gateway* of the *Caiseal* was well restored a few years ago, and is in good condition.

"4. The *Cathedral.* Little could be done to check the ruin of this noble old church, beyond replacing some of the large stones at the angles of the nave which have fallen, and building up the breaches in the walls. But there are lying about the church a number of the carved stones of the Romanesque east window (of which nothing is now left standing but a portion of the southern pilaster) and of the Romanesque north doorway of the nave, which was excavated in 1857. These are all composed of soft oolite, like Caen stone, and hence are rapidly being destroyed. They should be removed to St. Kevin's House to protect them from further injury—as also should several carved stones (including the lower part of the curious pediment described at p. 246 of Petrie's 'Round Towers,') belonging to 'the Priests' Church,' now lying in the nave. An iron railing should be put round the remains of the north nave door, and another round the inscribed tomb and the font, in the north-east corner of the chancel; unless the two latter were removed to St. Kevin's House. The mass of fallen wall at the east end of the nave should be removed, so as to expose the base of the jambs of the chancel arch (of which nothing else remains). In the chancel is a square mass, built of the stones of the church, which, if taken away, would probably be found to include some of the carvings of the east window.

"5. Of the *Priests' Church* only the lower two or three courses of masonry remain. They should be railed in. As many of the carved stones (of which several are lying in the cathedral,) as possible should be rebuilt into their proper places; those which, in the present state of the ruin, could not be replaced *in situ*, should be deposited in St. Kevin's House.

"6. The *Round Tower* is becoming very ruinous. The north jamb of the eastern upper window has fallen; the joints throughout the building have opened a good deal; and, at about three-fourths of the way up, the wall has bulged extensively in two places. Were the repairs of the Tower (necessarily very costly) undertaken, they should be done thoroughly; and advantage of the scaffolding should be taken to restore the conical cap,

(many of the stones of which would probably be found in the Tower,) thereby rendering the structure weather-tight.

"7. *Our Lady's Church* is greatly overgrown with trees and ivy, which are beginning to break it up. They should be cleared away; and the breach in the north wall of the nave should be repaired. No architectural feature of this church survives except its noble western doorway. But if the mass of fallen masonry at the east end of the nave, and the ruins filling the chancel (which is more modern than the nave,) were cleared away, the stones of the windows would probably be found. If it be true that St. Kevin was buried in this church, we might hope to find, if not his tombstone, at least those of some of his earlier successors, here.

"8. *St. Kevin's House* or 'Kitchen' (which latter name was, I believe, first applied by the 'guides' to the *erdam*, but is now extended to the whole structure) is in better preservation than any of the other churches. The roofs, however, of both the nave and the belfry want some repairs, as the rain is beginning to percolate through them and to injure the vault. The *erdam* or sacristy has sunk to the northward, and is very ruinous; a great part of its stone roof has fallen, and a thorn bush is growing from the remainder. The chancel fell, or was pulled down, about thirty years ago; but the stones of which it was built are piled up into a large square mass at a little distance to the eastward. It might be possible to rebuild it with them; and the attempt thus to restore this very unique church to its complete state would be worth making. In any case the sacristy should be repaired. The (modern) south window of the nave, and (unless the chancel were rebuilt) the chancel arch should be filled with iron gratings, as has been done at St. Flannan's House, Killaloe. The western doorway of the nave should be reopened, and provided with a grated iron door, of which the keys should be left with some trusty person.

"In the nave, when thus secured, should be collected all carved stones, wherever found, which could not be placed in their original position, and all fragments of crosses, sepulchral slabs, &c., which are not *in situ*. These relics would thus be preserved from the 'guides,' who have sold at least one inscribed tombstone in fragments to sight-seers; and ordinary visitors could see enough of them and of the interior of the nave through the gratings at each end of the latter. Until this step (which would cost but very little) weret aken, no excavations or explorations should be made. To bring sculptures to light, without providing a safe place for their reception, is only to hasten their destruction; as has been but too well shown by the premature excavation, in 1857, of a large breach in the north wall of the cathedral nave. The carved jambs of a fine Romanesque doorway, to the extent of about a foot and a-half, were thus exposed, and have since that time been almost wholly destroyed; the soft oolite in which the mouldings were carved offering a tempting field for wanton mischief.

"9. The sites of *Cro Ciarain*, the *Regles an da Sinchell*, and one or two other buildings, to the north, south, and east of St. Kevin's House, would probably repay excavation, which could be easily conducted, as these sites lie outside the cemetery. To the north of St. Kevin's House especially there is a raised piece of ground, which promises well in this respect. The cemetery is also full of foundations, which, if carefully measured, might give some information as to the plan of the monastery.

"Besides innumerable small crosses, and slabs of clay slate perforated with large square or small round holes, there are now the following ancient slabs in the cathedral and its neighbourhood:—

"1. Large granite slab, broken in two. Interlaced cross, incised; and two small crosses within circles, in relief. Two inscriptions—one illegible, the other, OR DO DIARMA . . ,[1] in the chancel of the cathedral.

"2. Clay slate. Plain cross and circle, in relief.—In the chancel of the cathedral.

"3. Very large granite slab. Curious pattern of diagonal incised lines, with circles at their intersections, forming a number of saltier crosses, like that on the door lintel of the Lady's Church.—Outside the west end of the 'Priests' Church.' At the head of this slab is a cross of clay slate.

"4. Granite. Simple but elegant incised cross.—On the pathway between the west door of the cathedral and St. Kevin's House.

"5. Clay slate. Incised cross, with gracefully interlaced ends.—Half buried in a deep trench, which runs northward beside the path leading from St. Kevin's House to the cathedral.

"6. Granite (large broken slab). Plain cross and circle in relief.—On the ground between No. 5 and St. Kevin's House.

"All these slabs, except, perhaps, the first, which may be in its original position, should be removed to St. Kevin's House.

"The crosses of clay slate, of which there are great numbers throughout the valley, are for the most part very small. Many are extremely rude; and few, even of the better finished ones, show any trace of ornament. There are two granite crosses; the well-known one about thirteen feet high, which stands to the south of the cathedral, and the upper part of a small cross, now lying in St. Kevin's House.

"The ruins above enumerated are all situated to the east of the lower lake, and form part of the ecclesiastical establishment founded by St. Kevin towards the close of his life. They may be said to constitute *Gleanndalocha* proper, as distinguished from St. Kevin's earlier settlement at the south-east of the upper lake, which was called *Disert Caoimhghin*. The remains at Disertkevin consist of the Righfeart Church, Teampul-na-scellig, and numerous *caiseals* or circular stone enclosures, carns, and crosses.

"10. The *Righfeart Church* retains its western doorway, but has otherwise been reduced by the growth of trees to little more than a heap of stones. Its plan, however, can be made out, the lower part of the walls being tolerably perfect; and among the ruins the arched heads of the windows, the voussoirs of the chancel arch, and the brackets which (here as well a sat Trinity Church) carried the projecting eaves of the roof over the end walls, can all be recognised. From its remote situation, and from there having been no burials round it for centuries, this church has suffered less from spoliation than any other in the valley, and none is better worth reconstructing. There can be little doubt that it is the original church of St. Kevin, erected for him when he was induced to abandon his solitary life. The churchyard retains its old *caiseal*, and the foundations of several buildings are to be traced round it; so that careful excavation

[1] There is every probability that this is the "Diarmaitt, anchorite of Gleanndalocha," who died A. D. 955. "Annals of the Four Masters."

might enable us to recover the plan of the original monastery. The churchyard is full of small crosses of clay slate; one of which (see Petrie, 'Round Towers,' p. 261) is richly carved. The inscribed slab, vulgarly called 'King O'Toole's Tomb,' has been so mutilated that it cannot be recognised; but other inscribed slabs would probably be found in clearing out the ruins.

"11. *Teampul-na-scellig* is reduced to little more than its foundations; and its inaccessible position, and the absence of trees near it, protect it from further injury. St. Kevin's famous 'Bed' and 'Chair,' formed in the living rock, need no protection.

"On a knoll above the Righfeart Church, overhanging the upper lake, and commanding a fine view of the valley, is a circular enclosure about ten feet in diameter, containing a rude cross of clay slate, and formed by a wall of loose stones, about two feet high, with an entrance facing the east. This looks like a sepulchral enclosure; but Dr. Petrie and the late Mr. Du Noyer ('Round Towers,' p. 418; 'Proc., R. I. A.,' Vol. vii., p. 256, and Vol. ix., p. 424), considered it to be the '*mansiunculum*' or cell which St. Kevin built for himself, '*in loco angusto inter montem et stagnum.*'

"The ancient 'Pilgrims' Road' extended northward across the valley from the Righfeart Church to the river which connects the two lakes, and was bordered by a line of carns and crosses, which still remain, as do a couple of *caiseals*, apparently sepulchral enclosures, in the adjoining fields. But the southern half of the road has been destroyed, and its site ploughed over within the last few years; and unless some protector arises, the carns and *caiseals* will be cleared away one of these days.

"The repairs which should be executed at Glendalough may be divided into the cheap and easily executed, and the costly. The former, which should be undertaken at once, are—

"1. Clearing away the trees from the Abbey, Trinity, Our Lady's, and the Righfeart Churches.

"2. Securing St. Kevin's House, and placing all loose sculptures, &c., therein.

"3. Repairing the breaches in Trinity and Our Lady's Churches and the Cathedral, and in the Sacristy and Roof of St. Kevin's House.

"4. Railing in the 'Priests' Church' and the north door of the Cathedral.

"The more costly repairs are:—

"1. Thorough repair of the Round Tower, and restoration of the conical cap.

"2. Excavation and restoration of the Abbey.

"3. Do. of the Righfeart Church.

"4. Do. of Our Lady's Church.

"5. Excavations in the neighbourhood of St. Kevin's House, and possibly, (6) rebuilding the Chancel of St. Kevin's House. In each of the above lists I placed first those repairs which seem most urgently required.

"Lovers of the picturesque may be horrified by the proposal to clear away the trees. But only the trees actually growing out of the walls need be interfered with, and with such an abundance of others, these would not be missed. The buildings should be inspected once a year, to prevent fresh seedlings from taking root."

Dr. Colles said that, on submitting to the Rev. James Graves the statement which he had just read, that gentleman, while expressing the most cordial approbation of the suggestions, and every possible anxiety to aid in carrying them out, pointed out that, having so much to do with the general working of the Society, he could not undertake the labour necessary to get in subscriptions for the undertaking; and also that, residing so far away from Glendalough, it would be impossible for him to superintend the operations. However, he (Dr. Colles) would offer himself—if the Association sanctioned the proposition—to issue the circulars and work up the preliminary operations as to getting in the subscriptions, which he would hope to have completed before returning to India. As regarded the directing and superintending of the operations, Mr. Graves had communicated with Thomas Drew, Esq., F. R. I. A. I., who at once consented to take that portion of the arrangements on himself; and no one would be more competent for such a work. Of course, nothing could be done without the consent of the proprietors of the property, in which position the Mining Company of Ireland stood. He had asked a friend, a member of that body, to bring the subject before their Board, and the result was most satisfactory. He begged to bring before the meeting a letter from the Secretary of the Mining Company, dated 1st of July, inst., intimating that "the Board would be most happy to accede to the request in reference to the repairs of the Round Tower and ancient churches of Glendalough, county Wicklow." It was not necessary to read his own letter of application; but he might mention that he had stated that the Association would do nothing which would interfere with the burial rights of the people of the district, or with any other right which the public might be deemed to possess in connexion with the ruins of Glendalough. He hoped that there would be no difficulty in collecting a sufficient sum for the purpose, considering the great importance and historic interest attaching to Glendalough; and he was already promised a donation of £10 as a beginning.

Mr. Graves said, this was not the first work of the kind their Association had undertaken and accomplished. They

had collected and expended a large sum for the preservation of Jerpoint Abbey, and nearly £200 for the reparation and protection from further injury of the Seven Churches of Clonmacnois. He would expect even a wider sympathy for the proposed work at Glendalough, as the ruins were more generally known, and their scenic and architectural beauty appreciated by the public. Mr. Graves then read a letter which he had received from Mr. Drew, stating that it would give him "very great pleasure to co-operate in the proposed work at Glendalough. So far as his time and superintendence went, he was very glad to be permitted to offer them as a contribution towards so desirable a work." Nothing could be more satisfactory than this. It would be certainly a most desirable work, and one most creditable to the Association, to rescue from their present most disgraceful state the far-famed ruins of Glendalough. He believed their condition had been rapidly growing worse for some time back.

The Chairman said, that returning to Ireland lately, after an absence of twelve years in India, it had made him most sad to witness the serious deterioration which had taken place in the ruins at Glendalough in the interim.

Dr. Martin felt sure that a movement of this kind would have national support. He had no doubt that the newspaper press of Dublin and of Ireland at large would aid in laying the matter before the public, and that subscriptions for such a work would not be confined to the members of the Association.

Mr. Seigne felt sure that the English Press would readily give its aid too. There was no place in Ireland better known to English tourists than Glendalough, and he felt no doubt that many subscriptions would come from England.

On the motion of Mr. Graves, seconded by Mr. P. A. Aylward, the cordial approval by the Association of the arrangements proposed by Dr. Colles was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Aylward thought it lamentable that public money could not be made available in aid of works of such national importance and interest.

Mr. Graves observed that perhaps it might be possible

to obtain some assistance from the Government towards such an undertaking, if the public first showed that they were willing to exert themselves to carry out the object, by subscribing.

The Rev. James Graves said that he had much pleasure in reporting to the Meeting the successful result of negociations which had been set on foot to save from probable oblivion the very fine sculptured shaft of an Irish cross found in the Shannon, near Banagher, which had been obtained for his private collection of antiquities by the late T. L. Cooke, Esq., of Parsonstown. This antique had been described by Mr. Cooke in their "Journal" (first series, vol. ii., p. 277). On Mr. Cooke's death it had come into the possession of his son, Mr. W. A. Cooke, from whom it had been purchased for the sum of £8, supplied by a small balance remaining in hand of the Clonmacnois Special Fund; and he (Mr. Graves) was happy to say that it was now safely deposited amongst the national monuments at that historic site.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

"Irish Folk Lore: Traditions and Superstitions of the Country; with Humorous Tales." By "Lageniensis," Glasgow and London: presented by the Author.

"The Archæological Journal," published under the direction of the Central Committee of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, No. 105: presented by the Institute.

"Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," Vol. VIII., Part 1: presented by the Society.

"Archæologia Cambrensis," fourth series, No. 3: presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

"The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal," Part 3: presented by the Huddersfield Archæological and Topographical Association.

"Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall," No. 11: presented by the Institution.

"Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society," Vol. III., Part 10: presented by the Society.

"Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London," second series, Vol. IV., No. 7: presented by the Society.

"The Journal of the British Archæological Association," for June, 1870: presented by the Association.

"Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord," nouvelle série, 1868; and "Aarbroger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie," 1869, Nos. 1 and 2: presented by the Society.

"Thomas Saga Erkibyskups, fortœlling om Thomas Becket Erkebiscop af Canterbury;" "Bröholtfundet, Mynter fra 10de og 11te Aarhundrede;" "Om nogle Norske Pengeten;" "Om Vildsviintypen paa Galliske og Indiske Mynter;" and Morkinskinna, Pergamentsbog fra forste halvdel af det Trettende Aarhundrede:" presented by the Royal University of Norway, Christiana.

"The Builder," Nos. 1419–1432, inclusive: presented by the Publisher.

"The Irish Builder," Nos. 248–251, inclusive: presented by the Publisher.

"Nature," Nos. 24–37, inclusive: presented by the Publisher.

"The Reliquary," No. 4: presented by Llewellynn Jewitt, Esq.

"The Second Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland": presented by the Deputy Keeper.

"Hounslow Heath, a Poem," second Edition, London: presented by William Pinkerton, Esq.

A very fine jet armlet: presented by Henry Bruce Armstrong, Esq.

An ancient lead cramp, which had served to connect two stones forming the capital of a column in the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny: presented by the Very Rev. The Dean of Ossory.

Three stone celts found at and near Lough Gur; an iron stonecutter's punch found in the ruins of the "New Church" at Lough Gur, an example of the tools of that trade as used in the reign of Elizabeth;[1] and a halfpenny

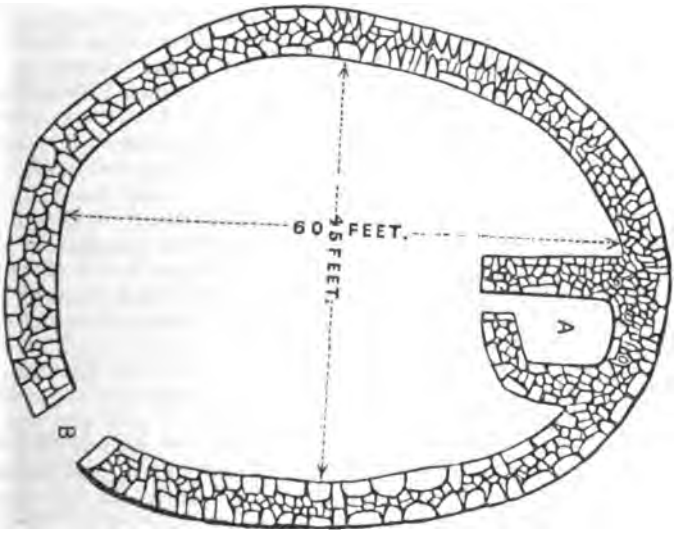
[1] This church was erected by the Countess of Bath, for the English colonists settled at Lough Gur under the Bourchiers, after the suppression of the Desmond rebellion. See Dineley's Tour; "Journal," second series, vol. vi., p. 194.

of William and Mary, found on the site of the old road to Limerick, by the margin of Lough Gur: presented by Mr. John Fitzgerald, The Cottage, Lough Gur.

The following notice of the remains on the Island of Innishark, Co. Mayo, was contributed by G. H. Kinahan, M. R. I. A., &c.

"Saint Leo seems to have been the patron of Innishark, an island a few miles off the west coast of Galway, but belonging to the county Mayo. The remains on the island dedicated to this saint are a church, a *leabuidh*, or 'bed;' a *tubber banagh*, or holy well; a stone cross, and a *clochán*, or stone-built cell. In connexion with the holy well and the blessed bed there is nothing remarkable, while, unfortunately, the only village on the island was built between the church and the *clochán*, to the detriment of both.

"Of the church, which seems to have been of the usual rectangular shape, there remain parts of the north and south walls, with the east gable. In the latter there are the remnants of what must have been a rather handsome single lancet-shaped window.



Cloghan on Innishark, Co. Mayo.

"The *clochán* is situated at some distance to the southward of the church, on a cliff overlooking the sea. It appears to have been an extremely primitive structure, built without any regard to regularity of form, as the interior is 6 feet wide, by 11 feet long at the south side, and 9 feet at the north wall of the cell; the doorway is at the south-east corner, while the corner to the north-east is square, and those to the west

round. It must have been rather hard for the inhabitant of this dwelling, unless he was a very small person, to get into it, as the doorway is scarcely 2 feet wide, and 2½ feet high, through a wall 4 feet thick.

"This hut, marked A on the accompanying plan, is situated at the N. W. of an irregular oval enclosure, its west wall being incorporated in the wall of the latter. The outside of the hut appears to have been of a bee-hive shape; however, it is now much dilapidated, more than half of its roof and front being destroyed. From what is left of the outside enclosure wall, it would seem to have been originally five feet wide at the base, with a nearly perpendicular outside face, and to have had at the N. E. a doorway, B on plan, three feet wide.

"The stone cross is much broken and disfigured.

"In the time of O'Flahertie the historian there was a bell belonging to Saint Leo on Innishark (or Inis-ark, as he calls it); but Hardiman in his notes, written in 1846, on that author's 'History of Hiar-Connaught,' mentions that 'it has long since disappeared;' and at the same time he states that the stone cross, previously alluded to, is called *Leac Leo*. The history of Saint Leo I am unable to find out."

Mr. Kinahan also sent some observations on *Bulláns*, as follows:—

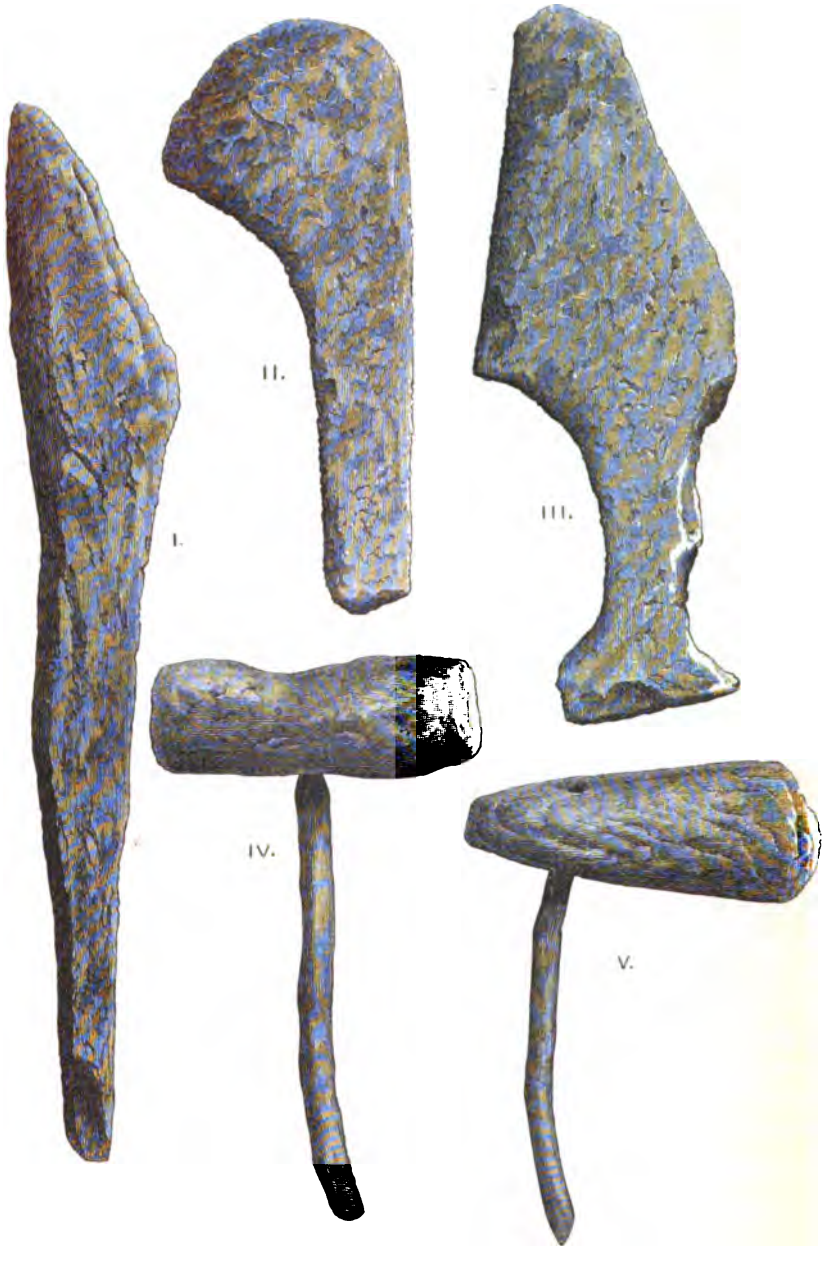
"On account of my necessary absence from your meetings, I wish to send a few remarks on Mr. Thomas Stanley's notes on the Holed stones of Meelehans printed in the 'Journal' (Vol. I., third series, p. 349). For years I have been inclined to hold that many of these hollowed stones, commonly called *bulláns*, were in old times used as 'corn-grinders.' Here it ought to be stated that this was first brought under my notice by Professor William King, of Galway, who pointed out that he had in his possession a half-egg-shaped upper quern-stone (if I may so call it), which fitted the deepest of the holes in the 'two-holed' stones at Roscam, near Galway, where there is a round tower. He had found this peculiar quern-stone close to the ruin, and not far from the *bulláns*, in one of the loose built field walls. On an examination of this two-holed stone, it would appear as if the deep hole had been used for grinding, while the second hole was entirely due to the constant wear and tear caused by laying down the quern-stone alongside after the grinding was finished. The shallow holes in the 'three-holed' stone at the same place would also appear due to a similar process. In other places I have also remarked *bulláns* that seem to have also been used as grinders, such as the *bulláns*, Cong, county of Mayo, figured in Wilde's 'Lough Corrib,' and the *bulláns* at Killbreacain, near Ross, county of Galway, figured in the 'Journal' Vol. I., third series, p. 76). Nevertheless very similar *bulláns* would appear to have been used as baptismal fonts, as they occur in or near the primitive churches; this, however, cannot be held as proof positive that these hollowed stones were used for baptism, as the Priests of the early Christian churches usually lived in these structures, and to me it seems not at all improbable that the same class of article may have been used for both purposes. Two remarkably placed *bulláns* of the first type I have observed; one being cut in the horizontal stone of a cromleac-like structure near Adrigole, Bantry Bay; and the second in the solid rock, close to a village in the hills near Tulla, Co. of Clare. The latter could scarcely

have been cut for anything but grinding purposes; it is now used by the boys of the village to round their bowls in. The second type of *bullánsˇ* are shallow and flattish-bottomed, some being large, and others small; these always occur near old churches, often on the altars, and evidently must have been used for baptismal or other church purposes. A third type are the dish-shaped *bullánsˇ*, such as those found in the carn at New Grange, and in the large carn at Loughcrew. The use of these latter it is hard to conjecture, but I think we may presume that they had some connexion with the pre-Christian funeral rites. From Mr. Stanley's description of the 'nine-holed stone' at Meelehans, it would appear to have been one of the primitive mills: the fact, however, of the rock being limestone, is against this suggestion; nevertheless, if the querns were made of a similar stone, perhaps this would not be of such great consequence."

Mr. A. G. 'Geoghegan drew attention to the pronunciation of a word constantly used by Irish and other antiquaries—namely, "*ogham.*" This word was very frequently pronounced, even by Irishmen, with a marked dissyllabic sound, the accent being placed on the first syllable—"*óg-gum.*" It was almost unnecessary to point out that, strictly speaking, there was in modern Irish no such letter as *h*, its power being indicated by a dot placed over the preceding letter (thus, O$\dot{g}$am), which served to change the sound of the letter so marked, as for instance, in his own name, Geoghegan, pronounced "Geyegan." The proper pronunciation of *ogham* was almost monosyllabic, and might be represented by the letters *Ouam:* that the closing of the mouth in its utterance might possibly point to its meaning—"shut up," "closed," or "secret," and explain its application to this cryptic writing of the ancient Irish, was, he feared, too fanciful to be seriously propounded.

Mr. E. Benn sent the following notice of stone antiques in his collection, accompanied by photographs:—

"Some very interesting stone instruments have lately come into my hands, of which I send you photographs (engraved on the next page). No. I. is 2 feet long, by 4 inches at its broadest part, with a convenient handle at the small end. No. II. is a hatchet-shaped instrument, 16 inches long, by 6 inches at its broadest part, with a convenient place for the hand. No. III. is also a hatchet-shaped weapon, 14 inches long, by 6 inches at its broadest part, with handle at the small end. No. V. is one of the most interesting stone weapons I have ever seen; nor do I find such a thing noticed: it is a large celt, or stone hatchet, 8 inches long, by 3 inches in breadth, with the original wooden handle, 8 inches long. No. IV. is also new and interesting; it is a mallet or maul, 7½ inches long, with the original wooden handle of 10 inches. It might be supposed that these handles were modern; but I have no doubt of their being the very handles



Stone Implements in the Collection of E. BENN, ESQ.

put in by the original makers, and that they now exist just as they were used by the old inhabitants. They have lain in a deep peat moss, and the wood, apparently black-thorn, is penetrated by the antiseptic property of the peat for a considerable way, and has a sort of mineral appearance, very like charcoal. It need not be considered so very singular that this wood should remain perfect after so long a time; for, I believe, it would remain in a bog sound for an indefinite period, and would retain its present appearance for centuries if placed in a museum. Besides, I have a great number of bronze instruments in which the wooden handles remain. Large celts, with holes for handles, are not uncommon. All the above described instruments are made of mica slate. Those with handles are desperate weapons; in the hands of a strong man they would deal terrible blows."

The Rev. James Graves reported to the Meeting the examination of a Rath *souterrein* near Ardfinnan, county of Tipperary, in June last. The Rath was situated on the townland of Cloharden, the property of Robert K. Prendergast, Esq., M. D., Deputy Inspector-Gen. of the Forces. The entrenchment was not of large size, or in any way remarkable except for its curious *souterrein:* this lay rather to one side of the enclosure, and was approached by a regular flight of steps, giving entrance to a small bee-hive-shaped chamber of an irregular circular form 6′ 9″ wide by 5′ 6″ high, built of rough fragments of limestone; from this chamber a narrow passage, so low that one was obliged to creep through it on all-fours, led into another chamber of the same character, 6′ 8″ wide by 6′ 9″ high; and from this a similar passage gave entrance to a third, of larger size, 6′ 8″ high, and by 7′ 3″ in diameter. The passages were square-headed, and roofed with single stones stretching across from wall to wall. The jointing of the stonework was very irregular, no courses or bedding being perceptible, the faces of the stones as they came from the quarry being rudely fitted to each other. In each chamber the bee-hive vault was capped by a single stone[1] at top; and what was very noteworthy, as bearing on the habitable nature of these *souterreins*, each chamber was provided with two ventilating shafts, placed near the top, and diverging in opposite directions towards the surface. That these structures were in-

[1] In the "Dinnseanchus" of Aileach we have a description of some such structure there, in the following line: "One stone closed the top of the house of the querulous hostages." See "Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry," vol. i., p. 226.

tended for the storage of valuables, and for occasional places of refuge for the inhabitants of the Rath, there could be little doubt: they would be unsuited for ordinary dwellings, but for that purpose they were not needed. Wattled, mud, or stone-built houses, probably resembling the better class of Irish cabins of the present day, served for habitations to the chieftains and their followers; and it could be well conceived how deftly the entrance to these cellars might be concealed so as to elude the ken of the plunderer.[1] That they were often discovered and rifled there was, however, evidence; and we were told that at one period the Danes did not leave a cave in Ireland which they did not rifle.[2] In the Brehon Law ("Senchus Mor," Part II., p. 129), the Law of Distress contemplated the event of the distress being carried for concealment into a "cave," and provided accordingly. In fact, these *souterreins* were but the *clogháns*, or stone huts, so common in the West of Ireland, placed under ground for better concealment.

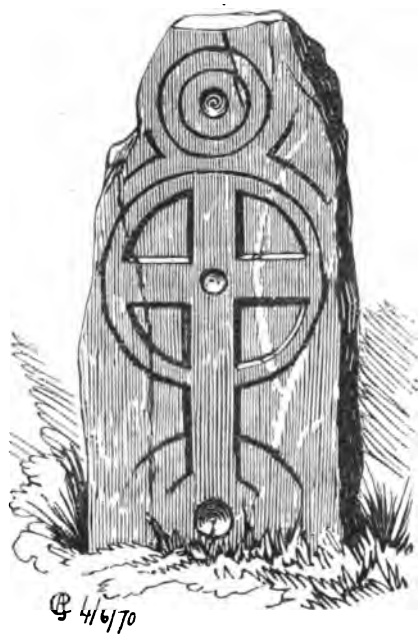
Mr. Graves said that the Association had to thank James Prendergast, Esq., of Ardfinnan Castle, for the very efficient arrangements made in connexion with the examination of these curious chambers. They had been previously explored by Lieut. S. J. M'Kenzie, Assist. Com., Madras, who cleared out the entrance and two of the chambers towards the end of last autumn, when bones of the cow, pig, sheep, deer, and goat, were found, also quantities of sling stones, and some bone pins, together with pieces of charcoal. He (Mr. Graves) was informed that a carved bone was then also found, but he had not seen it. No other implement or ornament was discovered that he was aware of.

Dr. J. A. Purefoy Colles sent the following note on some incised stones at Dalkey and Tullagh, in the county of Dublin:—

[1] In many instances there were very skilful contrivances for concealing the entrance to the inner chambers from those who had discovered and entered the outer ones. See our "Journal," first series, vol. i., p. 294.

[2] In 853, Amlaff, and his "Lochlans," overran Ireland, when "Muchdaighren, son of Reachtabrat, was suffocated in a *cave*." Again, A. D. 866, Leinster and Munster were plundered by the Danes under Baraid and Amlaff's son, "and they left not a *cave* there under ground that they did not explore." "Neither was there *in concealment under ground* in Erinn anything that was not discovered by these foreign, wonderful Denmarkians."—See the late Rev. J. H. Todd's "Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill," pp. 23, 25, 113.

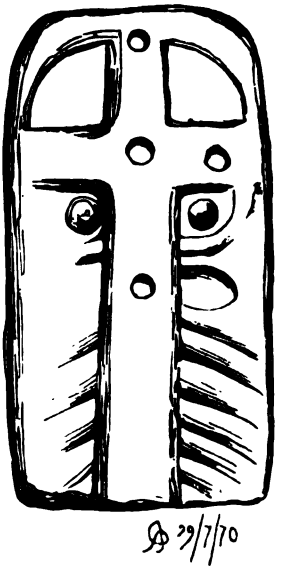
" In the old churchyard at Dalkey, county of Dublin, is one of the stones to which Mr. Drew called attention at the meeting in October, 1869. It is of granite, 3 feet 7 inches long, and 1 foot 6 inches broad at its broadest part; and is rough on all sides except the east. It stands upright, a few feet to the south of the ruined church. Its eastern face presents three of the usual cup-shaped hollows, of which the upper is surrounded by two complete incised rings, and by a third imperfect one, continuous below with the outer ring of the second series. The second cup, narrower and shallower than the first, occupies the point of intersection of a well-carved cross, bounded by a circle. The quadrants between the cross and the circle are countersunk, so as to bring the cross into relief; the other figures are only incised. There are traces of an outer circle, which joins the outer circle of the first group. Two incised lines continue the shaft of the cross to the bottom of the stone, where they diverge to enclose a third cup, wider and shallower than the others. Two curved lines, springing from the shaft of the cross higher up, suggest a second circle round this hollow. It *may* be urged that this is an unfinished Pagan sculpture (the cups only being finished on the lower two-thirds of the stone, as is the case with several of the Rathmichael specimens), which has been converted into a Christian tomb. Even the cross is not, we know, necessarily non-Pagan; though few will dispute the Christian character of so decided a specimen as the present.



" In the churchyard of Tullagh (the ancient Tulac na h-eapboz), Co. Dublin, lies a still more curious stone of this class, which has been described and drawn by the late Mr. Du Noyer, who noticed its cruciform shape, and by Mr. H. Parkinson ('Proc. R. I. A.,' vol. viii., p. 61; and vol. x., p. 340). Mr. Parkinson has, 'for convenience,' represented it as standing upright, with its larger end buried in the ground as far as the trunnions; but a sketch taken in 1853 shows it, as it now is, prostrate. It lies to the south-west of the chancel of the old church, with its ends pointing north and south. It is of granite, fairly worked. The carvings on it are all incised, and are very like those on the Ballyman stone. Instead, however, of the usual central cup, there is, in each series, a small incised circle, enclosing a slightly rounded boss, not rising above the general level of the stone. But the great peculiarity of this stone is the presence of a pair of stunted arms like trunnions. If this stone be, as it seems, an attempt at a structural cross, it is unique in Ireland, as far

as I know. There is also, at Tullagh, a slab, measuring 3 feet 6 inches, by 1 foot 9 inches, bearing, in bold relief, a rudely carved cross surrounded by a circle, with projecting bosses in the two lower quadrants. On the cross are four of the cup-shaped hollows so common in monuments of this class. The right arm, which probably contained a fifth cup, has been defaced. At the lower part of the shaft of the cross are two sets of parallel incised lines, very like those on the upper part of the second example. A stone resembling this stands by the road side, at Glendalough, a little to the north-west of Trinity Church.





"Whether these concentrically marked stones are Pagan relics, plundered from some ancient cemetery, of which traces remain in the numerous cromleacs of the district; or whether, as I believe, they are early Christian tombstones, so old as to be still ornamented in Pagan fashion; it is remarkable that they seem altogether confined to the barony of Rathdown; and that, as yet, none of them have been found anywhere in that barony, except at very ancient ecclesiastical sites. They are not found in connexion either with any of the numerous Pagan remains of the barony, or with churches founded since the Conquest. For though the existing churches of Ballyman and Rathmichael were rebuilt in the 12th or 13th century, and that of Tullagh,[1] perhaps even more lately, yet we have,

[1] Dr. Ledwich (Grose's "Antiq. of Ireland," vol. i., p. 15), and Dalton ("Hist. Co. Dublin," p. 932), claim a remote antiquity for the present church of Tullagh, on the strength of its "small size," and round arches. It is really not a small church,

in the *caiseals* at the first two, the round tower at Rathmichael, and the two fine crosses at Tullagh, proofs that much older churches existed at each place.[1] Dalkey church was almost wholly rebuilt in the 16th century, but the north-east part of the nave is of early Irish 'cyclopean' work, and contains a very characteristic round-headed window. The finding of these stones only in connexion with early churches is (as in the case of the round towers), a strong argument in favour of their Christian origin."

The following Papers were contributed :—

SIR EDMUND BUTLER OF THE DULLOGH, KNIGHT.

BY THE REV. JAMES HUGHES.

(*Concluded from* p. 192.)

So delighted were the Confederates with their success, that they communicated it to Turloch Lynoch, requesting at the same time that he would attack the Northern Pale, and thus create a diversion in their favour. According to his promise, Turloch Lynoch took a body of Scots into his pay; but when he was about to advance from the Newry, an accident occurred, which nearly deprived him of his life, and threw Tyrone into confusion. This left the Deputy free to march to the South, which he accordingly did on the 19th of July with his hosting, bringing with him 600 men of the garrison.

When the Deputy arrived in the County of Kilkenny, Sir Edmund and his brother Edward kept in advance of him with a great force. Sir Edmund, however, made no attack, in accordance with his promise to Baltinglass, that he would not fight or levy war against the Queen or her Governor in the open field. The Deputy, on his coming to Kilkenny, was not pleased with the hostages or the composition.

but an unusually large chancel (25 × 18), to which the corresponding nave was never built. Judging by the marks on its western wall, the old nave to which it was added was only 15 feet wide. The opes of all the windows have been built up, so that the mouldings cannot be seen; but the mere fact of the windows having round arches internally is not inconsistent with the late date ascribed above to the church.

[1] The seven bishops of "Tullach na h-easbog" were contemporary with St. Brigid; and the churches of Rathmichael and St. Michael le Pole, in Dublin, are supposed to have been founded by St. Mac Thail, of Killcullen, who died in the year 548.

He rebuked some, and encouraged others. He then discovered that the townsmen would have delivered the city to the enemy, were it not for the arrival of Collier and his force. The Deputy, being anxious to relieve the lady of Warham St. Leger, who was in great distress and danger at Cork, and who was about to be delivered up by the citizens to James Fitzmaurice, marched with his army through the County of Tipperary, and encamped under the walls of Clonmel. Sir Edmund went before him with a great army, burning the towns and villages as he went along. At Clonmel, the Deputy's army, according to his own account, was nearly panic-struck from the number of the enemy. He would hardly have advanced farther, were it not for the courage and judgment of Sir Luke Dillon and Sir Thomas Cusack. The rebels surrounded and threw papers into his camp, to the effect that Sir Edmund would attack him.

In this emergency he called for aid from Waterford, which refused it. He then issued a general proclamation of pardon (a certain few exempted), which had no effect. He finally sent Commissioners to the principal gentlemen of Tipperary, to dissuade them from their rebellious courses. With these Commissioners he despatched some of his own officials, who were acquainted with Edward Butler from the time that he had been a page in the Castle, and who were instructed to elicit from him the intentions of the enemy. Edward Butler gave them no information, but through them sent a secret message to the Deputy, telling him not to advance, for that if he did so he was sure to be overthrown. The characteristic answer of the gentlemen of Tipperary we here subjoin :—

"We are of this county more ancient inhabiters and freeholders than any Butlers is, and were the first conquerors of this soil from the Irishry; and in our ancestors' days it was made of a country called Earthmound (as much as to say as East Munster). But since that time (though a good many years past) England gave us away (I use their own phrase) to a Butler, and created him Earl of Ormond, and made him by letters patents Lord of the Liberty of the County of Tipperary, where, as a county palatine, he keepeth courts regally by himself or his officers, to which courts we do, and our ancestors did, ever since that grant from the Kings of England, yield suit and service, and where all actions for goods, lands, or life are tried, very few except, and those being but four capital offences seldom or never committed there. Thus have we and our ancestors

acknowledged him as our Lord and Captain, and indeed know no other Sovereign but him, whose lieutenant Sir Edmond Butler, his brother, and heir-apparent is. Him we follow, and him we will follow, and do as he commandeth us."—Sydney's Relation of his services in Ireland, "Carew Calendar," vol. ii., p. 345.

After this reply, the Council and Captains persuaded the Deputy to return, saying that there was great faintness in the soldiers. Sir Luke Dillon and Sir Thomas Cusack were for advancing; and the Deputy, being of their opinion, addressed the army, and distributed a tun of wine amongst them. Their courage being raised, they shortly afterwards marched, and entered the Geraldine territory, the country of the White Knight. Sir Edmund Butler did not molest them on their march; and, as they had left his territory, he consigned them to Fitzmaurice, the Captain of Desmond.

The Deputy's march into Desmond left the field again open to the Butlers, of which they were not slow to take advantage. Sir Edmund, soon after, led a force of 500 horse into Upper Ossory, and took a great prey. The raid is described in a letter of Cosby's (Aug. 7) to Lord Kildare, the General of the Pale; and Piers Butler, in the absence of Sir Peter Carew, made a night attack on the town of Leighlin Bridge. He brought a force of 30 horse and 200 kerne, and plundered and burned the town. He threatened to besiege the garrison, and reduced Roger Hooker,[1] who was in charge of it, to the greatest straits. Hooker writes for aid to the Chancellor,[2] saying—

"Upon Tewsdaie in the morning last, one houre before daie, Piers Butler, with divers other rebells, to the nombre of 30 horsemen and 200 carne, spoiled the whole town of Laughlin of all their goodes and cattel, to the nombre of one thousand marks, burned lxx houses, killed ix men, and hurt thre or foure, and burned four young children; and not being satisfied, but doth every daie threaten us to besiege the house, and myndeth to assaulte yt very shortlie."

The Earl of Kildare, who was posted at Tullow in the middle of August, with the army of the Pale, forced Sir Edmund to disperse his company when he came over the

[1] The father of Hooker, the eminent Protestant divine. In 1580 he was made Dean of Leighlin, though not in orders. He was once carried off prisoner, along with Master Wood, one of his chapter, by Maurice Kavanagh, of Garryhill. Maclean's "Life of Carew," p. 222, n.

[2] Id., p. 221.

Barrow. As soon as Lord Kildare retired northwards, Sir Edmund again collected his men, and invaded North Wexford. He took Enniscorthy town, and the Castle, which belonged to the Queen. In the absence of the Deputy, Francis Agarde, who had been in charge of the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles since 1567, related to the Chancellor the capture of the town, and the excesses of Sir Edmund's men. At a later period he sent an account of the great spoils made by Sir Edmund in Ferns and Arklow, and states that it was his design to attack[1] his own charge. He called for help from the Pale, and said he had but five or six gunners for that wide house (New Castle M'Kynaghan[2]).

By this time, the Earl of Ormonde, whom the Queen propitiated[3] by a grant of the prize wines of Youghal and Kinsale, the remission of cess, and other favours, had arrived in Ireland, and the whole face of affairs instantly changed. Sir Edmund and his two brothers stopped their disorderly courses, and sent messengers and letters[4] to their brother, who as yet refused to see them. He landed at Roslare, in Wexford, on the 14th of August, and on the 28th wrote from Waterford to Cecil. In this letter, he stated that the Deputy would give him no guard through the rebels, but wished to see him at Limerick or Kilmallock; and that he was afraid to advance through the country on account of the laws against coyne and livery. He expressed a wish to see his brothers, and enclosed the letters received from them to the Secretary. After this, he made his way to Kilkenny. The Deputy having received the Queen's letters, and having given the necessary powers to the Earl, the latter sent for his brethren.

The meeting took place outside the city. The Earl went there without any guard, accompanied only by the principal English citizens, who were to be witnesses of the interview. Sir Edmund and his brothers were escorted by a force of 80 horse and 800 kerne, and, after a parley, they came in upon protection. By this "protection" they

[1] For the purpose of raising the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles.

[2] The present Newcastle, in the county of Wicklow.

[3] Morrin's "Calendar," vol. i., p. 530.

[4] Maclean, pp. 223 and 232.

understood that they were to come safe, to remain, and to go safe. We shall see the little regard paid by the Deputy to this "protection," when the sharp accusations of Sir Edmund excited his anger. The account of the interview, written by the Earl, signed by him, with nine other witnesses, and sent to the Queen, we here subjoin :—

> "The wordes uttered by Sir Edmond Butler uppon his first meetinge with me, the Erle of Ormond, in presence of these whose names are subscribed, as well as we could remember them.

"The first of September, 1569, my brethren S^r^ Edmonde, Edwarde, and Piers, being by me sent for, came to me towarde Kilkenny, where the sayd S^r^ Edmonde prayed me, uppon my faith and honour, to tell wheather the Queene's Ma^tie^ was in health or no; and tould me that he heard such reportes from hir Ma^tie^, as he could not be quiet in his mynde, till he weare certaine how she did. And when I gave him to understand that her Ma^tie^ was, God be thanked, in very good health, he put off his murrion, and thanked God of it, and prayed that she might so contynue in as long and as happie a raigne as ever any Kinge or Queene did. And so prayed his two breathren, and all theire company.

"After this, he made a greevous complainte unto mee of the cruell and ill usages of my L. Deputy, and S^r^ Peter Carew, who (as he sayd) weare not onely contented to spoyle him of all his land and livinge without any order of Lawe; but also did what they could to bereave him of his life, and proclaymed him traitor to the Queene's Ma^tie^, which greeved him most of all, havinge no cause or good grounde so to doe, savinge onely for that he shonned in come to my Lord Deputie's presence, whom he feared uppon divers threatninge wordes to take away his life and lyvinge without processe of Lawe: which was the cause, that he did shonne him, thinkinge that he would detaine him till he had surrendred his land to S^r^ Peter Carewe. And within three or foure dayes after he had him proclaymed traytor, he being thereby amazed, and having sent his letters to my Lord Deputie to crave his protection to come before him to shew his greefe, and also to be imployed in her Ma^tes^ service in Connaght, or elsewhersoever it would please my Lord Deputy to appointe him, my Lord Deputy stayed his messenger prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, and sent him no answere upon his letters, but suddenly sent S^r^ Peter Carew and Captain Gilbert with 300 horses of the Queenes to seeke him, who sett uppon certaine of his galloglasses, and slewe as many of them as they could, being such as have allwayes served the Queene's Ma^tie^ under my leadinge, thinkinge to have slaine himselfe if he had bene with them. Theis and many other greves, and Injuries he complayned of, and to take God to witnes, and prayed that he mought be dampned both body and soule, if ever he ment to rebell or take parte with any in the world against the Queenes Ma^tie^, or if ever he ment to doe any harme to my L. Deputy. And for witnes of the same, declared that he tooke not so much as a horse from his Lord in all his Jorney, and sent unto his Lord such of his men as chaunced to be taken by somme of the sayd S^r^ Edmonde's men; but alwayes sought to be revenged uppon S^r^ Peter

Carew, who to this day enjoyeth his livinge, if he could have gotten him out of my Lord Deputie's company. And for such hurts and offences as by occasion of my Lord Deputy, and S[r] Peter Carew's sayd dealings, he was driven to doe and committ to others of the Queene's Ma[ties] subjectes, he most humbly and lowly submitted himselfe to the Queene's Ma[ties] mercy, and promised to mee to keepe hir Ma[tes] peace from hencefourth to all her subjects, till it shall please hir highnes to signifie hir pleasure, how she will have him demeaned; and what soever order it shall please hir Ma[tie] to take for him, he promised according to his bounden duty to stand and to accomplishe the same. And if she will have him to serve in ffraunce or in other place out of my Lord Deputys danger, he will with a most faithfull and most willinge harte so doe, and in the mean tyme to serve hir Ma[tie] with all the power he hath or may have to the uttermost of his power at his own charges, in any place in Ireland, so he be not driven to come to my Lord Deputie's presence, or to serve in his company, which he refused to doe, and promised hereoppon to stay and keepe the peace, till I doe lett him to understand of my Lord Deputie's pleasure touching this, and certain other requests, that he hath to make to his Lord, now, at this tyme of my repaire unto him.

"Thomas Ormonde Oss.
John Fermye [Fernen.[1]] Christopher Oss[r].
Walter Archer Souffrain of Kylkenny.
Will[m] Johnson Dean of Kilkeny. Olyver Grace.
Hare Davells. R. Sheeth.
Robart Harpoll. Edmunde Butler."

This is a more favourable account of the interview, written by Ormonde. A less favourable one, written from Passage, in the County of Waterford, we also give :—

Nicholas White to Cecil.

"Sir,—After the perclosing of my other lres, I have to advertise your honor for certaintye, that the Erle's three brethren, accompanyed w[t] 800 footmen and 80 horsemen, mett him besyde Kilkeny, the first of September, and after a parly had betwixt them, came in to him upon protecton, and so to remeyn at his comandement till the Quene's pleasure were knowen, speaking w[th] very oppen mouthe against the l. Deputy, by the name of Sir Henry Sydney, denying to live under his goverment, and offring to have their case tryed afore the Quene. And so endinge I humbly take my leave. From the passadge place at Waterford, this 3rd of Septembber, 1569.

"Your owne humbly to comand,

"N. White.

[1] John Devereux, Bishop and Dean of Ferns, Christopher Gaffney, Bishop of Ossory, Johnson, Dean of St. Canice's, signed this document. Harry Davells was the Davells who was cruelly murdered by John of Desmond. Harpole was Constable of Carlow, and was the founder of the family of the Harpoles of Shrule Castle. They were at frequent feud with the O'Mores, and intermarried with the English settlers in Leix. Oliver Grace lived at Ballylinch, now a portion of the demesne of Mount Juliet, near Thomastown. He was of the Graces of Courtstown, who lost all their property in the Cromwellian and Williamite confiscations. In the "Memoirs of the Grace Family" it is said that this Oliver Grace was called "the wise," or, as the people expressed it, "the wise Grace of the Leagan."

"(Address.) To the honorable my singular good frend S^r William Cecil, Knight, principall Secretary to the Quenes Ma^tie, in hast."

The Earl kept his brethren for some days in Kilkenny before he brought them to the Deputy. During this time Sir Edmund, doubtless acting under the advice of the Earl, wrote the following letter to the Secretary :—

SIR EDMOND BUTLER TO CECIL.

"Right Honorable,—I had longe er this writtin to your honor, of the ill dealing of the governor, and others, by his l. setting on w^th me and my bretherin, but that suche serche was made in those parties, by his comandement, that I could not be spede of a trustie messenger to convey my said lre unto you. And nowe seeing that sins my l. my brothers landing, by his honors meanes my brethrin and I had protecton, whiche divers tymes heretofore I was refused of, I most earnestly desire your honor to stand so farre my good frend, as understanding the trew discours of my hole proceedinge your honor will solicite to hir highnes thereof, by w^ch I doubt not, albeit I can not deney save in trewe and faithfull harte to hir Majestie, to have deserved hir Grace's pardon, for the Injuries don to hir Highnes subjects by such disordrid persones, as for securitie of my life, I was faine to accompanie myself w^thall during this troble, but to have such indefferency at hir most gracious hands, as the justnes of the originall of this my miserable cause shall require; to the furthering whereof, I beseech your honor my reasonable causes to have your aide.

"Thus committing your honor to God I take my leave. From Kilkeny the 6th of September, 1569.

"Your honors Lovinge frend,
EDMOND BUTLER.

"(Address.) To the right honorable S^r William Cecill, Knight, chefe Secretary to the Quene's Ma^tie."

On the following day, the 7th of September, Sir Edmund wrote a petition to the Queen, which Ormonde enclosed in a letter of his to her Majesty. Ormonde endorsed it, "Sir Edmund's supplicacon to the Quene's Majestie." In this supplication Sir Edmund states, that, from the time he was able to bear armour, with the loss of his blood, he had served her Highness against all rebels and traitors in Ireland. He then proceeds to attack the Deputy :—

"So it is, most gracious soveraine lady, that Sir Henry Sydney, nowe lord deputie, upon some evill will by him wrongfully conceyvid against your suppliant, hath not only given your majesties said suppliant vile opprobrious spetches at all tymes in open audience to his utter defacing and discredite, w^th threatnning words touching the taking away from him of his life and living, but also encouragid Sir Peter Carewe to pretend title to the most parte of all the living your majesty's suppliant hathe, and seak to pull the same forcibly w^thout any order of lawe from him. And in

all matters, that your highnes said suppliant had against any other, or that any other had against him, sithens the said lord deputies last coming into Ireland, althoughe the said lord deputie would not suffer the same to come in question before any other Judges of your majesties lawe w'hin your said Realme, but before himself; yeat he did always beare oppenly, and being judge, plaied also the advocate, against your suppliant, and procurid divers suits to be made against him, that would never have been sued without his procurment, by reason wherof your majesties said suppliant, fearing his life and living to be brought in question before so partial a Judg, uppon warning given him that the said L. deputy (if he came at him) would have staied him prisoner till he were contented to forego his land to the said Sir Peter Carewe, thoughte good to shonne the said L. Deputies presens &c."

After this he describes the proclamation :—

"He proclaimed your said suppliant traitor, if he came not to him w'hin 14 dayes after the date of the proclamac̃on, and made the same proclamac̃on to beare date 13 dayes before it was proclamed in the County of Kilkeny, where your suppliant was, and first harde of the same. So as after your majesties suppliant had notice of the said proclamac̃on, he had but one daye to come to the said Lord Deputy."

He then describes the refusal of protection by the Deputy, and his suddenly sending a regiment of horse, under Sir Peter Carew and Gilbert, to seize his person. The encounter at Kilmocar, and the capture of Clogrennan, he also relates :

"They made a rode into the county of Kilkeny, and there assaulted certaine of the Erle of Ormonds gallowglass, and slewe to captens and 30 gallowglas, with l. rascull of them, thinking at that tyme to have slaine your majestie's suppliant. And after the said L. Deputy sent 300 fotemen of your majestie's army, to assist Sir Peter Carew and the rest, to assaulte your suppliant's house, whiche your said suppliant willed his men that he lefte to kepe the same to deliver to the L. deputie, if he came to seke it. And when Sir Peter Carew came about the house, to take the same, one of your suppliant's men asked whether the L. Deputye was there or not, and they w'hout answerid he was, and the man sought saulf conduct to come out to deliver the house to the L. deputie, as he was bid by your majestie's suppliant to do. And understanding, after his coming out, that the lord deputie was not there, he desired Sir Peter Carewe to see him saulf conducted backe againe. And, going into the house, he was thrust in behinde him, and slaine w'h shot by his conductors, betwixt the grate and the dore, and so your suppliant's house was won by the said Carewe, and spoiled your suppliant of all his plate, household stuff, and, evidence, which house and all the rest the said Sir Peter Carewe detaineth as yet, &c."

After stating how he was driven to keep a number of rude soldiers about him, which he could not maintain

without offending against the laws, and after the expression of his sorrow for these offences, he asks and entreats for a gracious general pardon for himself, his brethren, and their men, and that restitution should be made of house, lands, and goods taken by force. He then concludes the supplication in this manner:

"And to direct your majestie's comandement to the L. deputie, Sir Peter Carewe, and all others, that they nor any of them, shall deale w'h your suppliant, nor sue, vex, or troble him for his lands or goods in any other sorte, or by any other way or means, then by the ordinary course and order of your majestie's comen lawe of your highnes' said Realme of Irland. And your majestie's said suppliant shall, according to his most bounden dutie, dailie pray for your majestie's most happie Raigne in felicity long to contynue."

This supplication was dated 7th of September, 1569; and some days after the Earl brought Sir Edmund[1] and Piers Butler, at Limerick, into the presence of the Deputy, to whom they submitted in the open camp, and asked for mercy. They were then allowed to stand out, on the Earl's recognisance, until the 16th of October, when their case was to be heard in Dublin Castle, before the Deputy and Council. On the 16th of October, Ormonde brought Sir Edmund and Piers Butler to the Deputy. Edward Butler[2] did not appear, and held out much longer in his disobedience. The two brothers were indicted of high treason. Sir Edmund turned on the Deputy, and accused him of uttering violent threats[3] against his life, and of denying him justice; and attributed the whole of the war to his partiality. The Deputy denied that he ever threatened him, and endeavoured to justify

[1] Sydney, in his "Relation," states that on this occasion it was Edward Butler who submitted, and that he was allowed out to bring in his two brethren, which must mean Edmund and Piers.

[2] "Edw. Butler will yelde to no obedience. I think God have ordeined him for a sacrifice for the rest. What honor were it to that house, if therle wolde bring in that brothers hedde with his own handes. That were indeed a purging sacrifice, and such an ende of the troubles of this land, as I would think should remaine quiet in our daies; ffor James Fitzmorice, without that faction, is no boddie. And whensoever I mought turne with my hole force against Turlough Lynough I think it an easie enterprise to make an end of those warres."—Sir Henry Sydney to Carew, 27 May, 1570.

[3] Sir Edmund Butler, when questioned in the Star Chamber with regard to these threats, mentioned some of them in the Deputy's presence. Sir Edmund said that the Deputy spoke in the following manner in reference to him—"that he would sit on his skirts"—"that hereafter came not yet"—and that "he would make his heart-strings ache." It is but fair to add that these statements were denied by the Deputy in the presence of Sir Edmund Butler.

his conduct. The dispute growing warmer, Sir Edmund's temper overcame him, and he heaped accusations upon the Deputy; whereupon Sir Henry Sidney resolved to make him prisoner. Some difficulty arose about his protection; and this being debated in the Council, it was decided that the Deputy could detain him. Accordingly, he was committed a close prisoner to the Castle; Piers, his brother, being allowed out on bail. It does not appear that Ormonde interfered.

George Wyse,[1] who was present in the Council Chamber, gives some description of the scene:

G. Wyse to Cecil.

"It may please your honor this other daie, when Sir Edmond Butler and his brother Piers were brought before the Counsell, it was my chaunce to be there, among other of the multitude, that thrust in to se; where I noted, and so might all men, a singuler gravitie, accompanied with no lesse slowlenes and wisdom, in our noble Governor. His honor first began with a plaine description of the whole state of this Realme, declaring bothe the good stay, and unyversall quiet it was like to have growen to, before thes broyles; and the great outradges and enormyties of late comytted; in which discorse he semed to touche no matter but what all that Audytory was hable in maner of their own knowledge to affirm. Then his Lordship semed to article with theis 2 gentlemen (if I may so term men in their case), uppon the occasions whereby they mought serve to be moved to theis lewd attempts. And truly, on my part, I coulde gather no reason they had to provoke them thereunto, but a certeyn terror or feare conceaved upon som words, which they pretend my Lord Deputye shuld have spoken, but by his L. denied, and being never so true, demed of all men a very slender ground for such a purpose.

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"The said Sir Edmond and Piers, coming in thus upon a protecion given them by the Earle their brother, as auctorized from the Lord Deputie, by tennor whereof they shuld com sauf, remayn, and go sauf, thought uppon assurance of those words they might return at pleasur from whence they came. But I wene, it fell out uppon debating of the matter, by conclusion of the counsell, that it shuld rest in his L. discretion to stay them, notw'hstandinge their said protecion. It is to be lamented, that any ever descended of that noble house of Ormonde, shuld merite to be noted of Rebellion. But, thanks be to God, howsoever the rest have

[1] George Wyse, of Waterford, was brother to Andrew Wyse, the Under Treasurer. He was one of those men in Ireland who gave the Secretary secret information. Cecil gave him three farms out of the Church lands in the county Waterford. He got a lease for sixty years of the commanderies of Crooke, Killure, and Kilbarry. He afterwards applied to be associated with John Chaloner, the accountant. He succeeded to his brother's property, which he had difficulty in keeping.—"Historical Notes (Ireland)," and "Wyse's Letters."

used themselves, that worthy man, their brother, provith such a member of his comon weale, as I beleve this Realme never bredd a better. Assuring your honor, if my L. Deputye had not so valiantly stept forthe in person, and the said Earl so prosperously arrived as he did, Irland had er this ben in worse case then it was at any time sithence the conquest; but now, the Lord be praysed, the worst is past, and presentlye I heer of no sturringe, but a litle of the traytour James Fitzmorice, who, I hope, will sone be subdued, for most of his confederates have given him over, so as nowe he is of no great force.

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"Your honour's moost boundēn, during life,

"GEORGE WYSE.

(Address)—"To the right honorable my most singler good Master, S^r^ Wylliam Cecyll, knight, principall Secretary to the Quenes most excellent Majestie."

Sir Edmund Butler, being thus committed to prison, was not without friends in the Castle, who provided him with a rope as a means of escape. While he was endeavouring to escape, the rope broke; and Sir Edmund, being hurt, was obliged to remain all the night in the water of the moat. In the morning he got away,[1] and afterwards kept in the country parts with slender company. The vexation and disappointment of the Deputy at his escape are manifest from the following letter, in which Sir Henry Sydney condemns everything, and every one, in "this accursed cuntrie," and in which he states he was out with every one, and most of all out with himself. It is to be observed, that in this letter he forgets his usual caution with regard to Ormonde :—

LORD DEPUTY SYDNEY TO CECIL.

"SIR,—I and the Concell here, have at the present, written to her Majestye of the escape of Sir Edmond Butler, whose submyssyon and cravying mercye on his knees so umbly made to me as it was, my unfayned forgyvying him for any thing that he had offendyd me in partycular, in hys curtese usage in prison havinge any freynd he had, as well learned as others, who lysted or he would to come to him, and his hassardus maner of escape, whych surlye myght have byn thought desperate inoghe thogh he had bin condemned to have died the morrow after: consydered of together, arguyth in my head, a great malycyus intendment in him: what he will do, I can not tell, but muche hath he threathned, syns hys escape, and all uppon mere inglyshmen, and this I dare affirm, and am able to prove, more myscheefe hath he doon, and procured to be done, than ever rebell in memory of man dyd in Ireland, and had he not byn,

[1] He escaped through Wicklow to the Co. Kilkenny by the aid of the sons of Hugh Mac Shane O'Birne, one of whom was the famous Phelim Mac Hugh.

the south and west had byn in quiet obeydyens, and the north for a great parte dulye planted. What my lord of Ormond wyll do, I know not, lyttell is as yet done, to the punyshment of any that dyd offend, his brethren withdrawen from doying that open rebellyus hurtes that they did, but nether they, nor any of thear complyces, delyvered to be justyfyed, albeyt I am persuaded, that he mighte delyver anye brother he hathe, and apprehend, kill, or banysh, any rebellyus folloer of theare.

Sir, I most hartely desyre you and that for the quyet of this accursed cuntrie, and for the saving of the treasure of Ingland from wasting in this fruteles and unthankfull cuntre, and in dyscharge of your one duty, and partly for me your poor freendys sake, that you will move her Majestye to remove me from this sarvice, and place sum other here, whome her Majestye can think worthy better countenans, and creditte than I receve: for albeyt my sinceryte of concyens, which opynyon of her highnes integrytye of judgement assureth me that her Majestye demyth not evill of me, yet in respect of her sarvyce it is all one for her Majestye to do it, and not to make manifest demonstratyon of the contrary, to me in effect, it is all one, for one cours have I held, do hold, and, God wyllyng, fall sweete or fall sower, I will hold, only my greef growyth by it which by consequens bredeth no gaine to the Quene, but los; but the oddys is greate for the quene, for while it shall be thought here that I dare not do, but by sumys dyrection here, or that whatsoever he may undo thear, I shall as fruteleslye waste the queene's treasure, as grevuslye spending tyme, and sure that opynyon is in most of the busy heades here, who are in effect all bent agaynst me: the nobility, for that I seke to pull power from thear tyranie and to increase custum, coors, and obedyens to her highnes lawes, and prerogatyfe; the marchantes condemn me for the statute of Impost; which surlye, if it be well used, will be more worth to the Queene than all the revenue of Ireland; the comunes are out with me for that I can not gett them a pay for the soldyars; thus am I out with all, and yet most of all, out with my self, for I attest God, and my concyens, that I feel such infirmitye and unweldiness of boddy, with such unwillyningnes of mynd to sarve here, as if I be forced to tarry but one year longar, I verylye belyve I shall not lyve. If therefore my lyfe is of anye price with you, get me home."

After recommending a page, and complaining of the state of the treasury, he concludes:—

"Thys is all, fyrst help me to money, then help me home, and lastlye comend me to my good ladye your wife and to my daughter in most harty manner. I hard not from you, in effect, sins Owen Moore's[1] aryvall with you, which is a marvell to me, not wont greefe: God graunt this tacyturnytye only procede from the curs of Ireland. Pardon me for my mysordered, hasty, and tedyus letter. In haste from Dundalk this 25 of 9ber, 1569. Your brother to comand.

(Holograph.) "H. SYDNEY.

(Address.) To the right honorable Sir William Cycyll, Knight, [principa]ll Secretary to y^e^ [Quenes most] excellent Majestie."

This letter of the Deputy was written on the 25th of

[1] Owen Moore was Muster Master in Ireland.

October, a few days after the escape of Sir Edmund. In his account of the State of the Realme, which he sent to the Privy Council in England, in the following December, 1569, the Deputy again refers to Sir Edmund and his brethren, giving them the hardest words he could. On this occasion, he brings out Sir Edmund's religion to render him the more obnoxious.

"Sithe the desperate escape of Sir Edmonde Butler, I do neither heare that those brethren go about to attempt[1] any thinge, nor (to my knowledge) do procure any meanes of mercie; verie secretlie they kepe themselves, and sclenderlie accompanied; my L. their brother in his last letters to me promised to persequte them, as he woold his enemies, if they continued in Rebellion, and desiring of me allowance of 300 kearne, I granted the same with offer of any thinge elles, that might advance him in the service of her Majesty, and in dede do thinke it moste convenient (all circumstances on all sides considered) to leave that service of bringing in his brethren unto himself. And thereunto have laboured him by all meanes, that I can provoke him, both by frindshippe, and office w^th^ suche respecte as I ought to have to suche a one as he is, whome I accompt a principall Instrument for the good service of her Majesty in this Lande, and woold w^th^ right hartie good will joyne w^th^ him to advance his honor in the same, if he could be persuaded to think so of me. Howe soever affection leadeth his L., it seemeth to me, and others, verie perillous that they be abroad unreconciled, in this doubtefull and dangerous tyme, wherein so many bad devises be practised; great presumptions also of former dealing betwixt Sir Edmond Butler and that Romishe B. of Cashell[2] for being by me appointed to apprehend him, when it was apparent that he might have done it, he then lett him slippe, and after that he had spoiled the right B. and turned him cleane out of his livinges. Sir Edmonds inclinac̃on to superstition also bredeth great suspic̃on, being verie credible reported, that he hathe made an offeringe to the holy crosse sence his escape; hereunto adding, if no Rebellion may be accompted to be ended, so long as the offendor yeldeth not to his fault, desireth not mercye of the offended majestye of the prince, and satisfieth not the injured subject, maketh this loosenesse of their brethren, and their followers (that never yet yelded but under protection accompting nothing of Sir Edmonds counterfaited submission nor yet of Edwards so long as they flie from mercye) to be more fearfull to me, and to all others, that joyne with me in the case of good government. And therefore without all intent to aggravate matter against her Majesties disposic̃on to mercye, where and when her highnes shall think mete, I thinke it my dutie in answering the chardge comitted unto me by her highnesse, to make relac̃on thereof, that the matter considered, suche meanes may be used on all sides, as the state roiall may stande in suertie; for otherwyse the furie of the flood stopt in for a tyme, may burst owt to the ruine and Surrounding of the whole countrie, which so moche as shall be in my power, I will endea-

[1] All attempts at reviving the confederacy were at an end, as M'Carthy More and M'Donagh submitted to Gilbert on the 4th of December, 1569, so that then there was no one out of any consequence, except James Fitzmaurice and Edward Butler.

[2] Maurice Fitzgibbon was the Bishop whom Sir Edmund let slip.

vor to prevent. And upon that intent I most humblie desire your honors to take consideracon of it, as to your wisdoms apperteneth, and that w'h suche earnestnesse, as so weightie a cause importeth."

The "State of the Realme," from which the foregoing is an extract, was written from Drogheda on the 27th of December, 1569. The confederacy was virtually at an end. M'Carthy More and M'Donagh, his chief follower, had submitted in Limerick, and offered their eldest sons as hostages. James Fitzmaurice was still out with a poor following, two horsemen, and twenty kerne; and, as Sydney writes, "had no so muche grounde under his rule as will be able to find them meat." About a month from this, on the 1st of February, 1570, Ormonde entered his bond in Dublin for the appearance of Sir Edmond and Piers Butler. He was then permitted to bring them to Kilkenny, and to keep them there. They were allowed to go outside the city only for a circuit of three miles, and that for the purpose of taking the air. Sir Edmond fell sick here, and had like to die. On the last day of February, 1570, he and his brother submitted in Dublin, and were by the Deputy and Council formally committed until the Queen's pleasure were known in their regard. On the 5th of March, Ormond wrote to the Lords of the English Privy Council in their favour, asking them to be a mean to extend to them the Queen's mercy.

The second Parliament of Queen Elizabeth in Ireland continued its sessions in the year 1570, and passed an Act attainting the rebels of 1569. In this attainder comes Sir Edmund Butler, after the Earl of Clancare. Joined with him were the other Butlers implicated in the rebellion—namely, his two brothers, the two sons of Lord Mountgarrett, the two sons of Piers Butler of the Grallaght,[1] and the four sons of Edmund Butler of Poolestown (Paulstown).

We insert here a remarkable letter of Ormonde's to Heneage, in which he criticizes this Act of Attainder, and strikes sideways at the Deputy. He insinuates a curious excuse for Sir Edmund's disobedience—namely, that he was bewitched, and says that he himself narrowly escaped.

[1] The Castle of the Grallaght "in ruins" is marked on the Ordnance Map in the parish of Graystown, barony of Middlethird, Co. Tipperary.

"The Earl of Ormond and Ossory to Mr. Heneage.

"Your two lres dated the 19th of May last, I receaved by my servante Teig m°carthie, the 4th of the last June, wherin you wryte that uppon your settinge fourth of my trothe to her Majestie, and the danger of my present service, w^t my desyre to presarve the lyfe of my bretherne, and my howse from stayne. The Quene (as you write) did comend both my good will and ablenes to sarve, as I have ever bene reddy and willinge to strayne myselfe to the uttermoste (yea I may say), above my habilitie, to sarve her highnes, So do I accompte myselfe happie, that she holdeth so good opinion of me, wherin she doth me right, besyde that she shall never find herself deceaved in so beleavinge of my trothe and will to sarve while my lyfe shall laste. Her Majestie I hope holdeth me excused for my earnest suete made to save my unfortunate bretherne, and my howse from stayne. Alas what availeth lyfe, and to lyve w^t infamy (as I perceave my bretherne must do cominge to araignment). But the Quenes stayenge of there judgement and execucon, is an excydinge marcye, far above there desartes of late daies. Though afore tyme, Sir Edmond that was knighted for the loss of his blod divers tymes, was enferior to none of his degree that sarved in this unhappie lande. M^r. Heneage, I am sorry some were so extremelye bent against them. A long and most happie lyfe may she have, that staieth judgement, and lyfe for herselfe to use as she will. And for the stayne of my howse, I confess hit nippith me at the harte. But whate remedie the best is, they may w^th the Quenes goodnes, lyve to requite this evill w^th good sarvice hereafter. How this mischief begann, all men know I can verifie that my brother Sir Edmond was not his owne man till of late, sins he was bewiched. Myself have not escaped free by meane of a drink given me by some unhappie hand (w^ch God I prayse), I recovered althoughe hardely, w^th drinkinge salte, oyle, bledinge vary moche, and being purged. I bled forty oñces at two tymes.

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"There is an acte past here in parlyament for the attaynder of divers of my kinsmen and frendes, w^ch have painfully and chargeably sarved the Quenes Majestie w^th me uppon protecc̃on granted unto them by the Lorde Deputies authoritie, sins my cominge into Ireland w^thout any entertaynment of her highnes (w^ch I hope, my Lorde Deputie advertysed), whereby her Majestie may knowe my sarvice and theres, as afore, and be the more willinge to receave them unto her marcye. The Acte is very generall, and so, perellous for moste men: it is so strange as thereby men be allreaddy attaynted, and adjudged for the offences, that shall be comitted herafter, betwixt this and the last day of the next Aprill. So that the judgment is geven, before the offence comytted, and what this meanes, I cannot tell. But many Innocents may be indited uppon malyce, and peradventure shall have no notyce of the proclamac̃on, mencyoned in that Acte, to come to justifie themselves (according to the lawe). And notw^thstandinge the same, if they come not according to the proclamac̃on, thoughe they never had notyce therof they shall forfete their lives and livinges. Divers other perills be also in the same Acte, to such as never offended (if this acte be passed rashlye, and not reformed by the Quene), in such sorte, as those that sarved under me be considered for the same, others will have the less couradge, to sarve as they did, if the same do pass w^th such force as the devisors therof supposeth it will, I feare me

the Quenes Majestie wol be at more charges in executinge the same, than there livinges shal be worth her. All those that sarved under me uppon protecc̃on, w^th^ divers others that never offended, fearinge the extremytie and rigor of that Acte, departed from me, not a little to my grief and trouble, havinge the charge of Thomonde and Mounster, where they sarved under me at my charges w^th^out any entertaynement of the Quene.

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"Thus referring all news to the bearer, I leave, praieng you to give him credite what he shall say unto you, wishing to you as to myself praieng you to helpe his discharge w^th^ as moche spede as you may. From my howse at Carrick this 4^th^ day of July, 1570.

"Yours veray assured,

"THOMAS ORMOND & Oss.

(Address). "To my veray loving frend M^r^. Heneage."

During this time Sir Edmund and Piers Butler continued in humble submission. It was not so with Edward Butler, whom neither the example of his repentant brethren, nor the advice and authority of the Earl, his brother, nor his own sense of danger, nor the hopelessness of his attempts, could bring round. He joined James Fitzmaurice, and ravaged Thomond. Ormonde bound himself to bring him in; and the Deputy supplied him with men for the purpose, leaving the matter entirely to the Earl. In his pursuit after Edward, the Earl fell suddenly upon his force, and killed twenty-four of his men, Edward himself narrowly escaping. In the end, he did come in and was treated like his brethren. With him the last of the brethren submitted, and closed the war.

By this time, Sir Peter Carew began to suspect that he had lost ground at Court, and that the Queen was inclining to her kinsmen, and was considering his affairs as an annoyance to her government. As yet he did not hold the Dullogh or Clogrennan Castle as his own. He merely held them for the Queen. This is evident from the order of the English Privy Council in this year, giving direction to have the Barony meared, or measured, and appointing the mearers.[1] Sir Peter's tenure was precarious, and he

[1] Order of the Privy Council at Greenwich, March 20, 1570, to Deputy to address out commission unto honest and skilful persons to view, survey, and bound the limits of the Barony of Idrone. This was not carried out, and another was issued in September, 1572, which was executed in the following October, 1572. The commissioners were, Lesley, Colclough, Davells, Harpoll, Barry, Gouse, Wood, and Lynt. They associated with them twenty-two inhabitants of the Barony, eight of whom were Kavanaghs, and ten of them were O'Byrnes. The map of the Barony of Idrone preserved in the Lambeth Library, drawn by them, is the original of Mercator's Map, given at p. 187, *supra*.

thought it necessary to defend his conduct; besides, if he did not come well out of this transaction, he had no chance for his affairs in Munster. He writes to the Secretary Cecil:—

SIR PETER CAREW TO CECIL.

"Good M^r. Secretarie the compforte of my life dependinge upon the Quenes Majesties favor, I live in greate unquietnes, till I certeinlie here that the same is towards me as my desartes, all maner of wayes hathe, and shall desarve. I stand still upon myne inocencie (as I have formerlie wrytten unto you), that I have not by any menes desquieted or made disturbance to any possession of Sir Edmond Butlers, till I was apointed her Majesties soldyer, to represe his disorderly procedinges, as both the Lord Deputye, and the holle counsaill can testifie. I will not write, what I have done to holde myselfe in frindshippe with him, as one of suche a house as I speciallye respected. I wolde no man should think me so voyde of discourse, but that I could foresee in what stede the howes of Butler, shoulde stande me, beinge so neare neighbours, but his procedinges hathe declared another intente than a simpell defence of my deffiand, or anye wronge offered upon the same. And I therein accompted a special enemie to him, because he judgethe my settelinge here, as a Lymme of some stringthe and continuance to sarve in the upholdinge of the Englishe goverment, w^ch he and his accomplishes, with apparent acts hathe sought to overthrow. The particulars wherof, I wyshe rather to fall out by every mane's complaint of his particular injuries, then by my relacon. for mine own parte, my humble sute to you and all my good frindes is, that it may plays you to be menes to hir highnes, to geve me hir gracious and good coontinance, that hathe always bent myself to her sarvis, do presentlie sarve, and beyond my power and habilitie to mantayne it, and to obtain hir majesties favor, and gracious continance, shall refuse no service that hir grace shall comand me during my life, w^thout respecte of losse or expencis of lyfe, landes, or goods. And whatsoever titell or clame I have, as I have hitherto proceded according to good order and right, so shall I continually submyte myselfe to suche direction as hir highnes infurmed of my titell shall allow of.

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"From Dubling the 27^th of October 1569.
"Your ever assuredly to comand
"P. CAREW.

(Address) "To the right honorable S^r Willyam Siscell, Knight and principall Secretory to the Quene's Majestie.
(Endorsement) "27 8^br 1569. S^r P. Carew to my M^r."

Having seen what Sir Edmund and the Earl of Ormonde had to say on their side, we now know what Sir Peter said on his. He put in two pleas—the first, that he did not interfere with Sir Edmund until he was appointed her Majesty's soldier against him—that is to say, he acted against Sir Edmund only in his military capacity. Were this true, it should be said that his military duties were

confined to the seizing of Sir Edmund's property, and the keeping of it. He did not fight in Munster against the rebels, like his fellow-soldier Gilbert. But Sir Peter Carew's statement is not true; for when Davells, the Sheriff of Carlow, gave him possession of Idrone, he interfered with Sir Edmund's property, and this was long before he received his military commission from the Deputy.

His second plea was that, as he had proceeded in this matter according to good order and right, so would he submit himself to the Queen's directions, &c. Now, in this he does not say a word about proceeding according to law, the want of which was the main complaint of Sir Edmund Butler.

The Queen had stayed execution of the sentence on the Butlers, but she did not pardon them formally till the year 1573. In the mean time they served her Majesty in the wars, as if nothing had occurred, and did so with the more zeal, in order to blot out the memory of their short disobedience. In 1572, we find from a letter of Sir John Perrott's, then President of Munster, that Sir Edmund and Edward Butler were him, serving against their former confederate James Fitzmaurice. He writes :—

"And for your L. and the counsell's letters written to M^r. Sheathe, I do understand, that Sir Edmonde and Edwarde Butler are this daie at Cashell in a redinesse with their men, as by their severall letters, they have advertised me whom I have required to follow the traitor in Arlaghe, into which place I have driven him, and as they shall doo service, I will certify unto your L. of their dooings."

Amongst the names of Lords of English descent, and of Irish Chiefs who served in Sir John Perrott's camp, we find that of Mac Carthy More fighting against Fitzmaurice. When the great Geraldine submitted in 1573, he accused M'Carthy More and Sir Edmund Butler of being the authors of the rebellion. In this final struggle with Fitzmaurice, Sir Edmund made himself particularly active. When it was reported that the sons of Clanrickard with 1200 men were coming over the Shannon to the aid of Fitzmaurice, Sir Edmund wrote to Shee, and to Gall-Burke, the Sheriff of Kilkenny, to muster all the force they could to meet them. The confederacy being entirely broken by

the submission of Fitzmaurice at Kilmallock in 1573, the Queen, considering the time favourable, and having regard to their late fidelity,[1] sent the brothers a formal pardon dated from Gorhambury:—

"Pardon of Sir Edmond Butler, Knight, otherwise called Edmond Butler of Cloghgrennan in the county of Carlow, Edward Butler of Cloghinche in the county of Tipperary, and Peter Butler of Lex Abbey, Gorambury, March 12. 16°."—Morrin, vol. ii., p. 640.

The Queen directed Sir Henry Sydney to restore Sir Edmund in blood, which commission the Deputy was slow to execute. By this omission, the succession to the Earldom on the part of Sir Edmund and his sons was debarred. The question never came to practical issue, as Sir Edmund and his four sons, Piers, John, James, and Theobald, all died before the Earl. John and James died childless. Piers, the eldest, left one daughter, and as it is said, a natural son, Piers, who gave some trouble to Walter the 11th Earl of Ormonde. If this son of Piers Fitz Edmund succeeded in proving himself legitimate, he would have established his claim to the Earldom (supposing Sir Edmund's blood untainted), as Walter Butler was descended from a younger son, John of Kilcash.

To Piers Fitz Edmund the Queen had been kind and generous. He lived in Roscrea, and not in Clogrennan. Some few years after the death of his father, Sir Edmund, the Queen wrote to the Deputy and Chancellor, directing, a lease in reversion for forty years to be passed to Pierce Butler Fitz Edmund of Roskrea in the county of Tipperary of lands of the value of £40 a year.—Morrin, vol. ii., p. 243.

With regard to the claim of his supposed natural son, it appears to have been set aside in 1603, when the title and estates by patent were settled on Theobald, the fourth

[1] They would also seem some time before to have surrendered their lands, as appears by a "Surrender to the Queen by Edmund Butler, of Clogrenane, in the county of Carlow, of all his estate in the counties of Carlow, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, Wexford, Kildare, and the Queen's County, Oct. 10, 1570. Memorandum of the said Edmund Butler having voluntarily acknowledged the preceding surrender before the Lords of the Council."—Morrin, vol. i., p. 544. "Surrender to the Queen by Peter Butler, of Clone, in the county of Kilkenny, of all his lands in the Queen's County, and all his goods and chattels, moveable and immoveable, living and dead, Oct. 10, 1570."—Morrin, vol. i., p. 544.

and surviving son of Sir Edmund. In the following year Theobald was created Viscount Butler of Tullophelim in the county of Carlow, and was made Governor of the county. His uncle, the Earl, offered his only daughter Elizabeth to Lord Tullophelim in marriage, which offer he accepted with the Queen's consent. There was no issue by the marriage; and Lord Butler of Tullophelim dying before the Earl, the Earldom and some of the estates went to Walter Butler of Kilcash.

Lady Butler of Tullophelim, after the death of her husband and of her father, was given away by King James I. to Richard Preston, a court favourite, the new Earl of Desmond. By his wife, Preston got the greater part of the Ormonde property. A lawsuit of long standing ensued between him and Walter, the 11th Earl of Ormonde, which, through the prejudice of the King, went against the Earl. It was Preston who incited the supposed natural son of Piers Fitz Edmund to dispute the title with Walter of Kilcash. This matter was so much spoken of and debated, that the Court, being willing to injure Walter, the then Earl, directed the issue of a commission of inquiry. In May, 1624, the Commissioners were appointed. They were Falkland[1] Lord Deputy; the Earl of Thomond;[2] Aungier, Master of the Rolls; and Lord Esmonde.[3] Pierce Butler failed to prove

[1] Falkland was the celebrated Royalist of the English Civil War.

[2] This was Donogh, fourth Earl of Thomond. He was a Protestant brought up at the Court of Elizabeth. He rendered great services to the Crown during the reigns of Elizabeth and James. Sydney, who disliked him for joining James Fitzmaurice, used to call him "the Ox." On this occasion Norris, the English Ambassador in Paris, reinstated him in the Queen's favour. Thomond was present at the capture of Ormonde by O'More of Leix, when he himself narrowly escaped. He fought against the Northern Earls, and was employed on important missions. His younger brother, Daniel, was made Viscount Clare.

[3] Lord Esmonde was a younger son of the ancient Catholic family of Esmonde of Ballinastragh, Co. Wexford. Having become a Protestant, he served the Queen in Holland, and afterwards with great distinction in Ireland. His plots against the life of Tyrone are not creditable to him. He and Sir Oliver Lambart extinguished the last efforts of the Celtic clans in "base" or "low" Leinster. Esmonde reduced Donell Spaniagh, the representative of the eldest branch of the Kavanaghs. Donell's chief castle was at Clonmullen, near Clonegal, in the barony of Upper St. Mullins, Co. Carlow.

Captain Laurence Esmonde was made Major-General of the Irish Army, and was created a Peer by James I., under the title of Baron Esmonde of Limbrick (near Gorey), Co. Wexford. He got a grant of lands in this place. In the Civil War he deserted the King, and held for the Parliamentarians the fort of Duncannon, of which the King had made him Governor. This statement is denied by some. Duncannon was taken by Preston; and Esmonde, it is said, in a short time after died of grief.

His first wife was a sister of O'Flaherty, the Dynast of West Connaught.

his legitimacy before this Commission, as is stated in Lodge, and as we know from the fact that Walter the eleventh Earl was undisturbed in the title, and as Earl of Ormonde sat in the House of Peers. The mother of Pierce was offered, it is stated, a great bribe by Preston to say that her son was a Butler. After the death of Sir Edmund's sons the castle of Clogrennan and the lands of the Dullogh came into the hands of Thomas Butler of Clogrennan, who is said to have been lineally descended from Sir Edmund. He was raised to the rank of Baronet in 1628, by the title of Sir Thomas Butler of Clogrennan. After the removal[1] of his family to Garryhundon, in the same county, Clogrennan continued in the possession of the Ormonde family until the attainder of the second Duke, when it came into the family of Rochfort. Charles, Lord Arran, the younger brother of the second Duke of Ormonde, was enabled by an Act[2] passed in the Irish Parliament in 1721 to buy from the Crown a good deal of the Irish property of the attainted Duke, the Palatinate of Tipperary being suppressed. By this means Lord Arran, who should have been the fourteenth Earl of Ormonde, got back much of the family property, which he entailed on the heir male of the Earldom, his cousin, John Butler of Kilcash. He did not repurchase Clogrennan.[3]

She fled with her young son, Thomas Esmonde, to the West, that she might bring him up a Catholic. Esmonde in his anger affected to consider his marriage invalid, on the ground that his wife was of "the Irishry;" and without instituting any judicial proceedings married a daughter of Walter Butler of Nodestown, fourth son of the ninth Earl of Ormonde. She had no children by Lord Esmonde, who was her third husband. Lord Esmonde willed his property to his son Thomas, who, brought up by his maternal relations, attained the rank of Knight and afterwards of Baronet through their influence. Sir Thomas made an unsuccessful attempt to seize his father's papers for the purpose of proving his legitimacy. Were they in his possession, they would not show that his mother was not of "the Irishry." Colonel Monck got Esmonde's property in the Cromwellian settlement; and his influence, as Duke of Albemarle, at the Restoration was so great, that he prevented Sir Thomas from acquiring his paternal property, and from succeeding to his father's title.

[1] The removal of the Butler family to Garryhundon may have arisen out of the differences between Lord Ormonde and Sir Thomas Butler, which came before Parliament, 1685.

[2] Lodge's Genealogy of the Peerage, p. 424.

[3] For a view of Clogrennan Castle as it stood in the reign of Charles II., see "Dineley's Tour" in our "Journal," vol. iv., second series, p. 42.

REMARKS UPON THREE HITHERTO UNNOTICED CRANNOGS IN DRUMGAY LAKE, NEAR ENNISKILLEN.

BY W. F. WAKEMAN, ESQ.

THERE is, perhaps, no district in Ireland more rich in lakes and lakelets than the county of Fermanagh. The whole territory, indeed, would seem at no very remote period to have been a wilderness, through which the Erne, river and lake, wound its course from Belturbet to the Atlantic Ocean, a distance of about sixty miles. Now an examination of any good map, referring to the shores of Lough Erne and the adjoining districts for a short distance inland, will satisfy an inquirer that the name of the "Lake Country," so often applied to Fermanagh, has not been derived from the course of the Erne alone. Sheets of water, or marshes once lakes, varying in circumference from a rood to a mile or more, are to be found upon almost every side. These inland lochs may be considered as stations along the main line. At a period when the whole neighbouring country was one mass of wood, they served as tolerably secure retreats; and no doubt within their islands, natural or artificial, the work of the artificer in wood, bronze, iron, and even in the precious metals, was carried on. In such an island at Lagore, near Dunshaughlin, in the county of Meath, many hundreds of pins of bronze, bone, iron, and wood were found, together with countless swords, spearheads, axes, knives, combs, brooches, crucibles, unmanufactured pieces of bronze and iron, &c., &c. The same remark applies to the great crannog found at Ballinderry, near Moate, and to a similar work at Strokestown, in Roscommon, where some of the most exquisitely finished brooches and other remains were turned up during the bone grubbing operations which followed the partial drainage of the lake, and the consequent discovery of "the island." That the crannogs were not merely widely moated forts, but were occasionally at least the scene of mechanical and artistic industry, often of a very refined kind, may be inferred from the character of the remains so frequently found within or around them, amongst which half-finished articles, lumps of unworked metal, crucibles, and "slags," are conspicuous.

Hitherto, as far as I am aware, the crannog "finds," as reported, have generally consisted of objects composed of stone, bone, wood, or metal. Of specimens of early fictile ware, except of that class represented by sepulchral urns, we unfortunately possess but few examples. It is, therefore, with a feeling of pleasure I am able to lay before our Association some portions of vessels which belong to an early period of society in this country, and which I believe to be unrepresented in any collection of antiquities.[1]

At a distance of about three miles and a-half north of Enniskillen, and within a quarter of a mile of the northern shore of Lough Erne, occurs the lake of Drumgay (the Ridge of the Geese)—a sheet of water about a mile in length, and half a mile in its greatest breadth. From the centre of this lake to the monastery on the famous island of Devenish would be a distance, "as the crow flies," of about one mile. The lake, which is completely landlocked, is dotted with three small islands, well wooded, but otherwise presenting no picturesque feature. On several occasions, when travelling by the railway which skirts the water, I had been struck by their appearance, and considered them well worthy of examination. It was not, however, until I had heard that the largest of the islands was described as the "bone island," that I determined upon making an examination of their character. Mr. Bourke, a gentleman residing in the neighbourhood, and an enthusiastic antiquary, subsequently excited my interest by informing me that it was quite true that at least one of the islands was literally surrounded with bones of animals, such as deer, oxen, pigs, &c. He had visited the place, and had already made a collection of pieces of pottery which lay amongst the bones and decayed timbers, along the shores of at least two of the crannogs.

Of these singular islands, the largest is probably the most perfectly preserved crannog extant. It is composed

[1] Since the above was written I have explored the remains of a crannog, distant from Drumgay about three miles; upon the shore, and within the kitchen midden of which, a very large quantity of ancient pottery, mixed with other antiques, was found. These shall be illustrated, and measured plans of all the best marked crannogs given, in a future number of the "Journal"—Lord Enniskillen having expressed his intention of thoroughly exploring the Drumgay group.

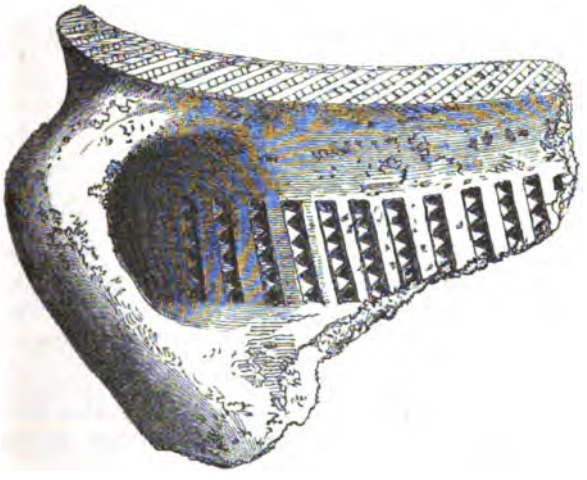
of wood—oak, ash, and pine—all laid in rough blocks, as it were radiating from a centre to the edge of a circle formed of stakes set in the ground at a distance of about four feet asunder. These stakes are of about the thickness of a man's arm, and the space enclosed by them is about forty feet in diameter. The surface of the crannog is generally covered with stones, earth, and brushwood; but, owing to the action of the water during winter time, many portions of the timber work are laid bare. A stone quay, now all but completely ruined, appears to have been constructed on its southern side. A second island, situated near the northern shore of the lake, is of perfectly similar construction. It is remarkable, however, as possessing a very curious stone, about two feet in length, and about three inches in thickness, of which the accompanying cut, from a careful drawing made upon the spot, will afford an excellent idea. This curiously decorated stone was probably intended as a tombstone, to be set up in the neighbouring cemetery of Devenish. It is not likely that there had ever been an interment upon this islet. A third crannog, of which only a small portion at present remains above the summer level, occurs upon the north-eastern shore of the lake.



Sculptured Stone from Northern Crannog, Drumgay Lake.

Scattered amongst the bones which lay upon the shore of the largest island, were pieces of earthen vessels of very singular appearance, several specimens of which were secured by Mr. Bourke and myself. Of these I am enabled to lay a few characteristic examples before the Society. That represented by the annexed cut, drawn of half size, is a portion of what had been a large and well-formed vessel,

with ears at the sides. It is ornamented at the top of the rim with a pattern very like that found upon several silver



Portion of Fictile Vessel, with ear, from the larger Crannog, Drumgay Lake.

bracelets preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and which have been referred by Worsaae to the Danish period. The neck is short, and the sides are decorated with indented lines, about one inch in length, and laid diagonally. The diameter of the vessel at the mouth was about eleven inches.

I send for exhibition a portion of a similar crock of somewhat smaller size than the former. It is decorated in much the same style, though the pattern is more minute. Also another example, smaller and less massive, together with three portions of one vessel, which is ornamented in the same style as that above illustrated. I also lay before the meeting a portion of a vessel like that last alluded to, but thicker, and having a more slender ear. The meeting has before it another example, very thin, and ornamented externally and internally with sloping indentations. I also forward what is probably a fragment of a crucible. A small chisel-shaped stone was picked up upon the northern shore of the large island. Its character as an antique work of human hands is not very decided.

MEMOIR OF GABRIEL BERANGER, AND HIS LABOURS IN THE CAUSE OF IRISH ART, LITERATURE, AND ANTIQUITIES FROM 1760 TO 1780, WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY SIR W. R. WILDE M. D., VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

(*Continued from p.* 152.)

THEY therefore proceeded southwards, by the Abbey of Ballintubber, which they drew and made a plan of, and thence journeyed to Ballinrobe; about a quarter of a mile east of which town, the narrator says, there "is a small lake, called Lough Shy, which, by the eye, may be about a mile long." This was (for it no longer exists) Turlough O'Shine, which was drained by the Robe canal that now takes off the surface and winter water of the district, and was made by the drainage operations in 1850. In the anecdotes connected with this passage Beranger writes respecting Ballintubber—

"Found a schoolmaster in the abbey with a parcel of children; his desk was a large monument, and the children sat on stones arranged. Joy of our interpreter on finding a person of his [own] profession."

From this we glean that a portion of the Abbey must have been roofed or vaulted in 1779. My readers must not confound this locality with the Castle of Ballintubber, in the county Roscommon, the last stronghold of the O'Conors.

Sigr. Bigari stayed at the inn, finishing some sketches during the morning, and then they both proceeded to the Neale, to see Sir John Browne, who politely invited the artists to take up their quarters there. They then passed on to Cong, where they were entertained by Mr. Ireland, who at that time resided at Strandhill (now the property of the Elwood family), and who acted as their guide to the antiquities in that celebrated locality. Under the name of the "Priest's Hole," now known as the "Pigeon Hole," he describes that remarkable cavern and subterranean river, with its "blessed trouts," &c., but all which have long since been frequently described by Sam

Lover and myself, and other western tourists. He also mentions the remarkable stony plains round this region, and then adds :—

"The ground of the concerns at the Neale are of the same composition; and walking over it, it seemed to us a good ground covered with grass, until Sir John Browne told us that he had been at the expense to dig and blast some of them to make a pond for water, which was a commodity not found formerly at the Neale. [See Wilde's description of the Battle of Moytura, in "Lough Corrib," p. 242]. And those blasted rocks he got broke, and the crevices stopped with them, and gravel mixed, after which he covered it with six inches of earth, which formed the lawns and fields before us. But the most remarkable circumstance is, that those rocks, which are about four or five feet thick, lie upon a rock so perfectly even that it appears to be one single flag, which composes the bottom of the large pond under the windows of the mansion house, in the centre of which he preserved rock enough to form an island which is now covered with some shrubs, in which the vast quantity of foreign waterfowl which he feeds on it breed quiet and undisturbed. On telling us that he had begun another pond some hundred yards further, we went to it, and were surprised to find an even flag without joint or fissure, and of such an enormous size. We measured as far as the digging and blasting had gone on, and found it to be 100 feet long, by 48 broad. It has the effect, to the eye, of a pond on which the water is frozen. Sir John told us that he verily believes that it extends thus under the whole estate, of which I make no doubt; Mr. Bigari danced a Minuet with Miss Browne upon this curious floor."

Limestone slabs, similar in size and smoothness, may be seen in other parts of Mayo, but are especially observable in the Galway Islands of Aran.

"Sir John told us that, before he had made the pond of water, this element was so scarce there, and in the whole neighbourhood, that, if some visitors arrived there unexpected, they were often obliged to leave a bottle of white wine in their rooms to wash their hands in the morning, the little water which might be in the house being wanted for breakfast."

It will be in the recollection of those who have read the history of the Battle of Moytura, that it was this dearth of water in the neighbourhood of the Neale that compelled the Firbolg King to retreat to the shores of Lough Mask, where he is said to have been slain. Lord Kilmain's family used some years ago to send to the borders of Lough Mask for spring water daily. The narrative continues :—

"A singular bird of the waterfowl kind appears in the pond every Sunday, eats and swims the whole day familiarly amongst the tame fowls, and disappears before morning. He has never been seen on any other day, but comes regularly on Sundays. This afforded us many speculations

in conjecturing where he could be on the other six days, &c.; how or why he should only come on Sunday; and as we were there on that day, we went to the pond before breakfast, and had the pleasure to see him pretty close, having taking oats to feed the fowl, close to the edge of the pond. He seems to be the size of a teal, as black as jet, and in shape nearly of a wild duck, only the beak seems more sharp and pointed."

He then gives an account of the various temples, urns, and statues which Sir John had erected in the demesne, and the—

"Miniature model of one of the Pyramids of Egypt from a plan and drawing given him by his brother-in-law, the Earl of Charlemont, who has travelled in Egypt, and other parts of Africa and Asia."

This structure still remains, but the leaden Statue of Apollo, which formerly crowned it, has long since been removed. He also describes the deer park, where there were then 200 brace of deer; and had, he says, "a dish of venison every day." From this and many similar entries recorded in this MS., we perceive that, in those days, the nobility and gentry of Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon were, with few exceptions, not absentees.

On the 26th the artists were taken in a coach and four by their host to visit several objects of interest in the neighbourhood, and among the rest to the

"Leabbie Diarmuid, i. e., Dermott's bed, at Ballinchalla, near Lough Mask, which is a cavern containing a river, said to communicate with the one in the Priest's hole, a mile from Cong, distant five or six miles from one another. Sir John told us that he had once this river plum'd on the edge where we were standing, and found forty feet depth; that he had put on the river where we were a plank or board, on which he had got six candles fastened, and put it adrift, which said board was found in the subterraneous river near Cong."

The cavern here alluded to is similar in character to all those in the neighbourhood of Cong. [See "Lough Corrib"]. But the name is here remarkable, and I do not know any other locality in which the resting place of Dermod and Graine in their flight from Tara is not that of a cromleac. The tourists passed over in boats to the "island of Ballinchalla," now known as Inishmain, and which at present forms a part of the mainland, where they drew the beautiful abbey, and the castellated gate at the entrance of its enclosure; and remarked upon the enormous

length of flat rocks—nearly half a mile in extent—which is still one of the wonders of that locality. They also visited Innishowen, and there noticed the large circle of flagstones of which I have published an account and illustration some time ago;[1] but Beranger states that at that time it was "surrounded by a ditch, and a row of trees." He likewise remarked the small holes in these upright flags, and adds, "Whether this is the work of art, of worms, or of nature, I cannot decide." Lough Mask is fairly described, and also the Partry Mountains on its western shores—

"Which look like wildernesses. Sir John told us that he had 15,000 acres in these mountains, which brought him only £50 per annum. This Lough is famous for producing the Gilleroe trout, which has a gizzard like a goose, of which a devil is made, and has no different taste; but though Sir John offered half-a-crown, which set them all afishing, they could not catch one, the weather being too calm, since they are seldom caught but when the wind ruffles the surface of the lake."[2]

I have paid considerable attention to the subject of the muscular gizzard in certain kinds of trout found in our western lakes, and brought the subject before some of our Scientific Societies in Dublin many years ago. It will be in the recollection of my readers, that the first account of this peculiar anatomical structure was published by the Hon. Daines Barrington in the "Philosophical Transactions" for 1773; in which work will also be found memoranda from Mr. Walsh, and Mr. Henry Watson, on the same subject, as well as some observations by John Hunter, in the Number for March 17, 1744. Subsequently a full description of "The Gillaroo Trout, commonly called in Ireland the Gizzard Trout" was published by that author in the "Animal Economy," in 1792, but he does not give

[1] See "Lough Corrib," pp. 227-28.

[2] *Gilla ruadh*, a red fellow, is the proper interpretation of this fish, on account of the very red spots with which it is marked. It has no reference to the peculiarity of the stomach. See the late William Thompson's volumes on the "Natural History of Ireland," where some of my notes on this subject will be found.

Since writing the foregoing I have fished a small tarn in Connemara, where I knew that there were gillarooes of delicious flavour, and a pink colour in muscle, every summer and autumn, when the large white and yellow lilies literally cover this pond. I procured several of these trout last Easter; but in all, the flavour had deteriorated, the colour had become pale, and the muscular stomach had degenerated into a membranous bag. The lilies had not then (13th April, 1870) grown, and there were no small shells to be seen.

a drawing of it. There are several fine specimens in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, in Dublin; but as they are preserved in spirits, they do not exhibit the isolated cuticle and hard elevated rugæ as well as those prepared dry. On the blank page opposite this part of Beranger's description, he has given a drawing of a very fine specimen of the Gillaroe gizzard, and some of the shells found in it, and says—



"I got the above drawing from an English gentleman in April, 1790, just returned from Connaught." This is at present the earliest known drawing of the kind with which I am acquainted. The shells which he has drawn were found in the stomach; and he states in the description, "Whether the stomach digest them, or whether the fish swallow them as the birds do gravel, to help digestion, I dare not decide." So far as I have been able to investigate the matter as yet, I incline to the conclusion that this thickening of the muscular coat of the stomach, and the detached cuticle, is the result of feeding in localities where the usual trout food is not easily obtained; but when the variety became permanent I am unable to determine, as the peculiarity is found in very small fish. I am at present, however, conducting some experiments upon the subject in my ponds at Moytura, and other localities, in order to determine whether the ordinary river trout with membanous stomachs will assume this specialty when removed from their original habitat and supplied with crustaceous food.

On the 27th of July, Beranger and Bigari say they

"Took leave of Sir John and Lady Brown, Mr. Cromie and family. Took up some money from Sir John on my draught on Colonel Burton, and set out from the Neal at 12 o'clock, passed through Kilmaine and Ballyndangan in different villages and arrived through a flat country at Dunmore, Co. Galway, at half after five,"

where they were kindly received by a relative of one of my ancestors, Ralph Ouseley, Esq., subsequently well known as an antiquary. They made drawings of "a coat of arms and inscription over the door of the abbey in the town;" and then in a couple of days they set out with Mr. Ouseley for the Abbey of Knockmoy, situated between Tuam and Dunmore, in which journey they had again a break down.

"We drew the Abbey, and plan, and Fresco painting on the wall, and found an inscription on the monument of Cathal Cruive Diarrag, King of Connaught, and founder of the Abbey, which our interpreter could not read, nor even know the letters, which I was obliged to design, and took up an hour. We had heard much of those ancient Fresco paintings, and on inspection were much disappointed, as they are bare black outlines. Mr. Bigari, who possesses the art of Fresco painter, and has done great works of this kind abroad, assured us, after a nice inspection, that they had never been coloured, and that the spots of various hues were occasioned by time and damps, since the same colour extended farther than the outlines; and supposing the coats had been green, the same colour went through the face and hands, which shows it to be the effect of the inclemency of the weather. So that they may be called Fresco drawings."

Their present condition certainly confirms this opinion, although in my description of them in the "Catalogue of the Antiquities of the Royal Irish Academy," page 350, I mentioned the green and yellow colours, because I was describing the coloured copy of the painting which was made by Mr. Mac Manus for the first Dublin Exhibition, and which then hung in the Academy.

The artists then proceeded to Athenry, having been supplied with a guide by Mr. Ouseley. There, they say, we—

"Dined and went to take a plan and view of Birmingham Castle, and worked the remainder of the evening at our sketches."

So that these gentlemen did not dawdle over their work; and they were up and painting again at 6 o'clock the next morning. Bigari's drawings of the Castle and Abbey here, and also that of Knockmoy, were published in Grose's "Antiquities of Ireland," in 1791. The narrator describes Athenry as—

"An ancient town of the Co. of Galway situate 91½ miles west from Dublin, and 22 south of Dunmore, said to have been built by King John—part of the old wall and the ruins of some turrets and gates are still seen. There is a barrack close to the Abbey, which Abbey has much suf-

fered from the neighbourhood of those children of Mars, who, not satisfied with breaking down all the ancient tombs (the marbles of which are still scattered over the ground)"—

had still further desecrated the church;—which, he writes, obliged "us to take more snuff there than in all the other Abbeys we had seen." From thence they went to Kilconnell, near Ballinasloe, where they made a drawing and plan of the beautiful Franciscan Church there. Afterwards they returned by "Newtown-Bellew, *alias* Mylough," to Dunmore, apparently for the purpose of correcting their drawings, and again enjoying the society of Mr. Ouseley.

"During this tour we had no hills to walk over—rolling over an even flat country, mostly pasture ground. We regretted the mountainous counties, where every hill afforded some new and charming scene, and we would willingly have undergone the same fatigues to enjoy some like prospects, variety having its charms, which uniformity cannot afford. After breakfast took a draft and plan of Dunmore Abbey, the chancell of which has been roofed, and serves for a church."

The drawings made by Bigari of the ruins at Dunmore and Kilconnell have been published in Grose's "Antiquities."

Before leaving the county Galway they received the following information from Mr. Ouseley, which is inserted in the "Tour" :—

"County of Galway;—the second largest county in the kingdom, is in general a warm limestone soil, producing excellent pasture, and of late a considerable deal of tillage; is mostly an open champaign country, interspersed with a few hills, which lie mostly to the west, in that part called Connamarra, which is divided from the rest by Lough Corrib, and contains a large tract of mountains, and the best kelp shores in Ireland. It has several lakes, and abundance of bogs; it is rather bare of wood, but abounds with game; it produces the best wool, remarkable for its fineness."

On the 2nd of August, accompanied by Mr. Ouseley, they set forward towards the county Roscommon, but their course was arrested by the bridge over the River Suck having been broken down. With some difficulty they and their baggage and chaise were got over. This was probably the bridge at the ford, now known as Willsbrook, as from thence they proceeded to the Castle of Ballintubber, a short distance off, in the parish and barony of that

name. Bigari's drawings of this castle will be found in "Grose's Antiquities." Here Mr. Ouseley took leave of them, having provided them with a guide to take them to Belinagar. Having mended the chaise, Beranger says:—

"We set forwards under the direction of our guide, who brought us through ways where never chair [chaise] went since the creation, through meadows, fields, gaps of ditches, boggy grounds; we cursed him a hundred times through means of our interpreter (for the fellow spoke only Irish). At last we arrived at a lake, as we thought; but asking him which way we were to turn, were ready to beat him heartily when he pointed to this sheet of water. After a long altercation he rid in the water, and we sailed after him like a boat, having water to the axle-tree. The ground was well enough, it being some overflowed meadows; but we were tumbling all the way, expecting to be drowned, until we arrived at a new road, yet unfinished, which, not being gravelled, was so softened by the heavy rain of the day before, that our wheels sunk in it, and the chair could not go on. Here we certainly had knocked him down, if our interpreter had not interfered. We alighted to ease the horse, and walked for two miles, sinking halfway boot at every step. At last we found a good road, and a rivulet, where we washed our boots."

The foregoing incident, no doubt, occurred at the large turlough of Carrokeel, adjoining the highway between Castlerea and Ballintubber, and which I well remember to have seen overflowing the road; but which is now, owing to the drainage operations, scarcely perceptible. The tourists then—

"Went on, and arrived at Belinagar, the residence of Charles O'Connor, Esq. (descendant of the ancient Kings of Connaught, and well known in the literary world by his literary publications concerning Ireland), past 7 o'clock. He had just sat down to dinner, having given over seeing us that day. We were in good mood to help him to despatch it, and eat as heartily as we had yet done during our tour."

In a memorandum on a leaf of the MS. I find—

"To remember the notice he [Mr. O'Conor] took of our interpreter when he was told he was a M'Guire."

Next day, August 3rd, having first worked at their sketches, they set out on horseback with Mr. O'Conor and his son Denis, for Frenchpark, the seat of Arthur French, Esq. (ancestor of the present Lord De Freyne), where, he says,—

"We were well received, a large company being there of both sexes; we all mounted, and went to see the deerpark, being in all eighteen, besides the servants; every gentleman picked up a lady [probably on a

pillion]; fine cavalcade. Were shown here five large red deer, some enormous large bulls of English breed, and a flock of small black Welsh sheep, having some 1, others 2, 3, 4, and 5 horns each."

The oxen referred to were probably those of the old Connaught breed, of great stature, and long horns twisting under their chins, of which I have given an account elsewhere.[1] The race has, I believe, nearly become extinct in Roscommon, its chief habitat. Some years ago, when the late Rev. John French succeeded to the title as second Lord de Freyne, he found two or three animals of this breed of great age in the lawn at Frenchpark, and was good enough to send me the head of one, which I exhibited at the Royal Irish Academy, and afterwards presented to the Royal Dublin Society, where it can at present be seen.

From Frenchpark the party proceeded to visit Clonshanville Abbey, about a mile distant, and where one of the ladies, Mrs. Davis of that locality, helped Beranger to measure the ruin. They "returned to Frenchpark, dined, and spent the day agreeably;" and then went back to Belinagar, where Mr. O'Conor exhibited to the narrator his library—

"Where, amongst a vast number of Irish manuscripts he showed me the Annals of Connaught. Worked at our sketches, Mr. O'Connor writing under those of Connaught, and some others, the names of the founders, and dates of their foundation."

At the time of Beranger's visit the Belinagar family had not adopted the title of Don, which was then used by the Clonalis branch as the male head of the line. Owen O'Conor, the eldest grandson of Charles, was the first of the Belinagar branch who assumed the title of Don, or *Dun*, on the death of Alexander O'Conor at Castlerea. He was a most courteous, refined gentleman, and immediately after the passing of the Relief Bill was elected M.P. for Roscommon—an honour which has since descended to his grandson, the present esteemed O'Conor Don, of Clonalis. Denis had two other sons. Matthew, the second son, with whom I had the honour of an intimate acquaintance, and who resided at Mount-Druid, was a distinguished lawyer, a man of

[1] See "Proceedings of The Royal Irish Academy," vol. vii., pp. 64 and 181.

great erudition, of refined tastes, and an accomplished writer. The third son, Charles, was the well-known author of the "*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores.*"[1]

On the 4th of August they set out with Mr. O'Conor to investigate the remains at Rath-Croghan, commonly, and indeed correctly called in Roscommon, Rawcraughan.

"Were met by his son and some other gentleman; went to Rathcroghan, an artificial mound, where the ancient Kings of Ireland were inaugurated, and also kept their provincial assemblies, 400 feet in diameter at the top. Drew and section."

To this is appended a pen and ink sketch of the great rath, which he made to be 1350 feet in circumference at the bottom, the slope to the top 33; and the circular

[1] Having been born in the locality, I am perhaps the last writer who retains a personal recollection of three of the following lineal descendants of Cathal Crove-Dearig, one of the last Kings of Connaught.

Daniel, one of the direct descendants of Sir Hugh of Ballintubber, was The O'Conor Dun, *doon*, or *dubh*, the *Dark* O'Conor, to distinguish him from O'Conor Roe, or *ruadh*, the red, and O'Conor Sligo, and O'Conor Kerry. He lived in great state at Clonalis, near Castlerea, and died in 1769. He had three sons, Dominick, Alexander, and Thomas, and two daughters, Jane and Elizabeth. The former married Mr. William Eccles, a solicitor and a Protestant, and was never afterwards seen by her father; my aunt, who died several years ago at a very advanced age, remembered having seen her coming in to "cry" her brother Dominick, when he was "laid out" in the barn at Clonalis. Dominick, who died in 1795, was reconciled to his sister, but made a will leaving his property to Denis O'Conor, of Belinagar, failing issue by his brothers. The third son, Thomas O'Conor, lived to a great age along with his sister, "Miss Betty," in a small house at a place called Arm, near the mill bridge at Castlerea, where my father, who was their medical attendant, used frequently to bring me to see them. Thomas O'Conor died so suddenly that foul play was suspected, as he was supposed to have had a large sum of money in the house, and an inquest was held upon him. Both brother and sister were very eccentric, and lived in great seclusion, but were highly esteemed by all the first families in the county. In the old house I remember seeing a beautiful Spanish picture of the Madonna; a large gold snuff box, representing on the lid the landing of Columbus in America, said to have been given by the King of Spain to one of the O'Conor family; and the silver and jewelled hilted sword of Count O'Reilly. These, with the personal property of Thos. O'Conor, passed into the hands of his nephew, the late Daniel Eccles, father of my friend, A. O'Conor Eccles, the respected Editor of the "Roscommon Messenger."

The second brother, Alexander O'Conor, had been for many years in Spain, but at the time of his brother Thomas' death was living at a place called Creglahan, near Castlerea. Athough past seventy, he was usually called "Master Sandy," but was always recognised by the people as the true "King of Connaught." I knew him well, as he afterwards resided with a relative of mine. He died at a great age, and is buried beside my ancestors, the O'Flyns, in the old churchyard of Kilkeeven, on the banks of the Suck, near Castlerea.

The Rev. Dr. Charles O'Conor (Columbanus), the celebrated antiquary, was parish priest of Kilkeeven, where I was born, and while there, it is said, collected all the Irish MSS. that could be procured in the neighbourhood, as well as those belonging to his relatives whom I have already mentioned, and which he subsequently carried off to Stowe, when he became librarian to the Duke of Buckingham. Besides Denis, Charles—the friend of Beranger in 1777—had another son, Charles, of Mount Allen, grandfather of the present Charles O'Conor, of New York.

elevation in the centre 6 feet above the surface. Here Beranger, in the notes and anecdotes, enters into such a dissertation upon the subject of the exaggerations set forth by some of our former Irish historians, that I think it well worthy of transcription.

"Here, Mr. O'Halloran (Chapter IX.) says, was a superb edifice raised for the Kings of Connaught, but I can assure the reader that, not even the least trace of such building is to be seen. It seems strange that at this day Greek and Roman antiquities are found in various parts of Europe, which proves the grandeur of those nations, and that no traces remain of the grandeur of the ancient Irish, which we are pressed to believe without proofs, except some manuscripts, which very few can read, and which I do not know if sufficiently authenticated, and out of which the Irish historian picks what suits him, and hides what is fabulous and absurd. I think the shortest way to satisfy the unbelievers would be to give the world a true translation of those Manuscripts, Psalters, and Leabhars, as they are, that we may from thence form an idea of their history, and judge ourselves of their merit and truth. Some of those are written, Mr. M'Curtin tells us, by St. Benignus. Query, what materials had he—was he inspired? I cannot read ancient Irish, and must I believe, because an honest Irishman, enthusiastick and fired by the love of his country, sees through a magnifying glass, and believes? We are told by Irish historians (M'Curtin, Walsh, O'Conor, O'Halloran), that the zeal of your primitive Christians in Ireland destroyed most of the Heathen manuscripts, and that the Danes finished most of those that had escaped the first Christians' fury; but still, that enough remains to make up a complete Irish history. My answer is, that this is very lucky, and I wish to see a true translation of them; I am not to believe in hearsay, except what is told me by an inspired writer; but was St. Benignus one? I am afraid a manuscript older than his cannot be found. Where, then, has he got his materials?"

One would think from the foregoing that the cautious old Dutchman had been writing a prospectus for the origination of our Archæological and Celtic Societies about thirty years ago. He likewise quotes the introduction to "Warner's History of Ireland," pages 128–29, and 30, respecting our native household palatial architecture, prior to the introduction of Christianity; and in which opinion I am strongly inclined to agree with that author; for, although the great stone cahirs, forts, and doons of Ireland which still remain are barbaric monuments of undoubted grandeur, and applicable to the day in which they were erected, and the art of their constructors, and although the golden ornaments of that period are unmistakeable evidences of great skill in metallurgy, they do

not warrant the expressions used by those who have described the Royal residences of Tara and Emania, which I believe to have been earthen mounds, wattled and plastered like the temporary booths of modern times.

From the Rath at Croghan the tourists were brought to one of the caves adjoining, commonly known as the "Hellmouth door of Ireland," where the story of the woman and her unruly calf was repeated to them in the same manner as has been already detailed at the Sligo end of the passage—he says :—

"We found there some men waiting for us; and having lighted some candles we descended first on all-fours through a narrow gallery, which for the length of 12 or 14 feet is the work of man, being masonry said to be done by the Druids, who performed here some of their secret rites. (See O'Conor's Dissertations, p. 178.) A yard or two farther we could walk erect, the cave being 7 or 8 feet high, and about 4 feet broad; the walls and roof (work of nature), of a brownish colour, smooth and shining, as if varnished, the ground of solid rock, like the rest, smooth, always descending; but the unevenness not unlike steps, favouring our descent, and preventing us from slipping. We went about the length of 150 yards, when we found our career to be at an end, the cave going no further. We examined closely, but solid rock was everywhere—no door, window, nor crevice, where the woman and her calf could pass; we commented on the story, and joked the country people on their belief; but the answer was, that the devil had stopped it up, and this statement we could not contradict conveniently."[1]

In 1838, O'Donovan carefully examined all the remains at *Cruaghan*, or Croghan, fixed their sites on the Ordnance Map of Roscommon (Sheets 21 and 22), and described this partly-artificial cave, in his letters to Captain Larcom of that date, as *Umaid-na-Gcat*, "Cat's Cave." Tradition assigns its earliest occupancy to the celebrated Meave, Queen of Connaught, and it has been supposed to be a special residence of the Fairies of that district.[1] In September, 1864, Mr. Samuel Ferguson, M. R. I. A., when examining the artificially constructed opening of this great subterranean limestone cleft, discovered several Ogham inscriptions on the edges of the undressed stone lintels, the result of which he laid before the Academy (see "Pro-

[1] It is remarkable that it is only the very oldest works of art, such as those at Croghan, Knockmoy, and Moytura, that are said to be the special residences of the "good people;" and that Tara and Emania, which were perhaps of later date, have but few legends of this description attaching to them.

ceedings," vol. ix., p. 160). And, according to his deciphering of these combinations of lines standing for letters or words, some of them read, "The Stone of [Fraic ?] son of Medf," or Meave, who was probably the Queen Mab of Shakspeare. I have very lately verified the accuracy of Mr. Ferguson's illustrations. He is of opinion that these rude incisions were made prior to the stones being placed in their present position, and that "these lintels may have been monumental pillar stones, brought, not improbably, from the adjoining cemetery of Relig-na-Ree," or the burial place of the Kings. Many years ago I pointed out a similar circumstance in some of the flags employed in the construction of the great chamber at New Grange, when archaic volutes, circles, and other markings of that class, were exposed to view on the slipping of some of the supporting masonry.

Croghan, the Tara of Connaught, and the scene of the Tain-Bo-Cuailgne, or great cattle raid made from thence into Louth, and the exploits of its Connaught heroine, has been celebrated in many of the Irish romances; and numerous were the legends that forty years ago floated round it, some of which I have described elsewhere. Among other usages of olden times which I witnessed as peculiar to this locality was that of driving in all the black cattle from the surrounding plains to the great Fort on May morning, and bleeding them for the benefit of their health, while crowds of country people, having brought turf for firing, sat around, and cooked the blood mixed with oaten meal, and when they could be procured, onions or *scallions*. It is now a ruined city of raths, tumuli, circles, cemeteries, caves, cairns, and pillar stones, like those at Tara and Moytura, &c.; and occupies nearly the centre of the great fertile plain that runs about east and west through the baronies of Ballymoe, Castlerea, and Frenchpark, and stretches from the Valley of the Suck between Ballintubber and Dunamon, by Oran, Castleplunket, Tulsk, and Elphin, to Moylurg, and to the borders of Lough Gara, and Lough Key, and by the Boyle Water, even to the Shannon. To recite all the fairy legends and popular superstitions attached to this celebrated locality would scarcely be congruous with the objects of this memoir.

O'Donovan, the great Irish topographer, was, in 1837, able to identify and furnish names for no less than thirteen of the forts and other noted places grouped round the great central rath described by Beranger. From the circumstance that these extensive fat lands of Croghan have not been broken for centuries, most of the raths and circles can now be identified, although some form only slight elevations above the surface.[1]

I must here correct the opinion which Beranger and his guides expressed, that "the ancient Kings of Connaught were inaugurated at the Rath of Croghan." It is well known that the inauguration took place at Carnfree, or the Carn of Fraech, the son of Fiodach of the red hair, an eminence about three miles to the south-east of Croghan, in the townland of Carns, and parish of Ogulla, which rises to the height of 401 feet,—as first identified by O'Donovan, from the record in the *Dinnseanchus*. While these pages were passing through the press I visited the spot, all traditions of which have long since ceased to exist among the few peasantry, herds, and cottiers, that still linger on the surrounding plain. From this commanding eminence may be seen one of the grandest pastoral views in Ireland. All the surrounding great plain, for miles and miles, is solely occupied by cattle, except where a few groves mark the residences of the gentry. Immediately below, to the north, are the remains of Croghan; to the east may be seen the slopes of Slievebawn, rising over the numerous Crannoge lakes in the vicinity of Strokestown, and shutting out the view of the Shannon, which margins their distant side. The eye then follows round still more to the north, by Elphin, to the distant mountain of Slieve-an-Ierin, the original resting-place of the metal-working Thuatha-de-Dannan, before they migrated to Mayo; and still somewhat to the west an uninterrupted prospect is obtained of the Curliew hills, in Sligo, and on a clear day even the conical peak of Croaghpatrick may be discerned. A grander spot, or a more enchanting view, could not be

[1] Included within the circle of the raths of Croghan is some of the finest grass land in Ireland, in proof of which I may refer to the prizes carried off annually at the various cattle shows in sheep from that locality by my friends, Mr. W. Cotton, of Castlerea; and Mr. R. Flynn, of Tulsk.

obtained by a King of Ireland as he stood on the inauguration Carn, with his face to the north, his feet on the Sacred Stone, and amidst the shouts of thousands was handed the white wand of Sovereignty. The remains here consist of a small carn of earth and stones, now chiefly grass-grown, as shown in the accompanying sketch.[1] It measures 41 paces in circumference, and is now about



8 feet high. In the adjoining field is the conical earthen tumulus of Fraech, about 20 feet high, 81 paces in girth, and surrounded with a fosse and raised earthen ring. This very ancient sepulchral monument, so often referred to as the *Dumha-Sealga* of Magh-Aei, has been celebrated in Irish history from the earliest period.

Adjoining that tumulus, and in the same field with the carn, stands the *Clogh-Fada-na-gcarn*, "the long stone of the Carn," and which is well represented in the accom-



panying illustration. This, which in all probability is the *Lia-Fail*, the destiny stone, or inauguration pillar of Carn-

[1] The sketch of this monument and the pillar stone were drawn by my son, Mr. W. C. K. Wilde, in September, 1870, and were cut by Mr. Oldham.

free, now stands 10 feet over the ground, in the centre of the vestiges of a circular rath. At some distance it looks not unlike the figure of a man. Not far from, and perhaps coeval with, these monuments, on the slope leading down to the south-east, are the remains of a very ancient cemetery, enclosed by a low ditch, within which is a short, flat pillar stone, so beautifully polished by the rubbing of the sheep against it for centuries, that every limestone fossil in it is displayed. I never saw higher polish given by the hand of man.

To return to the narrative—I may remark that the tourists, whom we left at the Rath of Croghan, then proceeded to dine at Mr. Denis O'Conor's, of Mount Druid, and say—

"In the evening we walked home through the fields, there being about half a mile distance between Mr. O'Conor's and his son's. August 5th, set out, Mr. O'Conor and Mr. Bigari in the chaise (I riding Mr. O'Conor's horse); arrived at Tulsk, a borough of the County Roscommon, which sends two members to Parliament, &c. Drew the Abbey and plan. Set forward, and arrived at Roscommon, the shire town of the county, situate sixty-nine miles south-west from Dublin. It is a long poor-looking town, has a barrack for one troop of horse, and sends two members to Parliament."

"August 6th, went to the Abbey, drew and plan, also the tomb of Roderick O'Conor, last King of Connaught, and one of the ancestors of Mr. O'Conor, to ascertain the dress of the Gallowglasses, or guards, of which the figures are carved round the monument."

Here again the strangers were misinformed; for the tomb alluded to is not that of Roderick, the last Monarch of Ireland, who died at Cong, and was buried at Clonmacnois, A. D. 1168,—but that of a Felim, son of Cathal Crovederg O'Conor, King of Connaught, who was interred in this Abbey in 1265. (See "Annals of the Four Masters" under that date.) I have just visited Roscommon, and regret to have to report upon the extensive dilapidations that have taken place both within the Abbey and around O'Conor's tomb, and also the filthy desecration even of the altar sites by the cattle from the adjoining field.[1]

Bigari's very beautiful drawing of the north view of

[1] I hope the circumstance of my recent visit may aid in clearing away the rubbish from about the tomb, and preserving the abbey from further demolition, as a subscription has been set on foot for that purpose, to which the present O'Conor Don has liberally contributed. See *Roscommon Messenger* of 24 Sept., 1870.

the abbey, the original of which was in the collection of the Right Hon. W. Conyngham, at whose instance the Connaught Tour was undertaken, has been published in "Grose's Antiquities," vol. ii., p. 74.

With the intention of continuing the Catalogue of the noble antiquarian collection in the Royal Irish Academy, I procured, through the kindness of the Hon. Miss Crofton (now Mrs. Dillon), a Photograph of two of these Gallo-glasses, which I had engraved by Oldham several years ago, and by the kind permission of the President, R. I. A., I am here enabled to make use of this illustration, which



is of great interest as characteristic of the costume, armour, and weapons of these renowned mail-clad warriors of the days of the O'Conors, and Mac Swines, and Cooe-na-Gal.

"Returned to the inn; were met there by the Rev. John O'Conor, D.D.; breakfasted; went after to the Castle, where access had been refused to us by the surly owner, who by means of Rev. Mr. O'Conor was now become polite; drew and plan; took leave of Messrs. O'Conors, set forwards, and arrived at Mount Talbot, the seat of William Talbot, Esq. Met in the avenue Mr. Talbot, Jun., with Denis Kelly, of Castle Kelly, County Gallway, Esq., which last gentleman invited us at dinner at his house for the Sunday following, with the family of Mount Talbot. We were introduced by Mr. Talbot, Jun., to Lady Ann Talbot, his lady, and to Lady Theodosia, and Lady Arabella Crosbie, her sisters, to Mr. Talbot, Sen., and other gentlemen and ladies then residing there on a visit. After refreshing ourselves for some time, we went with Mr. Talbot, Sen., to see the concerns, which are a continued wood, and occupying near 800 acres, through which are walks adorned with rural seats, temples, and hermitages; and vistas are cut through the wood,—all terminated by the river Suck, which meanders through the estate, and separates the counties of Roscommon and Galway. If these concerns were situated on unequal ground, and not on a level as they are, they might be ranked amongst the finest in the kingdom. The town of Mount Talbot is yet in its infancy, and may in time become a decent town; but its church, situated on the north side of it, built by Mr. Talbot, is one of the prettyest country churches I have ever seen, being finished in the Gothick style, somewhat in the manner of the chappels in Westminster Abbey, the seats and organ elegant, and the whole adorned with nice stucco ornaments, the ground of which, being coloured differently, makes said ornaments more conspicuous. The very pulpit is adorned with raised stucco; and when the east window is finished (which is to be of stained glass), it will certainly be a curiosity worth visiting by travellers."

From this we perceive that nearly a century ago, before the barn-like churches erected by small builders and master carpenters, under boards of penurious commissioners and tasteless rectors, there were, even in Connaught, some redeeming specimens of church architecture. Alas! even the edifice thus admired by the artists, although erected for the service of the then Established Church, has not escaped destruction; for a friend has just written to me:—

"It was thrown down years since;—and a plain oblong building, with an embattled tower at the west end, with square old-fashioned pews, and a pulpit with a sounding board decorated with pinnacles by way of ornamentation, was erected in lieu of the church of Mount Talbot at a distance of three miles."

Beranger's diary continues:—

"We dined with the family and visitors in a rural temple on the banks of the river Suck, and in the evening walked to another, in which we drank tea. Towards 9 o'clock we all embarked in a barge, and went home by water.

"August 7th. Got up at 6 o'clock, worked at our drawings; I went after breakfast with Mr. Talbot, Junior, on horseback, to Castle Kelly; returned by 12 o'clock; found at Mount Talbot, Captain Sandys, formerly of the Carabineers (an old acquaintance), who took up there his quarters; went in the evening with the company to walk; came home before dark, and were treated by the ladies with a concert before supper.

"August 8th. Worked until 3 o'clock; set out with the family and visitors (two coaches, our chaise, and gentlemen and servants on horseback, forming a large caravan), for Castle Kelly, Co. Gallway, distance two miles from Mount Talbot; arrived, and were elegantly entertained at dinner, being thirty in number. I left the gentlemen at their bottle, and escaped to the ladies, but was soon after joined by them all at tea, after which Mr. Bigari (an excellent dancer) danced with Miss Kelly and some other ladies. Returned home at 10, and found supper ready.

"August 9th. Mr. Talbot, Junior, obliged to go abroad, left the company to the care of Lady Anne. Worked at our drawings, walked about, paid a visit to Castle Kelly, and got a concert before supper."[1]

The travellers then proceeded, on the 10th of August, to sketch and make a plan of St. John's Castle, on a peninsula jutting into the wide portion of the Shannon, called Lough Ree (engraved in Grose), and from thence passed on to the sign of "The Three Blackmores," at Athlone, where they remained only a day, as Mr. Willis, and all the persons to whom they had letters of introduction in the neighbourhood, were from home. They then proceeded to Clonmacnoise, where they made several sketches, and returned to dine on Shannon eels at Athlone. On the 12th they hired a boat, and thus describe their adventures:—

"Set out at 5 in the morning, in a long narrow boat, with Mr. Bigari and our interpreter; this vessel was so narrow that the seats held but one person, so that we were sitting one behind another, with order of the conductor not to lean to right or left, or that if we did we should be overset and drowned, which not choosing, we kept in an erect posture, having got only leave to move our head to admire the Shannon and its pleasing banks. Tedious as this posture was, we continued strictly to observe it; but being tired of it, we landed on an island, spread the cloth upon the grass, and eat a cold fowl, which we washed down with wine and water; went in our vehicle with great care, and arrived at Clonmacnoise, ten miles from Athlone, which voyage took up three good hours, though the vessel (by its structure) went fast, one man making it go by

[1] The Denis Kelly, lineal descendant of the chiefs of Hy-Many, and nephew of John, Earl of Clanricarde, alluded to in the foregoing notice, was the grandfather of Denis H. Kelly, M. R. I. A., well known and esteemed among those who take an interest in the study of Irish history and antiquities. The Talbot of that day, who so hospitably entertained Beranger and Bigari, had married Lady Theodosia, daughter of the Earl of Glandore, was a very tasteful and literary man, and a great friend of Cumberland, who wrote his "West Indian" at Mount Talbot.

two oars or paddles ; staid here the whole day, working and finishing everything, very hungry, and nothing to eat, there being nothing to be found in the few miserable cabins but sour ale, and smoked whiskey. Clonmacnoise, or the Seven Churches, is described by Sir James Ware, in his Antiquities; it is situated on an uneven rising ground on the banks of the Shannon, in the King's County, ten miles of Athlone, where the river is rather narrow. We left this place rather late, and returned to Athlone by moonlight."

He then gives some extracts from Harris' Ware and Vallancey's "Collectanea," vol. i., p. 85, respecting the early history of Clonmacnoise ; but I have not been able to discover any of his or Bigari's drawings of that locality; and as Beranger's description in the Diary is rather meagre, I take the following extract from Mr. Walker's MS. book, already frequently referred to :—

"Clonmacnoise, or the Seven Churches, as it is called, is situated on the borders of the Shannon, ten miles from Athlone, on a high ground composed of various little hillocks, on part of which some of the building stands, and others at the foot in hollows. The plan in Ware's Antiquities is exact for what remains of it; what is since destroyed we marked on his plan, adding the distance of the buildings from each other, from which Mr. Bigari has an intention to make a plan of its present state, which is begun. The principal antiquities are two round towers, elegantly finished in hewn stone. The largest, marked B on the plan, is 62 feet high, wanting its roof, and 56 feet in circumference. The walls are 3 feet 8 inches thick. The other, marked A, is 7 feet diameter within, and the walls 3 feet thick ; height, 56 feet, including its roof, which is standing. The dimensions of the doors and their figures are marked on drawing No. 53, letter F. The next considerable building is the Cathedral, which has an inscription within. See drawing 53, letter G. The door of this building is exact in Ware; but still made drawings of them. They are very richly adorned; the rest of the buildings are small chapels, one of which is made a Parish Church, and locked up; another, by the inscription (drawing 53, letter G), marks that it was built in 1689. As it is impossible for me to give a name to the various parts, not knowing the terms of architecture, I took care to represent it on paper with their plans, from which an architect can name and describe them. Those that are no more extant are marked on the plan. See various drawings, No. 53, with the explanations on them."

At page 121, in describing the Walker MS., I have mentioned the copy of Blaymires' letter from Clonfert ; and as it is here of some interest, and has not, that I am aware of, been published, I here transcribe it from that book. I. Blaymires was the artist employed by Walter Harris to draw the Cathedrals for his edition of Sir James Ware's "History of the Bishops" of Ireland ; and the plates of those

of Armagh, Clonmacnoise, Kildare, Limerick, and Killaloe, &c., bear his signature, and are dedicated to their respective prelates, who probably contributed towards their publication. The following letter, although not addressed, was evidently written to Walter Harris, and it forms a key to his plate of Clonmacnoise :—

"*Clonfert, Octr. 7th*, 1738.

"Sir,—I received both your letters, and am now got safe to Clonfert. I arrived here on Wednesday last, but was forced to swim my horse over the Shannon, and had nothing to go over in but a little cot, the wind being very boisterous and the river run, which put us in danger; but when we was safe over we was as glad as a parcel of mariners arriving after a storm at the desired port. This inconvenience was occasioned by the boat that you went over in being gone back to Mr. Moore's. I have finished my draught of the Seven Churches, after labouring almost day and night. It has been the most laborious draught I ever yet attempted. It is tolerably well finished, and the variety it affords is extraordinary. I would not have finished such another to take it from the things under ten pounds, if it was in Dublin. For, if I had not used all the diligence imaginable, I should not have finished there this fortnight. I will here give you a description of it. On the left-hand side is first the fine door belonging to Temple M'Dermott, which appears upon the paper most natural. Next is the old chapel belonging to the nunnery, with a plan of the chapel. The next is the west door of Temple M'Dermott. On each side of it a view of the cross that stands before Temple Hurpan. At the foot of the left side is a view of the ruins of the ancient palace belonging to the Bishop of Clonmacnoise, taken from the other side of the Shannon, and likewise two views of the large cross which stands before Temple M'Dermott. On the right-hand side is a plan of the whole yard and churches, with their proper distances and situations, and underneath it is a prospect of all the churches and two towers in one view, taken from the other side of the Shannon. The towers bound the prospect on each side, which makes it appear very beautiful and exceeding graceful. No one point of view would bring in all the churches but this I have made use of. The draught is furnished with proper references from the best information I have been able to obtain, and I believe I may venture to say, that the whole together is the most complete draught that ever will be taken of that place. I have collected abundance of Irish Inscriptions, which I have writ down upon a single piece of paper, but have not met any person here who could give me any satisfactory interpretation of them. I will fold up the paper with the draught when I meet with any person by which to send it to you, but I propose to send Clonfert along with it. The Bishop had a servant went for Dublin the day before I arrived. They tell me he sends one to Dublin every fortnight. If so, I can, perhaps, catch an opportunity of sending them to you that way. Clonmacnoise has been unavoidably expensive to me. I could not have necessaries but what I was forced to send to Athlone for, besides I was obliged to have a man to attend me every day at sixpence a day besides taking share of what I had; I could not have done without one, for he has found

me every stone that was grown over with earth that was in the churchyard, helping me likewise to survey the place, and went to Athlone for me as often as I had occasion, so that I could have lived cheaper in a town a great deal, all things considered. I was likewise obliged to treat several priests that came to see me, even for my own safety; for this affair has made a prodigious noise in the whole country, and has spread, as I am credibly informed, through most part of Connaught —some reporting that I was the Pope's Legate, and was taking an account of the churches, in order that they should be repaired, which notice heaped abundance of blessings upon me; but, on the other hand, it was reported that I was employed by the Bishop of Meath to view them, in order that they might all be pulled down to build a large parish church, which notion, if it had prevailed, would have proved fatal to me. Several priests came over the Shannon, some ten—some twelve miles—to satisfy themselves of the truth of it. However, after all, I bless God I am safe at the clerk's house at Clonfert. I am now on this fine door, which gives me abundance of pleasure. I can assure you that these two draughts will make no mean show amongst the Irish Cathedrals, but even will be the best amongst them.[1] This place will take me up full three weeks. You must contrive to order me three pounds or three guineas to this place, or somewhere in the neighbourhood, or else I shall not be able to get to Limerick, nor even from Clonfert, if I have not such a remittance, which I beg you will do with speed; for I had next to nothing coming here, and, I presume to say, have acted with all the frugality possible. I was apprehensive how ill I should be set for a drawing board, and the morning I left you I took horse, and went to Athlone, and got one made there, which serves me here very well. I bought a quire of paper, and several other necessaries I wanted, knowing very well what a place I was going to. Next morning I got to Clonmacnoise, about an hour after the boy was gone. They could not prevail with him to stay, though they told him they expected me every minute. Some informs me here that knows Tuam very well, that there is a window in the east end of that church, that excels this door; but, as I don't go there, it is not worth mentioning. I had like to have forgot to tell you, but you can remember, how it rained after you left me. It begun at Clonmacnoise on the Thursday night, and never ceased till the Wednesday following, which prevented me doing any great good during that time. The Shannon was raised to such a degree, that it overflowed all the neighbouring meadows, and came within less than thirty yards of the door of the lodge; so that, when I looked out of my window, I had a sheet of water in front, and a sheet of water to the right, and a sheet to the left, so that I imagined myself at some fine country seat, but it made the air most intolerably cold. I have another thing to add, and, then I shall conclude my long epistle. The Bishop and Mr. Clarke have both seen me, but take no manner of notice of me, though I have been here now four days; and the clerk tells me he is very sure they won't, because we disobliged them in not accepting their offer. However, I shall make myself easy where I am till you relieve me, which I hope you

[1] Clonfert Cathedral was not published by Harris; probably the Bishop, Dr. Whitcomb, would not specially pay for it, although he subscribed to Ware's Works.

will do as soon as possible. The Bishop bears a miserable character here. Pray give my service to Mr. Lyons.

"I remain your most humble Servant,

"I. Blaymires."

Before leaving Athlone, Beranger added in a note the following description of Connaught :—

"Connaught Province is in general very mountainous, and the least cultivated, but very thinly inhabited, and has a vast many boggs; it produces abundance of cattle, which makes the principal riches of it, which are disposed of at Ballinasloe, in the county of Roscommon [Galway], which has yearly the greatest fair of cattle and wool known in the three kingdoms; and though the cottagers have a poor appearance, I cannot say that I have seen here greater signs of poverty than I have seen four or five miles from Dublin, in the hilly parts of Wicklow.

"August 14th, staid at home all day working at our sketches, and now and then looking at the crowd under our windows, it being market day, and the market held before the inn; we also packed up our baggage, and settled everything for our journey on the next day. Athlone is a borough town of the county of Westmeath, situated on the river Shannon, which divides it in two parts, the west side of the river being in the county of Roscommon, province of Connaught, and the eastern part in the province of Leinster, by which it communicates by a stone bridge, which serves for mall in the evening, when both sexes make it their walk: it was here that General Ginkel passed the Shannon in sight of the Irish army (who were intrenched on the opposite shore), in 1691. There is a barrack for four companies of foot, and two troop of horse. It returns two members of Parliament, and is situated almost in the centre of the kingdom; its look is but poor, but the river makes it pleasing.

"Being now on the point of quitting Connaught and taking our leave of it, by crossing the bridge, I think it my duty to do justice to its inhabitants, on whom a late tour writer bestowed the name of savages, and asserted that there were no roads, on a bare hearsay; since he confesses that that prevented him from visiting this province. I declare then solemnly, that the roads are so excellent and firm, that during our tour through the province (in the hottest summer that the oldest men ever felt), we have not seen an atom of dust; and that in all the course of my life I never found more politeness and hospitality than we experienced from the inhabitants, both high and low. Mr. Bigari, who not able to converse in English, and of course could not enjoy the conversation, but in places where Italian and French was spoke, confesses that we can nowhere be better located than we have been in this province, and feels as well as myself a reluctance to quit it."

After parting from their Connaught friends and hospitable entertainers, they published the following, which I find on the flyleaf at the end of the Journal:—

"Copy of my publication, after my tour in Connaught, in the Galway Paper:—

"Messrs. A. M. Bigari and Gabriel Beranger, having made the tour of Connaught by appointment of the Hibernian Antiquarian Society, under the direction of the Right Hon. William Burton, with a view to collect drawings of the antiquities of Ireland for publication, think it their duty to undeceive the public in regard to some aspersions thrown on that province by a late tour writer [Twiss?], who, by his own confession, never visited that part of Ireland, and to assure them that they found the roads excellent; and that they cannot find words to express their gratitude to the inhabitants for the polite reception, hospitable entertainment, and friendly assistance they received in the prosecution of their design. In particular, they beg the following noblemen and gentlemen to accept this public proof of their sincere gratitude, viz.:—

Co. Monaghan.—Rev. Mr. Ward, of Clones.
Co. Fermanagh.—Right Hon. Lord Enniskillen, Florence Court.
Co. Sligo.—L. F. Irwin, Tanrego, Esq.
— W. Ormsby, Willowbrook, Esq.
— John M'Donnough, of Heapstown, Esq.
— Rt. Hon. Jos. Cooper, Mercrea.
— Capt. Jones, Tubberpatrick.
— Robert Brown, Fortland, Esq.
Co. Mayo.— —— Jones, of Ardnaree, Esq.
— Right Hon. James Cuffe, of Newtown Gore.
— Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Killala.
— Right Hon. Earl of Altamont, Westport.
— —— Garby, of Murrisk, Esq.
— J. Gallagher, Ballinrobe, Esq.
— — Ireland, of Cong, Esq.
— Sir John Brown, The Neal, Bart.
Co. Roscommon.—Right Hon. Earl of Kingston, Boyle.
— Charles O'Connor, of Belinegar, Esq.
— Denis O'Connor, of Belinegar, Esq.
— Arthur French, of French Park, Esq.
— Rev. John O'Connor, D. D., Roscommon.
— William Talbot, of Mount Talbot, Esq.
— William J. Talbot, of Mount Talbot, Esq.
— Nehem. Sandys, of Sandfield, Esq.
Co. Galway.—Ralph Ousley, of Dunmore, Esq.
Co. Westmeath.—Denis Kelly, of Castle Kelly, Esq.
— Alexander Murray, of Mount Murray, Esq.
— Sir Pigot Piers, of Tristernaght, Bart.

"August 15th, set out from Athlone; had not travelled half a mile on the turnpike road, but were all covered in clouds of dust, a thing quite new to us; passed through Ballymore, a village eleven miles from Athlone, where we baited; set forward through Rathcondra, another village, six miles from Ballimore, and arrived at Mount Murray, the seat of Alexander Murray, Esq., situated on Lough Hooyl, county of Westmeath, about five miles from Mullingar, and six miles from Rathcondra. Captain Murray being abroad, had left orders to receive us. Eat two roasted ducks for our dinner; and Mr. Bigari, having the headache, went to bed at 8. I waited for Mr. Murray, who came home at 9, drank a bottle of claret, and went to bed at 11, having settled our journey for next day."

They then proceeded, accompanied by Captain Murray, to Tristernagh, the seat of Sir Pigot Piers, Bart., where they sketched and made a plan of the Abbey. Bigari's two beautiful drawings of this Abbey, with its octagon tower, were happily published in "Grose's Antiquities" in 1791, where Dr. Ledwich, who edited that work, says:—

"In 1780, the steeple was 74 feet high; the proprietor converted part of this Abbey into a dairy, and part served for a stable; this was a prognostic of its total ruin, which he effected in the year 1783. The drawing was made before its destruction; and we may well wonder at that insensibility which could feel no compunction for the demolition of so noble and venerable a fabric."

When Sir Henry Piers wrote his "Chorographical description of the county of Westmeath," in 1682, he said, this structure was built—

"In the form of a Cross, having in the centre thereof a tower or steeple raised on the four innermost corners of the Cross, from each of which corner the wall as it rises slopeth off until the whole is brought into an octagon, whence forward the tower riseth about 30 foot in each side, in each of which is a window. The wall of this church and steeple, tho' without roof time out of mind, remains to this day very firm and substantial." (See Vallancey's "Collectanea," No. I., p. 71, 1770.)

They afterwards visited Multifarnam, the Abbey of which Bigari drew. (See Grose, vol. i., Plate 121, p. 87. There they found—

"A small thatched convent of Franciscans. The Rev. Fathers came out, and invited us to refresh ourselves; went in, drank some bottles of good claret with them, found them learned gentlemen, well versed in antiquities; returned to Mount Murray, where we arrived about 9; discharged our interpreter."

Here Beranger quotes several authorities descriptive of the ruins at Ballymore, Tristernagh and Multifarnam. Of Westmeath, he says :—

"This county is well cultivated, and the fields, meadows, &c., as well as the habitations on each side of the roads, have a clean and decent look. The same boggs are intermixed. Mullingar seems a pretty large town; the business of people and cars denotes some trade stirring here.

"We had received orders that in case we met with a burial, and the cry of the Irish Pullulloe, to draw a representation of the ceremony, and introduce it in the drawing of the antiquity of the quarter where it should happen, but in all our tour we met none."

On the 17th they arrived at Kinnegad, "famous for its cheese;" and having rested themselves, set out for "the New Inn," twenty miles from Dublin, now known as Enfield. They arrived in Dublin the next day, and thus ended their Connaught tour, in August, 1779.

(*To be continued.*)

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT a GENERAL MEETING, held in the Apartments of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, October the 5th, 1870,

J. H. BRACKEN, ESQ., C. I., in the Chair:

The following Fellows were elected:—

Edward Stanley Robertson, Esq., Bengal Civil Service: proposed by J. A. Purefoy Colles, Esq., M. D.

D. J. Rowan, Esq., C. E., Athlone: proposed by George H. Kinahan, Esq., M. R. I. A.

A Member of the Association was admitted to Fellowship, viz.: James B. Farrell, Esq., C. E., Strandfield, Wexford.

The following new Members were elected:—

J. O'Meara, Esq., Somerset House, Parsonstown; Miss Henrietta Darley, 7, Kildare-street, Dublin; and Mr. R. Grant, Bookseller, 54, Prince's-street, Edinburgh: proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

Rev. David Mulcahy, R. C. C., 103, Haddington Road, Dublin: proposed by Daniel O'Connell, Esq.

William R. Jackson, Esq., Newtownards, Co. Down; proposed by Dr. Purdon.

Edmond F. Browne, Esq., Enniskillen: proposed by W. F. Wakeman, Esq.

Henry John Stokes, Esq., Negatapam, Madras; Rev. Alexander Cameron, Renton, Glasgow; Mrs. Shore Smith, 3, Park-place, Grosvenor Road, London; and the Ven. the Archdeacon of Armagh, Aughnacloy: proposed by Dr Stokes.

W. A. Day, Esq., 95, Palmerston Buildings, Old Broad-street, London: proposed by Edward Carr, Esq.

Robert J. Roche, Esq., Knock Reigh, Adamstown, Co. Wexford; Ralph Hinks Lett, Esq., Kilgibbon, Enniscorthy,

and Patrick O'Rourke, Esq., M. D., Enniscorthy: proposed by W. A. Mahony, Esq.

E. J. Purcell, Esq, Agent, Bank of Ireland, New Ross: proposed by the Rev. N. R. Brunskill.

The Rev. J. S. Cooper, Killanne Rectory, Enniscorthy; and Rev. S. Donovan, Horetown, Foulksmill: proposed by the Rev. W. K. Hobart.

The Very Rev. P. D. O'Regan, P. P., V. G., Kanturk; and the Rev. James O'Sullivan, P. P., Blackrock, Cork: proposed by Barry Delany, Esq., M. D.

John George MacCarthy, Esq., Harbour View, St. Luke's, Cork: proposed by P. A. Aylward, Esq.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

"Sussex Archæological Collections," Vol. XXII.: presented by the Sussex Archæological Society.

"Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," Vol. X., Parts 3 and 4: presented by the Academy.

"Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History," Vol. IV., No. 4: presented by the Institute.

"Collections of the Surrey Archæological Society," Vol. V., Part 1: presented by the Society.

"The Journal of the British Archæological Association," September, 1870: presented by the Association.

"The Archæological Journal, published under the direction of the Central Committee of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," No. 106: presented by the Institute.

"The Lordship of Gower on the Marches of Wales," Part III.: presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

"Archæologia," Vol. XLII., Part 2: presented by the Society of Antiquaries of London.

"The Ilam Anastatic Drawing Society," 1867: presented by the Society.

"Ardfert Cathedral, in the County of Kerry, Measured, Drawn, and Lithographed by Arthur Hill, B. E., Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects": presented by the Author.

"The Builder," Nos. 1433–1443, inclusive: presented by the Publisher.

"The Irish Builder," Nos. 252–259, inclusive: presented by the Publisher.

A very fine hatchet-shaped bronze celt; also a tradesman's penny token, being that struck by "Walt. Brice in Corn-market, Dublin:" presented by David Birmingham, Esq., Roscrea.

A gun-money shilling of James II, found near the old castle of Annagh, barony of Lower Ormonde, Co. Tipperary: presented by John Love, Esq., Annagh Castle.

A gun-money sixpence of James II., found at Bennettsbridge: presented by the Chairman on the part of Sub-Constable Grady.

A series of most beautifully executed photographs of Cromleacs in the Co. Waterford, accompanied by descriptive particulars; also a set of photographs of Jerpoint Abbey: presented by Ernest H. Goold, Esq.

"Finn's Leinster Journal" of Wednesday, 17th of September, 1794: presented by B. Scott, Esq.

A copy of the (London) "Times" of Wednesday, 14th August, 1793—then a very small sheet of four columns on each page. It contained a report of the trial at the Kilkenny Assizes of the persons charged with the murder of Mrs. Wilson, at Mooneenroe, near Castlecomer, in the anti-Militia Act riots of the colliers: presented by Mr. John O'Reilly, Jun.

A drawing and impression of a curious bronze signet ring, found in the sand hills at Mullaghdhu, Co. Donegal: presented by A. G. 'Geoghegan, Esq. The device was by some considered to be a raven; by others an eagle displayed.

The following suggestions from Mr. W. A. Mahony, Honorary Local Secretary for the Enniscorthy district, was brought under the consideration of the meeting:—

"In order to promote the objects of the Association, I would suggest that neatly engraved or printed cards, about 14 inches by 12, with perhaps a view of some characteristic Irish building, as Monasterboice or Clonmacnois, be struck off, stating the title of the Association, its officers, and objects, with the terms of subscription, &c., and at foot a space left blank for the name and address of the Local Honorary Secretary, to whom application to be admitted to membership may be made. On each Honorary Secretary being supplied with a number of such cards, he could have

them placed in Reading Rooms, Young Men's Associations, Mechanics' Institutes, Hotels, &c., and thus bring before every public body the name and objects of our Association, and create in the minds of many a desire to join it, and thus help to advance its prosperity and carry out its objects."

Mr. Mahony's suggestion received the approbation of the meeting, and the arrangements for carrying it out were left to the Hon. Secretaries.

The Secretary called attention to the appeal made by Sir William Wilde, through the Press, for subscriptions to form a fund to prevent further desecration at Roscommon Abbey, and to repair the O'Connor tomb there; as also to the movement of the Rev. R. Richey, Ardmore, to rebuild, by subscription, the conical portion of the summit of Ardmore Tower—at present in a very perilous state—using the original stones for the purpose.

The following paper on the age of the various stone and bronze antiquities, found during the Shannon Navigation operations, as bearing on the antiquity of man in Ireland, was contributed by J. Long, Esq., C. E., Limerick. Mr. Long had been officially connected with the works during their progress, and his testimony therefore was of the utmost value :—

"In the numerous learned discussions that have taken place during recent years on the subject of the antiquity of man, with the view of establishing, through the combined researches of the geologist and the antiquary, a chronometric scale of the past duration of the human race, attention has been directed to the uncertain and unreliable nature of the information available as evidence of the relative ages and priority of the 'stone' and 'bronze' periods, especially as relates to the absence of care in observing and recording the circumstances and particulars attending the finding of these and other objects of antiquity; and as an instance of this uncertainty, allusion has been made to the large collection of implements and weapons found in the River Shannon, and now forming a considerable portion of the valuable collection of stone and bronze implements in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

"In one of the able Reviews on this question it is remarked that, 'There is an excellent instance of this confusion in the case of some bronze and stone weapons which were found in the River Shannon, in Ireland, during the execution of the works carried on by the Government for the improvement of the navigation of that river, and which were presented by the Commissioners of Public Works [*Recte*, the Shannon Commissioners] to the Royal Irish Academy. Whether these were mingled together when found, or separated by five or any other number of feet of alluvium, no one could tell, because the labourers made no note of the circumstances under which they had been found, and had as yet no notion of a "stone" or "bronze" age.'

"Being familiar with the circumstances under which the Shannon collection, here referred to, was made, a brief explanation may be useful, especially as it is desirable that there should be no misapprehension in relation to any circumstances brought into the discussion of so important a subject.

"In deepening the River Shannon for improving its navigation, under the special Act of Parliament passed for that purpose, the excavations were made in the bed of the river at all places along its course, from the tideway nearly to its source, where the depth of water, during the lowest state of the river, was found to be less than the standard navigable depth of seven feet in the lower reaches of the river, and six feet at the upper portion of its course; these standards having been adopted as the shallowest depths for the purposes of navigation. All parts of the channel that were found, after careful soundings, to be less than these standard depths, were considered as 'shoals,' and were accordingly marked off to be deepened.

"These shoals, or shallows, were interspersed at various distances along the course of the river, extending for about 140 miles, having in this distance long stretches of deep channel between them.

"Except in one or two instances, the shallows were not formed by mud or sandy deposits from the river, such as usually occur in tidal estuaries, but nearly all consisted of a stratum of hard compact limestone 'drift,' composed of rounded gravel, combined with tenacious clay, and interspersed with large water-worn boulders, the whole forming a compact mass, requiring the pickaxe and crowbar for its removal. This 'drift' is sometimes locally known as 'mortar gravel,' from its very tenacious character and its strong tendency to unite again, after being disturbed or removed, into the same compact state as before, which is the general character of the 'drift' beds in the districts along the course of the Shannon. There was accordingly in these shoals nothing of a lacustrine or depository character, in which the slow sedimentary deposits going on for ages could mark a succession of eras, by which the relative age of the antiquities found in them might be approximately determined.

"In some instances the deepening of these shoals was effected by means of powerful steam dredgers of the ordinary kind used for deepening harbours and navigations. But the material, in almost all cases, being found too compact and stiff for removal by this means, it became necessary to have recourse to excavation by hand labour, which was effected by surrounding each shoal with clay dams, formed outside the verge of the shoal and raised above the water level, and then laying bare the bed of the river within this inclosure, by discharging the water with powerful pumps worked by steam; when the workmen were enabled to commence the work of excavation, which seldom exceeded four or five feet in depth, to attain the standard depth required.

"It is clear, then, from this description of the nature of these shoals, that, although exact observations of the positions in which the stone and bronze weapons were found were seldom made (the importance of noticing these particulars not being then generally understood), still, even if careful notes had been taken at the time of finding them, the result would scarcely have been of material value in reference to the subject under discussion, when the nature of the stratification and the shallow depths of the excavation are taken into account.

"It follows, therefore, that, however valuable the large collection of these ancient remains from the Shannon may be, in respect to the evidence they are considered to afford of the existence of man and his comparative civilization at an early age in Ireland, the works carried out for the improvement of the navigation of that river were not of such a nature as to afford sufficient scope for observation, when finding these remains, to render them of any aid in forming an opinion on the relative ages of the stone and bronze periods.

"It may also be mentioned, as accounting for so many of these remains being found at these shoals, and as favouring the view of their having been accumulated promiscuously at or near the surface wherever they may have chanced to fall, that many of the shoals, before being deepened, were used from a remote period as fording places for crossing the river, being the chief places of communication between the eastern and western provinces of Ireland. In some cases immersed roads or causeways, formed of rough stones, were found in them, especially in those near places of burial, or other public resort; and, in later times, rude bridges of rough timber and strong wicker-work were constructed across some of these fords, to render them passable in winter; followed subsequently by the erection of the early stone bridges which spanned the river long prior to those erected during the navigation improvements.

"We can well imagine then that, during a long course of ages, there would be a promiscuous accumulation of ancient implements or weapons scattered over the surface of these fords, resulting from many accidetal causes, such as those occurring to travellers in crossing under—at all times—awkward and often dangerous circumstances, and especially during warfare between rival tribes, when, in advancing or retreating across the river at these passes, many of their weapons would be lost, or possibly thrown into the river for concealment, to prevent their falling into the hands of opposing tribes. Doubtless many of these weapons were afterwards recovered on due search, or perhaps were observed under water on bright days, when the river was low, when persons from time to time wading across the shoal, could easily recover them. Still many would remain unobserved until afterwards found during the deepening for the navigation.

"It may also be remarked that the collection of these remains found in the Shannon was not the result of any considerable number being found at a particular shoal. They are the aggregate of a few, more or less, from each of the various shoals that were deepened, but no exact particulars of the locality where each was found appear to have been given in by the persons presenting them to the Royal Irish Academy, an omission which ought not to have occurred. The idea conveyed by the Catalogue of the Academy is rather that most of the collection was made at one locality, which was by no means the case. The first weapons were gathered at Meelick and Keelogue, these being the first shoals taken in hand for deepening: but at most of the numerous other shoals extending along the whole course of the river numerous other weapons were found, and all these make up the Shannon collection as they are seen in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

"In some of the Reviews it has been urged, in reference to stone weapons found within the last few years in France, that these weapons were most probably spurious, and not to be relied on as evidences of the

ancient period contended for in the history of man. On this point it may not be inappropriate to mention, that, in the course of deepening one of the shoals of the Shannon, the fact was discovered that the workmen were manufacturing these ancient stone weapons, or 'celts.'

"In collecting these remains as they were found by the workmen, it was generally the practice to give them a gratuity for each weapon they found, or for any other artificial or natural object, however unimportant or modern, as an incentive to be careful in watching for these remains when opening the ground and removing the material, and in preserving everything they might find; a larger gratuity being generally given for bronze or stone weapons and implements. It was observed that two of the workmen in particular appeared to be more fortunate than the rest in finding stone 'celts.' Day after day they brought in one or more of these weapons for the usual gratuity, until at length suspicion was excited, and observations made, to ascertain whether the particular part of the shoal at which these men were working was likely to be more favourable for the deposit of these remains, than where the other men were employed at other parts of the shoal. Further inquiry gave reason for stronger suspicion, until ultimately the discovery of the fraud they had been practising was made beyond all doubt.

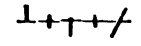
"Their mode of proceeding was as follows:—From the shaly beds of a neighbouring limestone, or 'calp' quarry, these two men obtained some stones of suitable texture and colour, and, after working hours, they secretly got access to the large grindstone used by the carpenters and joiners for sharpening their rough tools, and applying the intended 'celt' to this grindstone (with a genuine celt before them as a pattern), they soon brought it to the required shape. They then rubbed it for some time with sharp sand, to bring it to a smoother surface, and, finally, after rubbing it with an oil rag dipped in clay or mud, to give it an ancient appearance, they delivered it up in this state, and claimed the usual gratuity.

"After discovering the fraud, the collection was carefully examined, and several of these spurious celts were found and destroyed. It was easy to recognise them, for, after attention was drawn to them, their imperfect shape, and the fresh marks, partly observable, of the grindstone, as well also the nature of the stone of which they were formed, showed at once their recent manufacture. The men were discharged from the work, and the celts afterwards given in as found were very carefully examined before receiving them; but as other persons, of antiquarian tastes in the neighbourhood unconnected with the works, were in the habit of tempting the workmen with a larger gratuity than they were accustomed to get from the Shannon Commissioners, in order to obtain surreptitiously some of these antiquities, it is not unlikely that the fraud continued to be practised on them, and possibly also on persons similarly circumstanced in other localities along the river where these deepening operations were going on.

"I mention the case as an authentic circumstance coming under my own observation, to show how, in so unexpected and ready a manner, a deception may be practised in these matters, even by the most illiterate persons, when there is a sufficient motive; although it may fairly be regarded as not likely to be resorted to except in the case of weapons of the simple form and easily obtained material of these stone 'celts.'"

Dr. J. A. Purefoy Colles sent the following note on a supposed Ogham stone at Ross Hill, county of Galway:—

"The stone of which I send you an outline stands about fifty yards in front of the west doorway of the ruined church of Ross Hill, on the south shore of Loch Mask ('Journal,' 3rd series, p. 135). It is about 3 feet high, square in plan, and about 8 inches wide on each face. On both the eastern and the western face is a simple cross, formed by two broad and deep incised lines of nearly equal length; the arms reaching the edge of the stone on each side. At the upper part of the south-western angle are obscure traces of what seems to be an Ogham inscription, consisting of five scores, which I read:—



H A B A M

The inscription is evidently imperfect, as the upper part of the stone appears to have been broken off. Some of our Members who are learned in Oghams may visit Loch Mask; and I wish to put on record the existence of this pillar stone, in order that it may receive a thorough examination."

With regard to Mr. 'Geoghegan's presentation of a drawing of a bronze ring (p. 263, *supra*), Mr. John Bold, of Dunlow, County Donegal, had furnished him (Mr. 'Geoghegan) with the following account of the "find":—

"The ring was found among the sand hills and sea bent at Mullaghdhu, on the western coast of Donegal, close to where a galleon of the Spanish Armada, one of whose anchors is now in the British Museum, was wrecked; a number of brass guns belonging to the same vessel were sold many years ago. The place where the ring was picked up is below the old tower of Castle Port. A curious fact in connexion with this locality is that originally a large fair lasting a week was held there, to which people came from Connaught in *curraghs;* and when Mr. Cuningham Burton (Beranger's friend) removed the fair to *Clough an leagh*, the 'Grey Stone Ford,' he brought the name of *Dunlow* with it, but still the old people call it Clough an leagh. The boulders in the river, used as stepping stones, which gave the name, were blasted to build a bridge across it. This change of name is in better taste than that which altered the name of *Inis O'Donnell* to Rutland Island, because a Duke of that name visited it some seventy or eighty years ago; a vile piece of flunkeyism."

Mr. George M. Atkinson exhibited some drawings connected with the proceedings of the International Congress of Prehistoric Archæology, held in Denmark last autumn. Amongst them were three, illustrative of the exploration, by the assembled *savants*, of one of the famous Danish "Kitchen Middens," with the "natives" gazing in

awestruck wonder at the ecstacies of the archæologists over potsherds, split bones, and oyster shells. Mr. Atkinson spoke highly of the hospitable and noble manner in which the Congress was received by the King of Denmark and his people, and regretted that he was almost the only Irishman present at the Congress. The admirable manner in which the work of the Congress was arranged and carried out was beyond praise, and those who were not present little knew how much they had lost by their absence. He could not imagine a more pleasant and profitable mode of spending an archæologist's autumn holiday.

Mr. Watters, Town Clerk of Kilkenny, said that, at previous meetings of the Association he had exhibited ancient documents from the Municipal Archives at present in his keeping, which seemed to excite a good deal of interest amongst the Members. The documents referred to were all connected with the locality; but he did not wish it to be supposed that the Kilkenny Corporation records were all of merely local importance, and he had, therefore, come provided with a few, which he considered would fully show that several of the documents in his custody were of general interest as serving to illustrate the history of Ireland at large. The first of those which he would lay before the meeting on this occasion was both of local and general interest. It threw light very curiously on the original arrangements for the transmission of intelligence, which gradually grew into the present postal system. It was an original order from the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, addressed to the Sovereign of Kilkenny, such having been the title of the Chief Magistrate of the Corporation previous to the conferring upon that official, by Royal Charter, of the title of Mayor. It ran as follows:—

"W. Drury.

"*By the L. Justice & Counsell.*

"Trustie and welbeloved we greet yo^{u} well, for that yt emporteth weightelie the state of this Realme to have the advertismentes owte of the west ptes brought vnto vs with all spede that may be, considering the Archetraytor James FitzMorrice is landed and putteth him self wth his confederates & accomplices in open and actuall hostilitye againste her highnes, her crowne and dignitye, and to the intended subversion of this state and comon weale, and that the rather by suche spedie postinge those occurrentes may the soner be knowen and prevented as occasion

sheueth. Theis are to chardge yowe uppon your allegiance in her highnes name, to take present order, that in that Towne one sufficient and hable post horse be their provided for, in a contynuall reddynes to serve for postinge from that towne of Kylkennye, hitherwardes unto Castell Dermod, and so westwardes from Kilkennye to Casshell, as the like order we have geven to the other Townes of Thomastowne, Castele Dermod, and the Naas, for like purpose and spedye carrydge to and fro of those posting lres. Geven at Her Ma^tes Castell of Dublin the xxv^th of this Julye, 1579. It is ment that one man also be by yo^r provyded to be the post w^ch shall have consideracõn for his trayvell."

"W^M. GERRARD CANC. AD. DUBLIN.

"LUCAS DILLON. NYCH^S MALBIE.

"*To Kilkennye.*"

Directed on the back:—"To o^r trustie and welbeloved the Soveraigne of her Ma^tie Towne of Kylkenny."

Endorsed:—"This lre was del'yvered by the Portreife of Gowrane is man to M^r Souvaigne at 7 of the clocke in the afternone, and presently Richard Purcell appointed Poste the xxviii^th of July, 1579, vi^d st^r to be allowed him p diem from thence forth during the tyme of service, or further ord^r to be taken by the Souvaigne & Counsell of Kilkeny."[1]

Mr. Watters observed that the "archtraytor," James Fitz-Maurice, in connexion with whose hostile attitude towards the Government this primitive postal system was inaugurated in 1579, was, he believed, cousin to the sixteenth Earl of Desmond. He had been on the Continent seeking aid to upset the English power in Ireland, and had returned with three ships containing some Spanish soldiers, landing at the port of Smerwick, in Kerry, on the 1st July, 1579; and was to have been followed by an Italian force, intended for the same object, but the latter were diverted by their commander, at the instance of the King of Portugal, from their original enterprise, and having been led against the Turks instead, were defeated and slaughtered. Fitz-Maurice himself was soon after slain, in the county of Tipperary. The next document which he would lay before the meeting seemed to bear in its first paragraph on the former one, and served to throw additional light on a portion of the history of the Desmond family upon which there did not appear to be very much known hitherto. The Government would seem, in connexion with the ar-

[1] The order was folded letter-wise, and closed by a wafer, over which was faintly impressed a seal of arms of four quarterings, probably Drury's.

rival of James Fitz-Maurice in Ireland for the purpose of raising a rebellion, to have got possession of the infant son of the Earl of Desmond, with a view of keeping him as a hostage in case of his father taking part with his cousin Fitz Maurice in his opposition to Queen Elizabeth's power. And we find this infant placed in charge of the Sovereign of Kilkenny for nearly a week, whilst on his way to Dublin, from whence he was subsequently sent to London for safe keeping. The document was an account of allowances claimed from the Corporation of Kilkenny by Piers Shee, Sovereign A. D. 1579, for disbursements made by him, and which was submitted for "taxation" to the Council's Auditors. It was as follows:—

Suche allowances and exbursementes as Peirs Shee praieth to be allowed by the Auditor in his bailifes Dischardge of his receipts of them.

xxx^{s} str.	In ꝑimes for the dieth of thearle of Desmondes sonn beinge coñitted bye the Lo. Chancellor and Coũsell to the salfe garde & keping of the said Peirs as Soꝛraigne of Kilkeny and coñaunded uppõ his dutie of alleadgeaũce to have greate watche and keaping uppõ the saiede yonge Lo: beinge fyve dayes in his custodye, and at meales, drinkins, and brekfastes wth his nvrse, a lander∫, M^{r} Charluse, two serving men, and foure boyes, with comers and goers, ffor their wyne and dieth during that tyme	iii^{li} st^{r}
30*∫.*	Item for fier, candellight and Drinke for xii ꝑsons nyghtlye watchinge the saied prisoner . . .	v^{s} st^{r}
all*∫.*	Deliꝛed the smith, Donogho Maigher, the 5 of December, 1579, at the requeste of Rob^{t} Mothell, to make greatt nayles, loppes, salines, and other necessarie things, for the mending booth the castle gates	iiii^{s} st^{r}
all*∫.*	Deliꝛed to Keryne, the porter of the bridge gate, for to be given for mendinge his lock, 5 Decẽbris, 1579	iiii^{d} st^{r}
all*∫.* bringing in the halbardes	Deliꝛed Donoghoe Meagher, smith, the 7 of December, for three halbartes for the three Sariauntes to wait uppõ the Souꝛaign . . .	ix^{s} st^{r}
all*∫.*	Item for three stẽmes and frenge for them . .	xii^{d} st^{r}
all*∫.*	Delivered the Smith a stone of Ioren to make nayles and a salyn for S^{t} James Gate, 18 December	ii^{s} st^{r}
all.	Item to the Smith for his labor working of the said 3 stone of Iorn for the toun worke	ii^{s} st^{r}
all*∫.*	Item the 22 of December to the saied Smyth for iiii dayes wadges drawing tholde nayles, plates,	

and iorns out of the saied gate, and trymynge and mending the lockes iiii^{s} st^{r}

all *f.* Item for bords for the said three gates iiii^{s} st^{r}

all Delivered S^{r} James Bolger and S^{r} Willm Cogan, vicaries of the cõmon hall, for a gallon wyne on corp^{9} cristi daye ii^{s} st^{r}

all Item for my wadges of the Audito^{r}shipp for xi yerees lv^{s} st^{r}

all Item for ꝑchment and writting the conveyance past by Thomas M^{r}shall uppon the new courte house iii^{s} vi^{d}

The chardges of the Riote.

I bestowed vppõ M^{r} Edmond Butler, for drawinge forthe a returne vppon thattachment wh^{ch} came against our townismen, a breakfast iii^{s} iiii^{d} st^{r}

all Item for the hire of a Horsse for my man for three dayes going in post to Waterford with thearle of Ormondes ỉres to the Lo: Justice, for the stament of the ꝑclamation awarded against oure towneis mẽ iii^{s} st^{r}

all *f.* Item for Edmond Tobyns meales for iii dayes beinge messenger at vi^{d} the meale iii^{s} st^{r}

all For the horse boyes meales during that tyme . . ii^{s} st^{r}

all Item for horse meate and litter during that time . ii^{s} st^{r}

all Item for writting the copie of thearles ỉre wh^{ch} the Lo: Justice inclosed in his ỉre to the Lo:

all Kep and Counsell. To the Secretary by S^{r} Lucas Dillon is appointment, vnto whome M^{r} Ric. Shee wrote vi^{s} viii^{d} st^{r}

all 3*f.* To the messenger sent in haste to Dubling with the Lo: Justices ỉres to the Lo: Keaꝑ and counsail the same tyme iii^{s} st^{r}

all Item for ꝑchment and ingrossing all the seᵛall answers of oure townismen and cõping of the same in paꝑ v^{s} st^{r}

all if the brethern do allowe it Item at M^{r} Butler comying to towne we gave oute the said answers because of some interlyning and ꝑswaded Kendall that is [*sic for* he] was to writt it anewe, and so M^{r} Butler ꝑused and amended the same copie wh^{ch} afterwardes was sent to oure learned counsell to Dublin, for his paynes x^{s} st^{r}

Item for ꝑchment and the new ingrossing of all the said copies and answers of oure townismen and delyᵛing the same to M^{r} Kendall according to the Lord Keaꝑ and counsailles directions v^{s} st^{r}

Item for writing an answere to the Lo: Keaꝑ is ỉre for thattachment of Willm Langton at Silvester Skyners sute and returning answeres uppon the cõmandments ix^{d} st^{r}

Item for my owne saddell that I was forst to lende the pursuvhaunt which came from England to the Lo: justice and therle of Ormonde, staying for him by the waye, which saddell was loste and Ric. Archdekens bridell viii^{s} st^{r}

all *f.* Item for a barrell otts for Kyndalls Horses remaynyng in towne examynyng of the townismen iii^s st^r

This is to be payed of thererayes, therefore not to be allowed Item to Richard Butler of Ros for S^r Willm barge which was granted by the corporaciō to the said S^r Willm for his chardges against S^r James Tobbyn in the sute of arnistowne iii^li st^r

all Item vppō the complaint of John Conway & gerrot massuns for there wadges for v dayes and iv workemen and three oVseers, That the town baily paied them not according his warraunt dated x^th of August, It was orthered that I should paye the same and haue allowaunce in my accompts xix^s iii^d st^r

Allowaunce for writing of x ſres, Thone to the high coñissioners for answer to apprehend & send certaine of the townismē to Dublin, A ſre to S^r Peter Carow for bergin's horse, The copie of captaine Pickmans Coñission, a ſre to the So: of Thomastown forbydding him to take toll or pavadge of oure towinsmen, A ſre to the Maio^r of Waterford for to send for the hundered markes leafte by the Lo: Justice in my hands that the corporaciō should not be at chardges to sende men w^th that money to Waterforde, The Copie of the Lo : Justices warraunt sent to the Sherefe for the stament of all victuall out of the borders, An answer to the Lo: of upp ossories ſre, The answer to the Lo: Deputies ſres at the sute of Derbye Duf vii^s vi^d st^r

Allowance for the carriadge of the xl poundes Irishe wh^ch remayneth in Dublinge for the town rentes xx^s st^r

The first item or two of the foregoing accounts were those of chief interest, and they served to correct an error of at least a date, in a statement made by Lodge and Archdall (Peerage, vol. i., p. 75). Their reference to the "yonge lord," known afterwards as "The Tower Earl of Desmond," was —

"James, the only son (of the 16th Earl of Desmond), was born in England, and honoured with Queen Elizabeth's being his godmother; but, on account of his father's rebellion, became an hostage for his good behaviour in 1584, and was kept a prisoner in the tower, until her Majesty, hoping that his presence in Ireland might draw his father's ancient followers from James Fitz-Thomas, the reputed Earl, and put a period to the rebellion, released and admitted him to her presence, styled him Earl of Desmond, and sent him under the conduct of Captain Price, who presented him to the President of Munster at Moyallow, with her Majesty's letters, dated at Oatlands, 1st October, 1600, and letters patent of the same date for his restitution to blood and honour, whereby he became the 17th Earl of Desmond."

The sixteenth Earl of Desmond, according to the "Four Masters," and other reliable authorities, was slain while in

rebellion against the Queen, in 1583 (the 11th November), and his head, having been sent to England by the Earl of Ormonde, was fixed on London Bridge; so that the placing of his son's detention in England as a hostage for his good behaviour in 1584, was obviously a mistake. It was seen by Piers Shee's account that he was delivered up to the Government in 1579. He (Mr. Watters) was informed by those who were familiar with the memorials of the Geraldines, that the child was detained by the Lord Deputy in Dublin for a considerable time before his transfer to London; and it did not seem probable that he ever was permitted to return to his parents between the period of his sojourn in Kilkenny under the Sovereign's charge in 1579, and his return to Ireland, as Earl of Desmond, with the Queen's Commission, to oppose the pretensions of his cousin, "the Sugan Earl," in 1600; when, having failed in that object, he was brought back to his old quarters in London, and there died a few months later. But, reverting to his childhood, there was another document amongst the Municipal Archives of Kilkenny, referring to his conveyance a stage towards Dublin from the former city. It was as follows:—

John Rooth fitz Gynkyñ towne balife, theis are to will yo^{u} to deliver this bearer Teige o gorge for the hyre of his garrane w^{ch} went with therle of Desmonds son to Dublinge by the Lo: Justice comandm^{t} directed to me vppō my dutie of Allegeance the some of tenn testons w^{ch} some was concluded uppon to be given him by my brethren, ffor doying whereof this shal be you^{r} warrant the viiith of November Ano 1579.

PETER SHEE, Soveraigne of Kilkenny.

Endorsed iii^{s} iiii^{d} st^{r} For a Horse for conveying therle of Desmonds Son to Loghlin. 1579.

Mr. Watters then brought forward two other documents, being accounts of disbursements made by the Irish Government, in the years 1715–17. How they came to be placed amongst the records of the Corporation of Kilkenny he could not tell, as they were evidently imperial records; but at all events, however they came there, they were genuine official papers.

Payments out of the £50,000 *Loan.*

Paid Qu^{r} Master Gen^{ll} Morris to be by him paid out in forrage for the troops to be canton'd near Athlone by warrant on the military contingencies, Dated the 18th January, 1715, ...	100	0	0

Paid Major Whitworth on acc^{t} for providing forrage for the regimen^{ts} to be canton'd near Kilkenny, by the like warrant, dated 30th January, 1715, ...	£100	0	0
Paid Coll. De Pagey appointed Ingenier at Galway, by like war^{t}, dated 6th Feb^{ry}, 1715, ...	100	0	0
Paid W^{m} Fisher, Esq., deputy judge advocate, by like warr^{t} dated 24th Febu^{ry}, 1715, ...	45	10	0
Paid Capt. Abraham Swift, as an extraordinary aid de camp to the Lord Tyrawly, during the cantonment, by like warrant, dated 18th of February, 1715, . .	45	10	0
Paid Capt. Robt. Child as secretary to y^{e} Lord Tyrawly during the cantonment by like warrant, dated 10th April, 1716, ...	45	0	0
Paid Coll^{l} Josies Campbell being so much advanced by him to Capt. Boyd for public service by like warrant dated 14th April, 1716, ...	53	12	6½
Paid John Corneille Esq^{r} sent to view the fortifications of Limerick by like warra^{t} dated 19th April, 1716, .	32	9	2½
Paid the Lord Stackallen for his journey to the province of Ulster by like warrant dated 19th April, 1716, .	200	0	0
Paid William Fisher in full of his service as deputy judge advocate during the cantonment by like warr^{t} dated 19th June, 1716, ...	21	17	6½
Paid Capt. Samuel Boyd for his trouble and expense in Publick service by like warrant dated 17th August, 1716, ...	50	0	0
Paid Charles Mathewes for his service and expense during the late cantonment by like warr^{t} dated 23rd August, 1716, ...	40	0	0
Paid John O'Hara for acting as town major of Galway by like warr^{t} dated 27th Sept., 1716, ...	40	0	0
Paid Capt. Child more as secretary to the Lord Tyrawly during the cantonment by like warr^{t} dated 19th June 1716, ...	21	17	6½
Paid the master and principle officers of the Ordnance for makeing 208 horsemen's tents compleat, by war^{t} dated 5th March, 1715, ...	265	10	0¾
Paid Will^{m} Lewis, master of a ship, for carrying 200 cases, containing 10,000 armes from Holland, by warr^{t} dated 3^{d} April, 1716, ...	116	0	4½
Paid the master and principle officers of the Ordnance, for 110 new Drums, and 160 Halberts, for the use of the new Levys, by warr^{t} dated 14th of June, 1716, ...	140	10	7¼
Paid them more, to be paid Tho^{s} Cook, for the freight of amunition sent to the sev^{l} outports, by warr^{t} dated 4th July, 1716, ...	117	15	7½
Paid Franciss Baker, for the charge of y^{e} marching Hospital attending the late Cantonment, by warr^{t} dated 19th July, 1716, ...	566	11	8½
Paid Major-Gener^{l} Peirce, in full of his disbursements att Limerick for the artillery sevice, A.D. 1715			

and 1716, and for powder and ball delivered into the stores there, by warr^{t} dated 18th July, 1716, . .	£165	13	8½
Paid the officers of the Ordnance, on account, to pay of the gunsmiths for new mounting 1509 musquetts barrells for the new Levys, by warr^{t} 13 Sep^{t}, 1716,	941	19	2
Paid John Lumly, Provost-Martiell Gen^{ll} for his charge and expence of the cantonment, by warr^{t} dated 26th Sep^{t}, 1716, ...	43	10	4½
Paid the officers of the Ordnance, on acc^{t} for fitting up arms for the new Levys, by warr^{t} dated 26th Nov^{r}, 1716, ...	300	0	0
Paid Lieut-Coll. Allen, for fixing up 165 firelocks for Coll^{l} Kane's regim^{t}, by warr^{t} dated 7 Decemb^{r} 1716,	9	8	2
Paid the officers of the Ordnance, on acc^{t} for the marching train, by war^{t} dated 14th Febr^{y}, 1715, ...	660	0	0
Paid them more, to compleat £1293 : 15 for a marching train, by warr^{t} dated 28th Aprill, 1716, ...	633	15	0
Paid Theophilus Des Crisay, to be paid sev^{ll} French officers sent to Cork and Limerick to assist in the defence of those pleases, by warr^{t} dated 7th January, 1716, ...	475	14	10
Carryed forward	5332	6	5½
Brought forward, ...	5332	6	5½
Paid Levy money for 5 regiments of Dragoons and eight regiments of foot, by warr^{t} dated 21st Aprill, 1716,	21,209	5	7½
	£26,541	12	0¾

Ex^{d} per Wm. Pratt, Reciv^{r}-Gen^{rl}

Payments made on Particular Let^{rs} from his Matie in one year and three quarters, from Mich'as 1715 *to midsum^{r}* 1717.

P^{d} Robert Bailie, in full of £704 2 6, for three new state Canopys, by warr^{t} date 28th Sep^{r}, 1715, . .	404	2	6
P^{d} y^{e} Duke of Grafton, and Earl Gallway, L^{ds} Justices of Ireland, for their Equipage, warr^{t} dated 21st Sep^{r}, 1715, ...	3000	0	0
P^{d} Tho^{s} Burgh, Esq., to compleat y^{e} money already ordered for Carrying out y^{e} Buildings in Dublin Castle, by war^{t} dated y^{e} 19th Aug^{t}, 1715, ...	1000	0	0
P^{d} y^{e} agent of Coll. Grove's Regim^{t}, to compleat y^{e} Levey and loss of two Companys castaway, war^{t} dated 3^{d} March, 1715, ...	227	15	9
P^{d} y^{e} agents to y^{e} widdows of officers for twelve Regtm^{ts} wanting on y^{e} Establishmet from sev^{ell} days to the 16th of Feb^{y}, 1715, ...	521	10	0
P^{d} sev^{ll} Parsons y^{e} exchange of £2114 : 14 : 7¾ Remitted to y^{e} Earl of Carnarvan for Kellnor, Ross, Preston, and Chadlighs Regim^{ts}, war^{t} dated 6th March, 1715,	218	0	3
P^{d} Tho^{s} Burgh, Esq., towards carrying on y^{e} new build-			

	This charged on Poundage.		
ings in y^e^ Castle of Dublin, by war^t^ dated 4^th^ of April, 1716, ...			
P^d^ to Warham Jemmet, Esq., for 25 Casks of Gunpowder, bought and delivered by him to y^e^ storekeeper of Corke, by war^t^ dated 2^nd^ May, 1716, . .	£65	7	0¾
P^d^ y^e^ Lord Chanceller Brodrick, as speaker of y^e^ house of Peers for y^e^ session held 1716, by war^t^ dated y^e^ 19^th^ June, 1716, ...	500	0	0
P^d^ Robert Whalpole, Esq., y^e^ exchange of £3939, remitted by him for Farfarr, Orrery, and Hill's Regim^ts^ , ...	451	0	1¼
P^d^ y^e^ R^t^ Hon^ble^ Will^m^ Connely, Esq., as speaker to the House of Comm̃s for y^e^ session held 1716, by war^t^ dated 19 June, 1716, ...	500	0	0
P^d^ the master and Principall officers of y^e^ Ordnance for makeing 4264 Bagonets for four Regim^ts^ of dragoons and eight Regim^ts^ of foot, by war^t^ 10^th^ Aug^t^, 1716,	508	18	4¾
P^d^ John Walker, Esq., for y^e^ familie of the late Dr. Geo. Walker, by war^t^ dat^d^ 14 July, 1716	2000	0	0
P^d^ y^e^ officers and serv^ts^ of the House of Lords, for their attendance in the session of Parliam^t^ held anno 1716, by war^t^ dated 8^th^ March, 1716, ...	800	0	0
P^d^ John Hunter, in full of his charge and expence on his maties service in y^e^ county of Antrim, by war^t^ dat^d^ 10^th^ Aug^t^, 1716, ...	21	2	10½
P^d^ Eustace Budgell, Esq., to be by him remitted to y^e^ Attorney and Soll^r^ Gen^ll^ and other officers in Great Britain for their Extraordinary Service and Charge in despaching y^e^ Public Bills, ...	925	13	2
P^d^ John Poultney, Esq., clark of y^e^ Counsell, for fees due to him for 31 Publick Bills y^e^ last session of Parlim^t^ &c., war^t^ dated 22 Nov^br^	202	8	2
P^d^ John Pratt, Esq., Constable of Dublin Castle, for his Trouble and Expence in Keeping and securing the State Prisoner in the time of the late rebellion, war^t^ dat^d^ 6^th^ March, 1716	500	0	0
P^d^ y^e^ officers of y^e^ ordinance for repairing and fitting up armes for y^e^ new Regim^ts^ by war^t^ 25^th^ Feb^r^ 1716 .	251	1	7¼
P^d^ y^e^ Duke of Bolton for his equipage as L. Lieut of Ireland, war^t^ dated 5^th^ June, 1717	3000	0	0
P^d^ for cloathing to sev^ll^ Regim^ts^ disbanded on his maties Lit^rs^ beyond what their of-reckonings came to, the Regim^ts^ were Corbett, Wade, Pepper, Churchill, and Ker	3174	5	9¼
Mem^dm^	£18,271	5	11

There was a Let^r^ from his maiiee of y^e^ 9^th^ of Feb^ry^, 1715, giving y^e^ then L^d^ Justices a Gen^ll^ Power, on which some articles in y^e^ paper of the Establishm^t^ are ground and so specially noted.

3^d^ Sep^r^ 1712.

Will^m^ Burgh, Comp^t^ and Acc^t^ Gen^ll^.

The Chairman, in presenting to Mr. Watters a special vote of thanks passed to that gentleman by the meeting, expressed the great pleasure which they had received from the valuable historical papers which he had brought under their notice; and he said, he was sure he only expressed the feeling of all the members, when he added a hope that Mr. Watters would extend a similar boon to them on many future occasions.

Mr. Watters, in acknowledging the compliment paid him, said it afforded him much pleasure to be enabled to gratify the members of the Association. The Coporation's Records were not likely to be much longer in his custody, but as long as they were, he would be happy to afford them similar examples of the very great interest attaching to the Kilkenny Municipal Archives.

Mr. T. Alderdice, Armagh, transmitted to the Society descriptive particulars of a tomb, composed of sandstone, in the churchyard of Ballynasagart, between Ballygawley and Clogher, county Tyrone. Beneath a shield of arms—Harvey impaling Graham, crest a unicorn couchant—was the following inscription :—

HERE UNDER IS INTERRED
THE BODY OF MISTRESS
MARY GRAHAM LATE YE
WIFE OF HENRY HARVE
OF TOLLYGLISS GENTLE
MAN WHO DEPARTED
THIS LIFE THE 27 DAY OF MARCH
ANNO DOM MDCIX AND
IN THE 137 YEAR OF HER
AGE.

The family of Harvey formerly held the large property now in the possession of Sir John Stewart, Bart., Ballygawley House; but of the lady here commemorated, the only thing remarkable was the extreme old age to which she appears to have lived.

Mr. Robertson, Hon. Curator of the Museum, reported the safe arrival of several pieces of ancient timber, oak and deal, which had formed the piles and a portion of a framed structure in the Ballydoolough Crannog, presented by the Earl of Enniskillen. One of the ancient querns,

found in the Crannog, had also been forwarded by his Lordship.

Mr. Kyran Molloy, Clonmacnoise, wrote to inform the Association of the discovery, at about a quarter of a mile south-east of the Seven Churches, in the direction of Lough Finlough, of an ancient timber structure, over which there were four feet of undisturbed bog. It seemed to form a kind of framed passage, extending a distance of eight or ten perches—perhaps more—composed of side beams, 25 feet long, with a mortice at every 4 feet 6 inches, and a joist of 3 feet 6 inches to support the floor. At every mortice there was a stake of about 5 feet long, with a pointed end. He had taken steps to have all the timber preserved till it could be seen and reported on to the Society by Mr. Graves, or some one competent to decide as to its original design and object; and he promised to keep a close look out for any further discovery in connexion with it.

[The importance of the discovery announced will explain the insertion here of the following letter from the Rev. George H. Reade, the active and efficient Hon. Local Secretary of the district, dated November 18th, 1870. It is hoped that a full account of the exploration will be laid before the January Meeting.—Ed.]

"A rare discovery has been made upon the property of Lord Rathdonnell, at a place called Greenmount, formerly Drumcat, close to Gernanstown, where there is a well known mound, close to the high road from Dunleer to Dundalk; a great portion of it has just been opened by General Lefroy and his Lordship, who kindly asked me to visit the spot. On the side of a small hillock or ridge, composed of rough gravel and water-worn stones, as of an ancient sea beach, stands the mound formed of the materials of this ridge. A walled and flagged passage had been found in the southern side, about 5 feet high, and 4 broad, and 15 feet long, roofed with transverse slabs of stone, which was terminated suddenly by a wall of rubble stones. Being stopped by the wall, it was determined to open the mound from above through the same large gravel; when at a few feet deep they came upon numerous bones scattered in all directions, most of them human, much broken, and many partly burned. Amidst the debris thrown up was found a very good specimen of the earliest bronze celt, flat, and without stop-ridge, or any ornament; but the great discovery remains. When they had erected a windlass, to hoist up the mixed bones and large gravel, at about 11 feet deep from the top they came upon a small bronze plate lying on what appeared to the finder to be a narrow band of snuff-coloured burned paper, like a belt, all of which crumbled away to the touch. At first the thin bronze plate was thought little of, but being brought to Drumcar and cleaned, there appeared on

one side an interlaced ornamentation, and on the other a Runic Inscription, which I understand from Lady Drumcar has been read for her brother, General Lefroy, as—

TOMI OF SILSHOF HAD SWORD THIS.

This is the first Rune ever found in Ireland, and throws the Knockmore attempts into insignificance. Something like a flue was carried up, or half traced up by soot from the 15 feet passage to the top, and charcoal was found interspersed. General Lefroy, was present directing the work, and has taken the Runic plate to London for exhibition, but I am happy to say that, it will not finally be taken out of the country, but by Lord Rathdonnel's wish will find an appropriate resting place in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. The shaft from the top was continued down through the same rubble, and burned and broken bones, until they came to the end of the passage. The work is now broken off, until longer days. My idea is, that this was a burial mound, on which at various times the dead were burned, fire being put in the 15 foot passage, and then gravel heaped over the remains of the pyre; and that the owner of the belt with the Runic inscription was a Danish warrior, killed in one of their raids, and buried there without cremation. A seeming twin mound is joined on to that excavated, not so high or so shaped by art. I believe it natural; on the top of it are old earth works, marking out small rooms, probably ancient residences."

The following Papers were contributed :—

THE CORPORATION INSIGNIA AND OLDEN CIVIC STATE OF KILKENNY.

BY JOHN G. A. PRIM.

On the occasion of Mr. A. G. 'Geoghegan having, at the October meeting of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society, in the year 1863, contributed a description of the swords, mace, collars, and seal of the Corporation of Londonderry, with accompanying photographs and historical particulars, a wish was expressed by several of the Members present that arrangements might be made for placing on record, in the Society's "Journal," a series of similar illustrations of the Corporation insignia of the various other cities and principal towns in Ireland. I beg leave now, in the hope that others will come forward to render a similar service for the respective municipalities with which they may be

connected, to offer some notice of the official insignia possessed by the Corporation of Kilkenny. In fact, I may lay claim to having anticipated Mr. 'Geoghegan in that object, as, through the courtesy of the then Mayor of Kilkenny, the late Alderman Daniel Smithwick, I was enabled to exhibit the City Sword, and the great and two lesser Maces of the Corporation to the meeting of the Society held in May, 1857, offering some descriptive observations at the time, which were intended for insertion in the "Journal," but were not then published, in consequence of the photographs made, with the view of illustrating them, having failed of being sufficiently effective to suit the engraver for their proper reproduction. I am now indebted to Thomas R. Lane, Esq., Cork, for admirable photographs, such as have enabled Mr. Utting to engrave the illustrations at present supplied.

I may premise, by way of a general introduction to my subject, that the regal sceptre, the ecclesiastical virge, and the civic mace, are all said to have had their origin in the simple emblem of straightness and integrity of rule consisting of a plain slender rod, anciently borne before kings and high public functionaries, and retained to the present day as an official badge by sheriffs and attendants in courts of justice. It may be questioned however, whether the idea of the civic mace was not derived from the military weapon of that name, and associated with the sword as another suitable emblem of power. Be this as it may, the municipal body of Kilkenny, although incorporated as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, and receiving many charters from the Crown and the feudal lords of the district, do not appear to have been empowered to assume the state of attending sword and mace bearers till the reign of King James I., who in the year 1609 granted them the great charter which raised their town to the dignity of a city, styling their chief magistrate Mayor, instead of Sovereign as previously, and conferring on them many other important rights and privileges. That charter authorized the Mayor of the city for the time being, and his successors, "to have a sword carried before him or them within the said city, and the county of the said city, at their will and pleasure, in such manner and form as is

used in any other city or cities before any Mayor or Mayors within the said Kingdom of Ireland." Nothing is there indicated respecting a great mace as an accompaniment of the sword, but it is ordained that the Mayor and citizens "shall be able to constitute, and have from time to time for ever, three, four, or five officers of the citizens of the said city, to serve in the court of the said city, and for proclaiming, arresting, and executing the processes, mandates, and other business appertaining to the office of Sergeant-at-Mace," and that they should "be attendant on the said Mayor of the said city for the time being, from time to time." The charter bears date the 11th April, 1609; and a sword-bearer and sergeant-at-mace appear to have been immediately appointed, as on the 6th October following they are incidentally alluded to in a curious by-law of the Corporation, which arranged that the sword-bearer and gaoler were "to dyet at festivals at Mr. Mayor's house," as were also "the Sergeant-at-Mace and his wife," whilst the sergeant of the markets was to be entertained on such occasions at the house of the Sheriff Controller, and the courts' sergeants at that of the Sheriff Receiver. On the 13th October, 1620, a gown was ordered to be purchased for the sword-bearer at the expense of the Corporation.[1] There does not appear to have been any great mace-bearer at that time, although there were then several sergeants-at-mace, all of whom, doubtless, carried small maces as badges of their office. On the 25th June, 1638, the Corporation arranged a programme for a state funeral for deceased members of their body, in which it was set down that "the sword and four maces shall be carried before the Mayor at the burial of Aldermen and their wives; the sword and two maces to be carried at the burial of every sheriff's peer and their wives." In the same year, on the

[1] We have the name of the sword bearer of the time, and the amount of his yearly salary, in the following order, of which the present Town Clerk has obligingly communicated a copy to me:—

"Mr. Sheriff Receaver, you may not fayle but deliver unto Richard Burgon, Swordbearer, the som of xxx^s. ster. being the Wages due unto him by the Corporation at Easter last past as Swordbearer of this Cittie. And for soe doing this shall be your Warrant.

"Dated the xix of June, 1618.

"Clemt. Roget,
"Maior of Kilkenny.

"To Mr. Patrick Fitzgerald,
"Sheriff Receaver."

13th April, the municipal council determined on "orders to be observed in the Portreve's court," the first of which was—"None to be attorneys there but the sergeants-at-mace, and they to be sworn." Twenty years subsequently we have an allusion to the fact of there being then such an officer as a great mace-bearer. On the 22nd April, 1658, the salaries of the various Corporation officials were fixed at the following sums:—"Mayor's salary, £150, besides customs and perquisites; Sheriffs, £10 each, to pass their accounts; Recorder, £30;[1] Deputy-Recorder, £24; Sword-bearer, £8 and perquisites; Great Mace-bearer, £8; City Marshal, £5; Sheriffs' sergeants, £4 each; City Musicians, £5 each; Beadles, £4 each; Clerk of the Tholsel, 50*s.* for paper." Soon after the municipal body of Kilkenny became involved in an expensive lawsuit with the neighbouring Corporation of Irishtown, concerning questions of privilege and superior authority within the latter borough; and the result was that they found it necessary to retrench the salaries of their officials, in order to supply funds to keep up the litigation. Thus, on the 24th May, 1667, it was arranged that "£100 per annum be the Mayor's salary, out of the perquisites of the market, which are to be set by cant; Recorder, £20; Sheriff, £10, and to be Receiver; Sword-bearer, £4 and perquisites; Mace-bearer, 40*s.* and perquisites; sergeants and beadles as formerly." However, the pressure on the Corporation funds became gradually so much greater as the suit progressed, that on the 25th March, 1681, the body enacted a "bye-law for reducing salaries—viz., the Mayor's salary to be £40; Sheriffs reduced to nothing. This act to continue till the suit is ended with the Bishop and pretended Portreve and Burgesses of Irishtown, and not to be repealed, under severe penalties, till the city is out of debt." As the minor officials are not mentioned in this notable by-law, we may

[1] By the kindness of the Town Clerk, I have been enabled to find what was the salary of the Recorder somewhat less than a century earlier, and before Kilkenny had been raised by Royal Charter to the dignity of a City. Richard Ragged, the Sovereign, in the accounts rendered at the expiration of his year of office in 1586, still extant amongst the municipal archieves, gives the following:—

"Item, More delivered M^r. Recorder for his Wadges, being for the present year 1586, the sum of three pounds, currant of Irland—iii^li Irish."

presume that the small stipends of the Sword and Mace-bearers were not further diminished on this occasion; and nearly twenty years afterwards the Council seems to have felt its exchequer to be once more in a sufficiently plethoric state to return to something like the old scale of remuneration for the services of its officials. On the 30th December, 1709, the following salaries were determined on:—"Mayor, £100, and £10 for charity; Recorder, £20; Sheriffs, as the Board may think fit; Sword-bearer, £8; great Mace-bearer, £8, and to be Weighmaster; two Sergeants-at-Mace, £4; two Beadles, £4 per; four Scavengers, £4 per."

As the foregoing is stated in the "Clasped Book" to be the then "Establishment of the City Officers," we must presume that it included the entire civic staff of the beginning of the last century; so that it would appear many minor officials, salaried in the beginning and middle of the previous century, had been lopped off, and it must certainly be deemed a movement in the right direction to find such useful *employés* as scavengers substituted for city musicians. The Mayor, when he went in state, however, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, had his dignity also supported by an unsalaried body guard. On the 14th of February, 1616, it was "Ordered that twelve halberts shall be carried at the Assizes to wait on the Mayor and Sheriffs—eight on the Mayor, and two on each of the Sheriffs; and that the halberts shall be carried by seemly young men of the Merchants' Guild, to whom the constables shall give warning to attend, and to be chosen every Assizes." It would be curious to ascertain what kind of music the "city musicians" afforded the Corporation; but we can only discover a clue to one of the instruments from an order made on the 10th July, 1629, "that £10 per annum be allowed to the common drummer;" and it was arranged on the 13th October, 1631, that the Mayor of Bullring (the chief constable of the city bore that strange title) should keep up and repair the city drums out of his perquisites. Music was doubtless an important feature in the civic processions, as we find that on the 20th October, 1609, it was "Ordered that Thomas Phelan's salary shall be continued, he to attend the Mayor on festival days with

the solemnity of music, and bring up the children of the [. . . .][1] in reading, writing, and singing;" and so lately as the 29th of June, 1752, it was "Ordered that the sum of £8 yearly be paid to Mr. John Ximines,[2] from the 24th day of June, instant, as a salary for playing this Corporation in and out of church, and for teaching the Charter-school boys to sing." The Mayor went to church in great state. On the 8th October, 1662, we find a "Bye-law that each resident Alderman shall attend the Mayor to church on station days and Sundays, under penalty of 2*s.* 6*d.*; sheriffs, sheriffs' peers, and commons, 2*s.*" On the 30th September, 1731, it was "Ordered that the masters of the Companies shall attend the Mayor on market days and to the church on Sunday, with the colours, and that the masters shall have gowns, and that the constables attend the Mayor to church 20*s.* fine on the master, and 10*s.* on the constables for non-attendance." Nearly forty years later a local newspaper affords us a curious glimpse of a civic procession to church. The following is a paragraph from "Finn's Leinster Journal" of Wednesday, October 5th, 1768:—

"Our new chief magistrate, the worshipful John Watters, Esq., has furnished us already with a very hopeful prospect of a wise, vigilant, and active administration, by conveying through the channel of this paper his warning to all bakers, butchers, and to all those in general who get their livelihood by weights and measures, in a manner so spirited, and so conformable to law, as plainly shows his determined resolution to act the part of a true father of this city, by preventing frauds, and seeing justice done to the public in every particular. His Worship perambulated our markets last Saturday, and gave proper directions for the removal of every obstruction that hitherto made the passages through the corn-market and shambles very uneasy and disagreeable. And on Sunday his Worship, attended by the Sheriffs, Aldermen, Common Councilmen, and City Regalia, went in procession from the Tholsel to the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, where an excellent sermon, suitable to the occasion, was preached by the Rev. Mervyn Archdall. The procession to and from the Cathedral was preceded by a considerable number of the Charter-school boys, singing psalms through the streets with becoming decency and regularity."[3]

[1] The children of the Freemen, probably; but the transcriber of the copy, or rather summary of the contents of the "Red Book of Kilkenny" which I possess, seems to have been unable to decipher the word. The "Red Book" has, unfortunately, long been lost by the Corporation

[2] Ximines, who from his name would seem to have been a foreigner, was organist of the Cathedral of St. Canice. He died in 1773. A brief obituary notice of him appeared in "Finn's Leinster Journal" of Wednesday, 20th October, in that year, as follows:—"Died, yesterday, in Irishtown, Mr. John Ximines, for many years Organist of St. Canice's Cathedral."

[3] Six years later the erection of an

We have already seen that it was not merely in processions to church and to the Assizes that the Mayor made an imposing turn out with his train of civic attendants, for at funerals he was to be supported by Sword and Mace-bearers; but it appears that at observances of this kind the members of the Corporation and of the guilds of the city were also bound to give him their attendance; whilst his lady on certain occasions was also to have the countenance and support of the other Corporators' wives, decked in their finest attire. On the 16th February, 1626, the following resolution was agreed to by the Council :—

organ in St. Mary's Church, by the Corporation, was the occasion, in connexion with the retirement from office of the Mayor, who was the promoter of that and other "good works" in the city, of another imposing procession of the members of the Council to Church. Ralph Gore was the Mayor, and the local newspaper, "Finn's Leinster Journal," thus took leave of him, in his official character, in its publication of Wednesday, 28th September, 1774:—

"The Inhabitants of this City behold with sensible pleasure the fruits of that true patriotic zeal which has so remarkably distinguished the administration of our present Chief Magistrate, the Worshipful Ralph Gore, Esq., who discharged the duties of that important office so much to the satisfaction of his fellow-citizens in general. His exit out of office tomorrow, will, therefore, be truly glorious. On his delivering the Rod into the hands of his successor, he will at the same time deliver up the City beautifully ornamented, and most usefully improved by his paternal regard and benevolent attention to its welfare. The ancient steeple of St. Mary's Church, which before his Mayoralty, from its ruinous condition, was rather a horrible deformity than an ornament to the City, is now both splendidly and durably repaired, so as to please the eye and claim the applause of every beholder; to this necessary improvement in St. Mary's Church we may add another most pleasing incident, the arrival of an elegant new Organ, which is now erecting by Mr. Miller [of Dublin], and will be chiefly ready for performing the Church Music to-morrow. Thus shall our City Church no longer be jealous of her old mother, the Cathedral, and thus we may presume the prayers and blessings of the grateful inhabitants of this City will be wafted up to heaven on the solemn notes of the Organ, for his Worship's long and happy life. The fire Engines also which lately arrived here from London, and which he procured with the utmost eagerness and expedition, is another striking proof of his humanity and public spiritedness. In short, his whole Mayoralty was one continued scene of attention to the welfare of this City and its inhabitants. May the same generous improvement animate his successors to complete the works which have so happily begun, and bring about at length the entire removal of every nuisance from this City."

We have then the following paragraph:—

"Mr. Richard Hobbs, son to Alderman Michael Hobbs, of Waterford, is appointed Organist of St. Mary's Church, with a handsome salary."

In Finn's next publication, that of Saturday, 1st October, 1774, it is announced that—

"Last Thursday, being Michaelmas Day, the Right Worshipful the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs went in their formalities to St. Mary's Church, attended by the proper officers, where a most excellent sermon, on the utility of Church Music, was preached by the Rev. John Rose. A select number of boys from the Charter School sang two psalms, accompanied on the new organ by Mr. Richard Hobbs, the Organist; the melody and sweetness of which gave general satisfaction to the greatest congregation ever seen in that Church. After Divine Service they proceeded to the Tholsel, where Alderman Thomas Measom was sworn into the office of Mayor, and Matthew Keough, and Arthur Webb, Esqrs., Sheriffs of the City for the year ensuing."

"The Recorder, and every Alderman, and every of the Second Council residing within the walls and liberties, shall come to all Assemblies in their gowns, and to all buryings of all persons of distinction, on pain of 2*s*. for an Alderman, and 1*s*. for a Councilman. And the Aldermen's wives to attend the Mayoress on due notice on like pain. The Aldermen's wives to wear tippets on station days, or forfeit 5*s*. And the Masters of every company shall attend the Mayor in their gowns, hats, and bands."

The Recorder, although thus ordered to appear on state occasions in his gown in 1626, does not appear to have been provided with such an official robe till 1692, at least unless he procured one at his own private expense. On the 14th February in the year referred to, it was arranged—"The Recorder to go in a scarlet gown on state and other public days; the gown to be provided by the Corporation, and to go to all succeeding Recorders." The Aldermen's wives, notwithstanding their compulsory attendance at any whim of the Mayor's lady, were privileged in another most enviable way. We have seen that in October, 1609, the spouse of the Sergeant-at-Mace had her right allowed to diet on festival days at the Mayor's mansion; but her "commons," on two very important festivals at least, were cut off soon after, as in the month of February of the same year (old style), it was decreed in solemn conclave by the conscript fathers of the city that—"No woman shall go to the banquet at the Mayor's house on Michaelmas Day and Whit-Sunday but the wives of the Aldermen." An enactment of the Corporation, solemnly propounded in the year 1733, may serve to illustrate more fully than anything that I have yet supplied, the almost childlike love of finery and display that seems to have actuated the grave and reverend seignors of the Town Council, even at a period so late, in their arrangements for civic processions. It is as follows:—

"Whereas, by the Charter of Incorporation of this city it is provided and granted that it shall and may be Lawfull to and for the Mayor and cityzens of this city to Enact such bye-laws for regulating the sev^{ll} ffraternitys and guilds in this City as to them shall seem needfull, and to inflict such penaltyes for the breach thereof as to them shall seem just. And whereas the Guild of Merchants and sev^{ll} Corporations and ffraternities of Hammermen, Merchants Taylors, Carpentors, Cordwain^{rs}, and Bakers, do yearly levy and raise considerable sumes for contempts, intrusions, and quarterage, Be it enacted by the Mayor and citizens of this city, that the Guild of Merchants, and s^{d} sev^{ll} Corporations and ffraternities of Hammermen, Merch^{t} Taylors, Carpenters, Cordwainers, and Bakers, do, before

the 20th day of December next ensuing, ꝑvide and appoint a Beadle to each Corporation, habbitted in Beadle's Hatt, laced with gold, silver, martin, tincell lace, and a Baydle's cochead [cockade], in the ꝑper colours of each Corporation, and a Baydle's cloake, laced with such lease, and also gownes for the Master and Wardens of each Corporation; and the said Baydle, and Master, and Wardens, doe and shall in their respective gownes and habitts aforesaid attend the ꝑcessions of the Mayor of this city, for the time being, wth the ensignes of their respective Corporations, on Mich'as Day, Christmas Day, Easter Day, Whitsunday, the Birthday and Accession of his present Majestye, the Restoration Day, the reception of the Judges, noblemen, and on such other dayes as the Mayr for the time being shall appoint, and also doe in such gownes and habitts attend the Mayr and citizens of this city, to be sworn into their respective offices; and if the said Corporations, or any of them, shall refuse or neglect to appoint such beadle, and ꝑvide habitts and gownes, or to attend the Mayor as aforesaid, and the same perpeatually to support and maintain, and to attend on the Mayor of this city as aforesaid, that then and so offen during such their neglect and refusale, they shall be and hereby are disabled to take or collect any sume or sumes wtsoever for or on ꝑtence of quarterages, fines, contributions, intrusions, or otherwise; and all foreigners and others shall and may follow and exercise their sevll trades discharged from any paymt to such Corporation; and that no quarterages shall be demanded by any Corporation, but when attended by the Beadle in such Coat and Hatt. And that the Towne Clarke do transmitt this by-lawe forthwth to the sevll Masters of the said Corporations, and that the same be publickly pclaimed by the bellman of this city three sevll market dayes; and the Mayor of this city for the time being is desired to put the bye-law into effectual execution.

"And that every Master of each of sd Corporacõns do and shall before they be admitted to be sworn Master, enter into a bond to this Corpn in the penalty of 10*s.*, conditioned to support the gowns and habbitts before menc̃oned, and to attend pursuant to this bye-law; and in default thereof such Master so refusing shall not be sworne into office, and his election shall be void."

But the Mayor and Aldermen were not content, in the olden time, with merely making an impression on vulgar minds by the bravery with which they and their attendants turned out with gowns, colours, halberts, swords, maces, and music, but they used most stringent measures for sustaining their dignity by severely punishing any one who should dare to rail at or revile it in the slightest degree. On the 9th February, 1609, a solemn ordinance of the Council was promulgated that—

"Any person speaking contemptuously, opprobriously, or slanderously to or of the Mayor, shall forfeit £3—two parts to the Mayor, and one to the Corporation; and any person drawing a weapon against the Mayor shall forfeit 50*s.*; any person doing the like to the Recorder to forfeit £1 6*s.* 8*d.*; and the like to any Alderman above the cushion, £1 6*s.* 8*d.*; to any Alderman under the cushion, 20*s.*; to the Sheriffs, 20*s.*; and to any

Sheriffs' peer, who has been a Sheriff, 10*s.*; and to any who has not been a Sheriff, 6*s.* 8*d.*; and to any of the Merchants' Guild, 5*s.*; and to any Master of a Company, 5*s.*; to any freeman, 3*s.* 4*d.*, or to the heirs of the above."

In pursuance of this code, on the 12th April, 1616, John Sherman was "committed to gaol and bolted for slanderous words to the late Sheriff," and he was ordered to remain in duress till he should "make submission" for his offence.[1] The dignity of the most subordinate civic officer was also similarly maintained against all persons not careful to keep a civil tongue. On the 23rd June, 1617, an inhabitant was fined 6*s.* 8*d.* for "slanderous words used to a constable who was then collecting money for the repair of St. Mary's Church." There are some cases recorded also of severe punishments inflicted for drawing weapons on members of the Corporation. St. Mary's Church was under the special care of the Corporation from the most early period; the town clock was

[1] There is a curious entry in the minute book of the neighbouring Corporation of Irishtown, respecting an affront offered to the deputy of the Chief Magistrate of that community, and the "submission" of the offender, in the year 1626. It runs thus:—

"When John Roth fitz Edw., being Deputy Portrive, standing at the corner of the Irishtowne, the 20th May, 1626, was assaulted and strooken by one Knoghor Meary, takeing noe regard of his being Deputy Portrive. Whereuppon, the matter being examined by the Portrive and Burgesses, and finding by good testimony that the sayd Knoghor hath most wilfully, not regarding his dutye or oath, hath strooken the sayd John Roth, being Deputy Portrive, and torn his bande, aft^{r} w^{ch} due examination the Portrive and Burgesses have concluded and agreed that the said Knoghor shall pay for a fine the som of five pounds, Irish, and imprisonmente during the Portrive is pleasure, and have no voyce or place amongst the Burgesses.

"The 20th of May, 1626, Knoh^{r} Meary, of y^{e} Irishtowne, Burgess, did misbehave himself in his fury and angre by violently strakinge John Roth fitz Edw., then Deputy Portrive, and uppō cōplaynte made by John Roth unto Willi^{m} Raggett, Portrive, he had him comitted to ye lower dungeō, and after removed him to ye castle; and ye sayd Knoho^{r} humbly submitted him self to the Portrive and Burgesses under his hand, as appeareth, and as hereafter ensueth:—

"'The humble submission of Knohour Meary, the 22d of May, 1626, in presence of ye undernamed Burgesses. Extante in o^{r} Caskett.

"'I, Knohour Meary, doe herbye cōfess me to have violently and furiouslye abused and strooken the Deputye Portrive, John Roth fitz Edw., in unseemly grasping, and violently falling the saide John in my fury and angre, for w^{ch} I am hartley sorie, and doe submitt myself to the censure of the Portrive and Burgesses, and what punishment they shall inflict uppon me for the same, doe think it too little, and am readdie to suffre and doe what satisfaction the saide Portrive and Burgesses will have me doe for such an absurde abuse. In w^{tt}ness of this to be my humble submission, I have hereunto subscribed my name, the day and yere above written.'

"William Raggett, Portrif."

This "humble submission" seems to have sufficed to restore the delinquent burgess not merely to his municipal privileges, but to the favour of the Irishtown Corporation, as I find that Connor Meary—evidently the same person, with his Christian name somewhat softened into an English form—was selected by that body, and sworn into the office of Portreeve, or chief magistrate of their town, on the 11th October, 1637.

placed in its belfry, and the clock-keeper had a salary from the Civic Council, who also allowed stipends to persons for having schools, keeping public hotels, and practising medicine in the town in the middle of the seventeenth century. Amongst their regular officials, not alluded to in the lists of those receiving salaries, was the Chief Constable, or "Mayor of Bullring," concerning the duties of whose office I took occasion to speak at considerable length in a paper which I had the honour to read before the Kilkenny Archæological Society some years since, and I shall not, therefore, allude further to the office here.[1] But of other officials we catch a glimpse of the bellman in the beginning of the seventeenth century, by the incidental mention of his name in connexion with a very curious custom of the time. On the 1st of July, 1617, it was ordered:—"All hogs found in the market-place or churchyard to be killed, and the person killing them to have the head of the hogs killed, or the value[2] from the owner; and the bellman to put this law in execution." But the "swinish multitude" would appear in the course of time to have increased so much as to render a larger number of "executioners" necessary, as exactly a century subsequently, on the 20th of November, 1718, a by-law was passed that "all hogs found in the streets or churchyards be killed by the constables."[3] The city gaoler was another

[1] See Paper entitled "Olden Popular Pastimes in Kilkenny," "Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society," vol. ii. (1853), p. 319.

[2] I do not know whether to decide as to the value of a pig's head in Kilkenny at the time being 2*d.* or 4*d.* Two notable bye-laws of the Corporation, both passed on the 9th February, 1609, seem to afford conflicting testimony on the matter. One decrees that—"Hogs found in St. Mary's Churchyard [are] to be killed, and the person killing them to have the head of the hog, or 2*d.*" The other enacts that—"Any person keeping hoggs to annoy his neighbours, the hoggs to be killed by the officers for the purpose, who are to have the heads of said hoggs, or 4*d.* in lieu." Half a century later, on the 22nd August, 1658, as appears by the "White Book," the Corporation issued a proclamation "that no swine shall be suffered in the streets;" the penalty being, for "first offence, 12*d.*; second offence, 2*s.* 6*d.*; third offence, forfeiture of the swine, half to the seizer, and half to the poor."

[3] The kind of instrument used in the "execution" of the straying swine, and the name of the person specially commissioned, in 1731, to carry out that operation, are set forth in the following document, to which the Town Clerk has given me access:—

"*Civit Kilken.*

"Pray pay to W^m^. Mara, Smith, three Shill. & 4^d^. for a bill made by him, for the use of Jn. Muckleroy, for killing hoggs, piggs, &c. w^ch^ are publick nuisances to the Citty, and it will be allowed y^u^ in y^r^ acc^ts^. w^th^ y^e^ s^d^ Citty.

"Dat this 26^th^ day of Ap^ll^ 1731.

"EDWD. WARREN, May^r^.

"To the Treasu^r^ of y^e^ s^d^ Citty, This."

From the surname of the person for whom

functionary under the control of the Corporation.[1] His diet on festival days we have already found provided for; but on the 9th February, 1609, it was agreed that "the common gaoler be overseer of the church-work and Tholsel-work, and to have a workman's wages every day he is overseeing the same." The problem as to how the prisoners were to be looked after whilst the gaoler was employed in superintending the public works does not seem to have at all engaged the attention of the sage civic worthies of the olden time,[2] who had, nevertheless, so far ad-

the instrument of slaughter was manufactured, it would appear that at this period the bellman was once again the sole official for "putting this law in execution." There is an order of the 23d June, 1731, amongst the city manuscripts, from the Council to the Treasurer, directing him that—"you are to issue and pay unto John Muckleroy, the sum of £1 5*s.* sterling, for half a year's salary due to him as *bellure* of this Citty, ending the 24th June."

[1] An order of the Corporation of Kilkenny, made in the year 1590, and which was set out on folio 5 of the "Great Red Book," arranged the gaoler's fees—"The gaoler having formerly taken excessive fees, ordered that the following fees, and no other, be henceforth taken, viz.:—For a Townsman committed for the peace, 12*d.*; for a stranger, the full fees; of Townsmen committed for Felony, 3*s.* 4*d.*, Irish; and for Treason, 6*s.* 8*d.*; for Execution, 4*s.*, and [the same] for correction."

[2] Doubtless, as in the case of Knoghor Meary, of the Irishtown, the prisoners were all consigned to "the lower dungeon," there securely fastened down, and left to their own devices for passing their time in the absence of their custodian. Even at a rather late period of the last century the "dungeon" was the ordinary sojourning place of the prisoners, although apparently, sometimes, as a matter of indulgence, permitted to revisit the upper world to eat their meals; and that on one occasion at least, the gaoler was most ungratefully requited for affording such an indulgence, appears from a paragraph in "Finn's Leinster Journal," of Saturday, 15th February, 1772, which states that—

"Last Wednesday evening, seven of the prisoners confined in our county jail found means to make their escape; viz. William O'Brien, William Fitzgerald, Michael Doyle, John Shea, Michael Shea, James Fennelly, and John Toole; three others had likewise got out, but were stopped by some of the inhabitants near the jail, who conducted them back to prison. The manner they effected their escape, we hear, was as follows:—The jailer admitted three of them to come up from the dungeon, in order to eat their dinner; which when they had finished, they knocked down the jailer and his wife, and locked them up in a back apartment; then took the keys from the servant maid, and enlarged all the rest of the prisoners who were in the Dungeon; when, having got off their bolts, and there being no guard at the jail in the day time, they walked out separately, and crossing the street, made off thro' the back lanes before they were observed by the above inhabitants." The prisoners would appear, from incidental references in many paragraphs in the "Leinster Journal," to have found no difficulty in getting in crowbars, files, and such other implements as might be required for endeavouring to break out of the "dungeon;" they were able to arm themselves with knives and razors, and other formidable weapons, and it was a service of danger to go down amongst them to quell a mutiny. On Wednesday, 21st September, 1774, it was recorded that—

"Yesterday morning, Matthew Smith, a prisoner confined in the City Jail, for horse-stealing, laid a scheme to effect his escape, by procuring files and other instruments, with which he cut his bolts clear off, and being armed with a razor and his bolts, determined to make his way, the first favourable opportunity; but the keeper of the jail, having got a hint of his intention, gave the necessary information to Alderman Anthony Blunt, our present active Deputy Mayor, who, with his usual spirit and activity, entered the dungeon, and had the prisoner properly

vanced in civilization as, in the year 1591, to provide for the proper classification of the sexes by building a separate gaol for confining female offenders. A civic official, not noted, apparently, in the previous century, appears amongst the salaries of officers paid by the treasurer in the year 1745. This functionary is designated the "Whip Beggar;"

secured with double bolts, and every necessary precaution taken to prevent the escape of so dangerous an offender."

There does not appear to have been any restriction placed on those confined in prisons at the time, as to getting in whatever they could pay for as regards food or drink; and that they often got drunk, and had serious fights amongst themselves in "the dungeon," is obvious from the newspaper paragraphs of the period. "Finn," under date 20th January, 1776, states—"By a letter from Philipstown we are informed that twelve men, prisoners in the jail there, had, last Wednesday, procured a quantity of liquor, of which having drunk to excess, they quarrelled, when two of them were so dangerously wounded with knives and razors, that their lives are despaired of." The female prisoners, also, had their drinking bouts and jollifications, one of which, at least, in the city jail of Kilkenny, in 1779, terminated fatally. The "Leinster Journal" of December 22, in that year, recorded that—"Sunday morning last, Mary Murphy and Bridget Walsh, who, on the preceding Thursday, had been lodged in the City Jail for felony [stealing stamped cotton from a shop], were found dead in said jail. The Coroner's Inquest sat on the bodies, when it appeared that their having drank spirits to excess was the cause of their deaths." The city jail at the time was situate in High-street, on the site of the present house of Mr. William Nicholson, bookseller, Peneyfather-lane running at the north side and back, so that on three sides it was bounded by public streets, and the fourth side abutted on private houses, leaving no space for yards or exercising grounds of any kind. Old inhabitants remember this establishment, and retain vividly in memory the scene, which would appear in the present day so strange, of prisoners begging from the windows, with hands stretched through the bars, importuning the passers by for alms. These, however, must have been the debtors—doubtless the criminal prisoners were down in "the dungeon." But both debtors and felons in gaol used regularly to beg through the means of advertisements in the newspapers, in the last century, and through the same medium acknowledged the receipt of benefactions. A few extracts from "Finn's Leinster Journal" may be here given to illustrate this extraordinary practice:—

Saturday, 8th February, 1772—"The debtors in the City Marshalsea, eight in number, most humbly implore the Humane and Charitable to commisserate their deplorable situation, being in want of every necessary to support nature in this rigourous season."

Saturday, 27th January, 1776—"The poor confined prisoners in the County and City Jails, being upwards of 40 in number, acknowledge the receipt of their winter's coals from the public coal-yard of this city, through the bounty of the Castle Family [the Butler Family, of Kilkenny Castle], for which timely relief at this inclement season, they return their most grateful thanks to their generous and humane benefactors."

Saturday, 28th December, 1776—"The poor distressed prisoners in the County Gaol acknowledge with gratitude the great goodness of the worthy High Sheriff, Francis Flood, Esq., for his generous contribution of 1 cwt. weight of beef, 18 sixpenny loaves, and a barrel of ale; being a great relief to them at this inclement season."

The first idea of anything like consideration in the sanitary way for prisoners appears to have broken in on this same High Sheriff, Francis Flood. The following paragraph was published in the 'Leinster Journal" of 24th July, 1776:—

"The poor prisoners of the County Jail take this opportunity of returning their grateful and humble thanks to their worthy High Sheriff, Francis Flood, Esq. for his very great humanity in ordering them to be aired in the Jail Yard four hours every day, which contributes very much to their health—being an indulgence never before practiced in this gaol."

There being no yard to the city jail at the time, the prisoners there confined had to do without any such "indulgence" as that of being "aired," for which the county prisoners were so grateful.

and his annual stipend is set down at £2 10*s.*, being just 10*s.* a year more than was at that time paid to the bellman.[1] In earlier times the native beggars seem to have been tolerated by the Corporation, and employed to keep away

[1] Amongst the documents in the custody of the Town Clerk there is a petition from a Whipbeggar to the Civic Council, which may be worth giving here. It bears no date, but the writing is of the earlier part of the eighteenth century:—

"To the worshipfull the Mayor, Recorder, Alds and Comon Councell of the Citty of Kilkenny.

"The humble pets of Lott Thorway, Whipbegger,

"Most humbley Sheweth That by a psentmt of the late Quarter Sessions yor petr was to be turned out of his place, yet the worshipfull the Recorder orderd he should be continued until he had his Cloathes & Sallary given him, the which (notwithstanding he served ever since), he has not yet gott & is in a manner naked. He therefore most humbly prayeth yor Worships to take the prmisses into consideration, & to order that his Clothes and Sallary may be given him, & to continue him for the rest of this year as formerly if yor worships think fitt.

"And he will ever pray."

The clothing allowed to the Whipbeggar may be presumed to have been of a quality inferior to that of the Bailiffs, judging by the relative charge for the hats of those functionaries, respectively, in the following bill:—

"The Worshipful Edward Warren, Esq., Mayor of the said City. *Dr.*

	£	s.	d.
for Two Hatts for the Waiting Bailiefs,	0	7	0
for Lace for the Said Hatts, ...	0	7	3½
for the Whipbeger's Hatt, ...	0	2	6
for 2 buttons and loops for the sd Hatts,	0	2	0
Totall,	0	18	9½

"Com. Civit. Kilken.—Jurat. coram me 10 die Maij, 1731.

"Edward Warren, Mayr.

"To the Treasurr of ye sd Citty."

But a hat did not always form part of the uniform of the Whipbeggar. Twenty years earlier than the date of the foregoing account, that official wore a cap; and the following order discloses the full price of his suit of livery:—

"*Kilkenny, July* 3d, 1711.

"Pursuant to an order of assembly held the 23d of June last, I desire yu would pay to Rich. Tunadine, Tayler, the sume of fifty shills sterl. due to him for providing a livery, shoos, stockings & cap for Lott Tarraway, Whipbegar, and this wth his rect shall be allowed yu on yr acctu by

"Sir, yr humble servt,

"Rob. Connell, Mayor.

"To Alds Stephen Haydocke, This."

With reference to the Bailiffs, it would appear that at the beginning of the last century those officials carried staves and badges, with the armorial bearings of the city engraved thereon,—a portion of the civic insignia which would seem not to have come down to the present century. The following bill throws some light on this matter:—

"Alderman Stephen Haydock, Debtr. 1706.

'ffor a¾ quarter & a half penny waite Sterc to ye three Staffes & two bages,	01	09	00
"ffor the fastion of the three Staffes heads & two bages and graiving ye sd bages with ye Citty armes, . . .	00	15	00
"ffor ferleing the baliffes Staffes with brass and spikes to them, ...	00	1	6
"ffor graveing the Citty armes on ye baliffes staffes & bellman's	00	6	0
	02	11	6

"Received the Contents of ye above bill from Alds Stephen Haydock this 8th of Janry, 1706.

"Marcus Kelly."

(Endorsed) "8th January, 1706.

"Pd Mr Kelly, ye Gold Smith, for Badges & Silvr for ye Bailieves staffs, 2:11:6."

The Mayor's Bailiffs continued to carry staves such as would seem to answer the description of those in Marcus Kelly's bill, at all events to near the end of the century, for O'Keeffe, the Dramatist, in his gossipping "Recollections," whilst alluding to his being in Kilkenny in 1770, as a member of a strolling company of players, refers to those officials as follows:—"The officers of justice in Kilkenny were, though proper in their several duties, of an alarming appearance, being large men, with broad silver-laced scarlet waistcoats, three-cocked silver-laced hats, and long painted staves" (O'Keeffe's "Recollections," London: 1826, vol. i. p. 210). In the memory of the present generation, the Mayor's Bailiffs never carried any insignia of their office except, when on very special duty, the small silver maces.

intrusive mendicants. So much may be gathered from an entry in the "Red Book," under the date 25th April, 1623, as follows:—

"A Petition of Wm. Derby, that he may have the carrying of the Bell of the poor of his Corp^{a}, and have the Leading of the s^{d} poor. His Pett^{a} granted, and he to use his best endeavours to rid the town of strange Beggars."[1]

I have, however, wandered too much into a dissertation on ancient civic state and obsolete usages in Kilkenny, whilst the chief object with which I set out was to treat of the official emblems of the Corporation, or, as the writer in "Finn's Leinster Journal," already quoted, terms them "the City Regalia," as in use in the municipality since the Charter of James I. To these I shall now confine myself.

On the 10th April, 1672, twenty-six "proposals" were

[1] The Corporation of Kilkenny, on the 9th February, 1609, made an enactment "Against Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars dwelling in Houses." On the 10th April, 1672, another edict was fulminated, but this time only "against foreign beggars." On the 16th January, 1673, the constables were ordered to send in lists of females of loose character, and beggars, "in order that the town be freed from them." It would seem that a century after this, the annual "Patron" at St. John's Well was a source of attraction to "foreign beggars," who, perhaps, often remained in Kilkenny after the Patron was over, and became a lasting nuisance to the community. In the publication of "Finn's Leinster Journal," for Wednesday, 17th June, 1772, the editor, having cautioned the local public against being too ready to submit to the attempts of gangs of boys to levy contributions on the plea of collecting for the St. John's bonfires, as these idle fellows were known to spend the proceeds on drink, goes on to state—"It may also not be amiss to observe that the beggars, who are now beginning to arrive in crowds to St. John's Well, ought rather to be discountenanced than encouraged by the inhabitants of this City, who are already miserably importuned by a considerable number of strange vagrants." In "Finn's" issue of Wednesday, 6th January, 1773, he states—"The people of this City seem much alarmed at the sight of an uncommon, not to say of an infectious inundation of strange beggars, which has overspread of late this town and suburbs. One would imagine they had fixed upon Kilkenny this year for their annual meeting; their robust features and brazen lungs, under the cloak of rags and groans, pronounce them Impostors." This "inundation of strange beggars," was, no doubt, the occasion of the following proclamation from the Mayor, advertised in the "Leinster Journal" of Saturday, 27th March, following:—

"This is to give notice, that I will attend at the Old Tholsel, on Monday, 5th April, from two to three o'clock, where all persons who intend applying for Badges to entitle them to beg throughout the four parishes of this City, are desired to attend, to be examined, who shall prove to my satisfaction his or her poverty, and the cause of it; his or her place of abode, birth, and character; the number, names, and ages of such children as he or she hath, and his or her inability to support him or herself and such children by labour; and also prove his or her having resided two years at least in said City; as the granting Badges to any person or persons who are able to labour for their support will deprive the helpless poor of what is intended for their relief, as well as deprive the public of many useful hands that may be employed in agriculture and the manufactures of this country.

"Kilkenny, March 27, 1773.

"Francis Lodge, *Mayor*."

"N. B.—Every person found begging after the 10th April, without a Badge, will be prosecuted as the law directs."

made by the Common Council of the city to the Board of Aldermen, and by them agreed to. They were chiefly suggestions for local improvements, and the better arranging of the public markets; but the seventh on the list was "That a City Mace be provided." It will be naturally asked what had become at that time of the former great mace of the city? The records of the Corporation, however, so far as I have been able to consult them, afford no answer to this query. Had the mace been missing since the visitation of Cromwell, we might suppose that some of the Lord Protector's plundering myrmidons had, on the pretence of following the example of their chief, taken leave to "remove the bauble;" but, as we have seen that there was a great mace-bearer in 1658 and 1667, we must presume there was a great mace at the period for that official to carry, and it is not easy to conjecture what had become of it in 1672. However, we know by the "proposal" of the Common Council above referred to, that a city mace was then required, and soon after we find the Duke of Ormonde presenting the Corporation with that emblem of dignity—a fact not merely testified by the inscription borne on the mace itself, but of which we have also documentary evidence. The following letter, addressed by a member of the Duke's household to Captain Matthews, the second husband of His Grace's mother, and at the time acting as agent of the Ormonde estates, is preserved amongst the records in the Evidence Chamber of Kilkenny Castle.

"*May ye 5th*, 1677.

"Hon^{D} Sr.

"Having received a bill of for [*sic*] £77: tis acepted and will be paid; be pleased to ord^{r} that and the balance of yo^{r} former accompt (which I hope you have found right) shall be paid as you shall direct.

"I know not whether his Grace did give you any advice of a Mace that is sent over to be presented to y^{e} Corporation of Kilkenny. I hope you have received itt by this time. I had noe comission what you should doe with itt but I ordered it to be sent to you. I gave a mighty charge to finish itt very well and I think tis much finer than any is here done of late.

"There's noe time talked of yett of their Graces remove, neither can they in a short time. My humble duty to my Lady and yo^{r} selfe from

"Yor most faithful umble servt.

"James Clarke.

"For Captain George Matthews,
att Thomastown."

I have had the curiosity to search through the account book of Mr. James Clarke, the Duke's house steward for the year 1677—one of very many volumes of household expenses preserved at Kilkenny Castle—for the item in the silversmith's bill, which might afford an indication of the price paid for the mace, and the maker's name. My research in this respect, however, was baffled, owing to the circumstance of only the total sums paid to the various silversmiths from whom the Duke had made purchases at the period being set out, without the specification of any particular items. However, amongst the "payments for carriage of goods and travileing chardges," I find the following item:—

"To Robinson, the Waggoner, for carriadge of the Mace from Dublin, w^ch^ was presented to ye Mayor and Cittyzens of Kilkenny, 11th May, 1677, ... £0000 04 06"

Even did we not know the date of the manufacture of the existing great mace of Kilkenny from the inscription which it bears, and the contemporary documents cited, the character of the workmanship would sufficiently indicate it. The stem (see plate facing this page) is adorned with three knobs, richly chased, a pattern composed of a wreathing of roses and thistles also running up the stalk. The head bears a representation of the imperial crown, with a border of crosses and fleur-de-lis; and on the flat, within the top, the royal arms, quarterly, with the lion and unicorn as supporters, and the motto "Dieu et mon droit." Beneath the crown are figures of angels with outstretched wings, alternating with a harp, a rose, a thistle, and a fleur-de-lis, all crowned. This inscription, in cursive characters, runs round the border of the crown:—

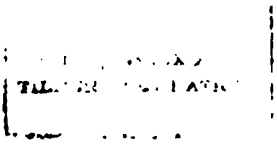
"*Illustrissimus Princeps Jacobus Dux Ormoniæ &c. Donavit Hoc Insigne Prætorium In Vsum Civitatis Kilkenny Fransisco Rowlidge Prætore An: Do:* 1676."

The mace is altogether three feet in height, and massive, the material silver, bearing evidence of having been originally gilt,[1] and the workmanship excellent. The city

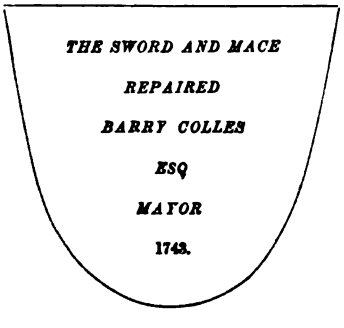
[1] It was a vulgar hallucination in Kilkenny more than a century since, that the mace presented by the Duke of Ormonde was actually composed of solid gold; and

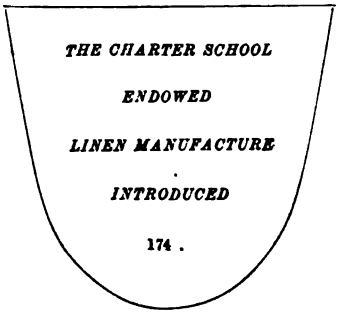


THE CITY SWORD AND GREAT MACE OF KILKENNY.



sword (see Plate), is a veritable and serviceable two-handed weapon, evidently coeval in its main features with the great Charter of James I., which empowered the Corporation to use it. The handle is of silver, with tracery ornamentation of roses, shamrocks, and acorns, or thistles, bordered with a fanciful device, in which fleurs-de-lis are the principal objects. The cross guard, which projects at either side considerably, and the knob of the pummel are silver gilt, chased in low relief. The scabbard is of wood, covered with crimson velvet, clasped and terminated with silver guards, all elaborately chased. A ledge of gilded silver originally ran down each side to the end, with fanciful ornamentation, but all has been broken away, and lost, from the second clasp downward. There are four clasps; the first, which is the broadest, bearing on one side an escutcheon, on which is traced the arms of England, *temp.* James I.; on the other side, a free rendering of the arms of the city of Kilkenny, in outline, the three towers having roofs, the central one dome-shaped, and the others pointed. Beneath, instead of the lion passant gardent, proper to the arms, is a piece of ordnance, which a gunner is in the act of discharging. On either side is another piece of ordnance. The three minor clasps bear grotesque lion's heads, with lolling tongues, in relief. The point is ornamented with the Tudor rose, crowned, in relief. At the upper part of the scabbard, near the haft, two small shields of more modern date have been introduced, which are respectively inscribed thus:





the discovery of the error gave rise to the casting of an unmerited reflection on the character of one of the most active and useful Chief Magistrates of the City at the

A still later addition has been made on the occasion of a recent reparation of the sword sheath,[1] by the insertion of a small plate, thus inscribed—

"NEW MARKETS OPENED
ALEX. COLLES, ESQ., MAYOR,
1862 AND 1863."

period, Mr. Barry Colles, that his object in sending the mace to Dublin, ostensibly for repairs, was to have a counterfeit mace of gilt silver made and substituted for it, so as that he might purloin the gold one! This absurd old libel was revived within the last twenty years in a somewhat altered shape. It was gravely put forward in a newspaper as a charge against the "old Corporation" of Kilkenny, that they, or some of their members, had embezzled "the ancient gold chain of the office of the mayoralty," and substituted for it the comparatively valueless gilded chain handed over to their successors in the Civic Council, coming into office under the Municipal Reform Act. The insubstantiality of such a charge was well known to every one in any degree acquainted with local corporate affairs, the very gentleman who had given the gilded chain to the civic body, and who was himself the first mayor known to have worn any such ornament as a civic chain, being then actually alive and residing in the city.

[1] That the sword and mace underwent reparations from time to time would appear from the records in the custody of the town clerk. The earliest note of the kind which that gentleman has been able to find, in the course of a search which he most obligingly made for me, is the following memorandum of the resolutions come to at a Council meeting of the 2nd November, 1621:—

"It was also then agreed that Mr. Maior shall cause the City Sword to be platted [plated] with silver, and to have an newe Scabard of Velvet made for the same as to the said Maire shal be thought fitt; and that the receavers shall pay money presentlie for the said uses.

"WALTER ARCHER,
"Maior of Kilkeny.
"CYPRIAN HORSFALL.
"DAVID ROTHE.
"WILLIAM SHEE.
"RICH. COWLRY.
"THOMAS SHORTALL."

Alderman Thomas Young, in an account of disbursements made for the City in 1680, gives the following item:—"For a new covrd scabert, plates, and guilding of the Citty's Sword, £003 16*s.* 00*d.*

Here is a bill for the next reparation of the kind ascertained to have been made, nearly twenty years later:—

"Cittie Dr to Mr Jno Penefather—

	£	s.	d.
For 5 ounces 12d of Silver aded to ye Citty Sord att 6s. ye ounce, coms. to. .	01	13	9
for 9d of Barbarry Gould, ...	02	5	00
for Quick Silver, ...	00	7	6
brimstone & Aquafortis, ...	00	2	2
for velvet, ...	00	9	00
to Jno Bristo bringing ye same, . . .	00	00	11
for ye Cutlers work, ...	00	6	00
for my labour to severall small charges,	01	10	00
for clasping ye Book, ...	00	10	00
	07	4	4

"Kilkenny, 19th Janr. 1699.

"By ye order of ye Mayer Aldn & Common Council, ye above bill was Directed to us, & wee find it justly Due to Mr Penefather, which wee Certifie under our hands ye day above.

"ISAAC MUKINS.
"GEO. COOKE."

The following orders refer to the great mace:—

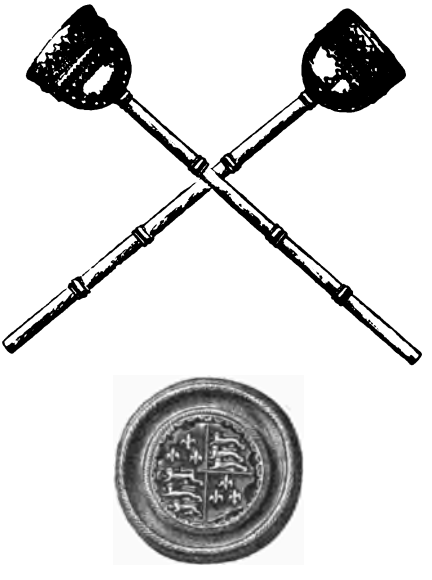
"Com. Civit. Kilken.
"By Josias Haydocke, Esq.,
"Mayor of the sd Citty.

"Out of such sume or sumes of the said Cittys Revenue as are or shall come to your hands, you are to Issue and pay unto Mr John Pennyfather, Goldsmith, ye sume of fifteen shillings sterling, for worke done to, & cleansing of, ye Large Mace, & his receipt hereon shall be sufficient in discharge of soe much on your accounts with ye sd Citty. Dated this twenty fourth day of September, 1700 & two. If no former Appeares this ordr to take place.

"JOSIAS HAYDOCK, Mayr.
"To Aldn Stephen Haydocke,
"Treasurer of ye sd Citty, These.
"Recd ye Contents of ye above Ordr,
this 28th Sept, 1702.
"JOHN PENNEFATHER."

"1727, 7ber the 11th, ffor mending the Mace in Several plasis, to Mr. James Williams, 00 06 03

The two small maces—all that remain of the official badges of the Sergeants-at-Mace, and of which it will be remembered, from a by-law already quoted, as many as eight must be supposed to have at one time existed, are eighteen inches in length, and each a counterpart of the other. They resemble closely in their shape the ancient military mace. The head, which is semi-spherical, bears on its flat top the arms of France and England, quarterly, showing that the latest date to which they can be assigned is the reign of Elizabeth, as if manufactured subsequently the Scottish armorial bearings would have been introduced. The head was coronated at top—but this is much worn—the lower portion divided into four compartments by as many bands running up from the stem. In the first com-



The small Maces of Kilkenny.

"Mr. Treas^{r},—Pay the Contents of the above Bill, it being for the use of the Citty, and it shall be allowed y^{e} on yo^{r} accomts.

"THOS. BUTLER.

"R^{d} the contents of the wthin, as witness my hand this eighteenth 7^{ber}, 1727.

"WM. TRIHY."

We have yet another account paid for a reparation of the city mace and sword before that effected during the Mayoralty of Mr. Barry Colles. It is a bill of Charles Reynolds, as follows:—

	s.	d.
Added Silver to the Mease and Swrd of the City of Kilkeny,	5	0
For my work,	2	6
	7	6

"Pay the above seven shilling and six pence, for work done for the City. Jany. 10th, 1731.

"WILL. GORE.

"To M^{r}. Percivall."

Brackets for supporting the sword and mace, on the occasions of the mayor going in state to prayers, were placed in front of the corporation pews in the cathedral and parish Church of St. Mary. The following bill, in connexion with this arrangement, may not be deemed altogether devoid of interest:—

"A bill of iron work done by Will^{m} Mara, Smith, for Kenny's Church and Mary's Church:—

for 2 bearors and peceing y^{e} irons that Suport the Sword & Mace att Mary's Church,	00 00 10
for 2 bearors & 2 Straps for the irons of the same sort att Kenny's Church,	00 01 04
totall,	00 02 02

"Received y^{e} contents of y^{e} wthin bill, as Witness my hand this 27 day of February, 1709.

"WILLIAM MARA."

partment the arms of the city of Kilkenny are engraved; in the second, the harp of Ireland, uncrowned; in the third, a Tudor rose; and in the fourth, a fleur-de-lis. These last described ornamentations are much worn, from use, and likely soon to be obliterated.

Of the chain and medallion now worn by the Mayors of Kilkenny I need say but little, they not being ancient, having been presented by the late Joseph Greene, Esq., R. M., when filling the office of Chief Magistrate, for 1824–5, for the use of his successors, he having got them made for himself during his mayoralty. They are, therefore, quite modern, and they are of very little intrinsic value. I have not been able to find from such of the Corporation Records and Charters as I have had an opportunity of examining, that a Mayoralty chain ever formed any portion of the ancient city "regalia." The Mayor's seal, however, may properly be noticed here, as it is one of the symbols of office, the custom being that on the coming into office of a new Mayor, immediately upon his taking the prescribed oaths, his predecessor invests him with the rod, and transfers to him the official seal. The seal now used for this purpose is comparatively modern, composed of silver, and engraved with the City Arms, so far as the outline of a castle triple turreted, but deficient in some of the proper details. The original "Private Seal" of the Corporation (which would now, if it were in existence, be used as that termed "the Mayor's Seal") seems to have been lost for a considerable time; but many impressions from it exist amongst the Records in Kilkenny Castle. The illustration here supplied is engraved from the seal attached to an ancient deed presented by the late Marquis of Ormonde to the Museum of the Kilkenny Archæological Society.



The ancient Private Seal of the Commons of Kilkenny.

It will be seen that the device on the escutcheon comprises three separate towers, which are not the arms proper to Kilkenny, and so borne on the common seal of the city of Kilkenny, or "The Great Seal," as it is usually termed. Of the latter a faithful engraving is also here supplied.



The Ancient Common Seal of Kilkenny.

The matrix of this fine old seal is still in existence, and in the custody of the Town Clerk. The device, engraved on a round flat disc of latten, is a triple-towered castle with tiers of crenelated parapets, placed in a position of defence. A crossbow-man, prepared to discharge his bolt, stands on the top of either of the outer towers, whilst a mailed and surcoated warder, with mace in hand, guards the entrance gateway, which is thrown open. From one of the crenels of a parapet of the central tower is suspended by the guige, a heater-shaped shield, charged with three chevrons, the cognisance of the De Clares. The seal is probably coeval with the granting of the Charter to the Corporation of Kilkenny by Gilbert De Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, one of the Copartners in the Lordship of Leinster, in the thirteenth century, and the escutcheon hanging on the

central tower was doubtless introduced in compliment to that nobleman. Beneath the chief device of the seal, a lion passant gardent is introduced, which is not out of character with the defensive attitude of the crossbow-men on the towers, and the man-at-arms in the gate; but it probably was not originally any part of the civic arms of Kilkenny, and merely came to form a portion of the bearings from the engraver of this seal having put it in to fill up what otherwise would have been a vacant space at the bottom of the chief heraldic device. Of course it was a badge of some local or general significance at the time, or the engraver would not have adopted it even for such a purpose as occupying the space. The Rev. James Graves, in an article "On the Arms of De Clare," contributed to the "Gentleman's Magazine," of November, 1865, suggests that "The lion in this seal may have reference to this descent [that of Gilbert de Clare] from the Earls Marshall (the previous Lords of Kilkenny), who bore a lion rampant on their shield." But this lion is not rampant, but passant gardent. Perhaps the design may have been taken from the lions of the Royal Arms of England. It will be observed that in the ancient Private Seal of the Commons of Kilkenny, the engraver introduced three lions, to fill up spaces round the shield; but he rendered them so faintly as not to form such prominent features in the general bearings connected with the escutcheon, as the single lion passant gardent on the "Great Seal."

At a meeting of the Corporation of Kilkenny, held on the 29th September, 1752, Ralph Gore, Esq., Mayor, in the chair, the following resolution was come to:—

"Whereas application has been made to the former Mayors of this city for the Corporation Seal of this city and the strong box, and they have neglected to deliver the same over to the Mayor as usuall, so that its apprehended the same are lost or mislaid, or that an improper use may be made of the said seal. To prevent which mischief, and in order that said Corporation Seal may be lodged in safety with the persons directed by the Charter and by-laws of this Corporation, and in pursuance of the Charter of this city, It is hereby Ordered and Declared that said former City Seal be no longer received or deemed to be the Corporation Seal of this City. And that in case the same be at any time hereafter found, that it be delivered to the Mayor of this City, and cancelled and broake. And that all Acts and Deeds of this Corporation, to which said seal shall appear to be affixed since Michaelmas Day, one thousand seven hundred and

fifty, are hereby declared null and void, the same having been done in a clandestine and illegall manner. And we do hereby further Order and enact that Mr. Mayor, elect, do, at the expense of the Corporation, Provide a new seal for this Corporation, with the Arms of this City engraved thereon, and the date of the year and such other devices as he shall think fitt. And that the same be received and deemed the Corporation Seal of this City. And that he provide also a strong box for said seal, with three keys. And that he do hand over the same to the persons directed by the by-laws and usage of this City."

Whether this order for making a new city seal was ever carried out, I have not been able to ascertain; but this ancient seal—which it would thus appear had a narrow escape of being broken up and destroyed—must have been subsequently recovered, and again brought into use, as it still exists in the custody of the Town Clerk. The only subsequent entry in the Corporation minutes seeming at all to have any bearing on the matter, is one under date 25th June, 1753, which orders a payment of £10 12*s.* 9*d.* to the Town Clerk, as the amount of his bill of costs "for suing Alderman Ambrose Evans, then late mayor, for detaining the strong box and keys." The ancient "private seal of the Commons of Kilkenny" must have been lost before this time, as the present "Mayor's Seal" is of a date anterior to that period—it may, perhaps, be as old as the Charter of James I., changing the style and dignity of the Chief Magistrate of Kilkenny from Sovereign to Mayor, which, of course, rendered a corresponding change in the legend, at least, of the "private seal," necessary. It is an oval, an inch and half by an inch and quarter, the legend in Roman capital letters being—"THE SEALE OFFICE OF MAYORALTY FOR KILKENNY." Another Seal connected with the Municipality is that of the Town Clerk. It is of brass—small, round shaped, and less than an inch in diameter. The device is simply a triple-towered castle, without the crossbowmen, the warder in the gate, or the lion beneath; and the legend, round the outer circle, may read either—"KILKENNY THOLSELL OFFICE," or "OFFICE KILKENNY THOLSELL." It is probably of the same date as the Mayor's seal—about the period of receiving the great charter in 1609.

There is only one other object which I consider I could with propriety include in the Kilkenny Corporation

insignia, and with a notice of it I shall conclude. I refer to a large and elaborate carving, boldly executed in oak, of the Royal Arms of England, preserved in the Tholsel or Town Hall of the city. There is a local tradition that this carving originally belonged to St. Mary's Church, where it had been hung up in the choir, but that it was presented to the Corporation in the beginning of the present century by the then incumbent of the parish. This impression, whatever may have been its origin, would seem to be altogether a mistake. I think so much is clearly proved by the following "orders" connected with it, which the present most efficient and truly obliging Town Clerk, Patrick Watters, Esq., has been so kind as to search out for me from amongst the many documents in his custody.

"Com. Civit. Kilken.

"*By the Mayor and Cittizens of the said Citty.*

"Out of such sume or sums of the said Cittyes revenue as have or shall come to your hands, you are to issue, and pay unto Peter Delelas, Carver, the sume of six pounds ster^{g}. Soe much being ordered for him for Carveing the King's Arms in wood, and this with his receipt shall be sufficient for soe much on y^{r} accompts. Given Vnder our hands, this first day of December, 1701.—Eben Warren, D., *Mayor;* Tho. Phillips, Isaac Mukins, Geo. Birch, Jo. Hamilton, Edwd. Evans. *To* Alderman Stephen Haydock, *Receiver of the Citty Revenue; these.*"

"Received from Alderman Stephen Haydock, y^{e} contents of y^{e} within order for y^{e} use of Peter Delilliss, being assigned over in a fform^{r} order. Directed to M^{r} James Boursiquoit and M^{r} Benjamin Meares. I say Received this fourth of June, 1700 and two.—Thomas Bluntt."

"Com. Civ. Kilkenny.

"*By the May^{r} and Cittizens of the said Citty.*

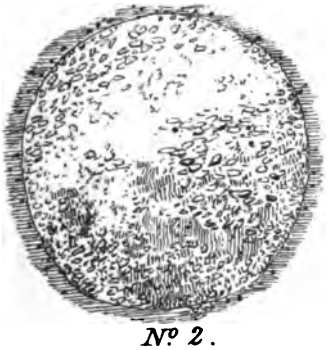
"Out of sucn sume or sumes of money of the Citty Revenue as have or shall come to y^{r} hands, you are to issue and pay unto George Birch, Esq^{r}, the sume of eight pounds, six shilling sterling for painting [and] guildeing of the King's cote of Armes, and fixing the same wth Iron hooks over y^{e} chimney in the new thoulsell; and this wth his receipt shall be a sufficient voucher for soe much on yo^{r} acc^{te} as witness oure hands, this 16th day of Augst, 1701.—Ab. Butler, *Mayor;* Eben Warren, Tho. Phillips, Edwd. Evans, Adam Haydocke, John Garnett. *To the* Receivers of the Citty Revenue, *these.*"

"R^{d} the contents of the wthin order from Alderman Stephen Haydock, this 28th March, 1701.—Geo. Birche."

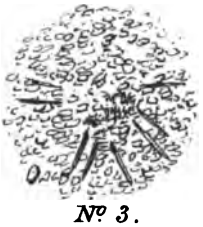
The escutcheon of Arms, which is covered with several



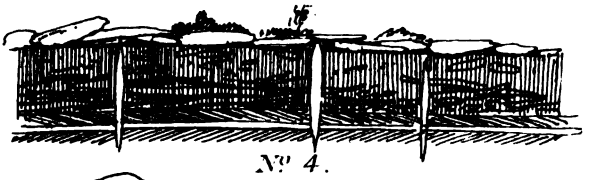
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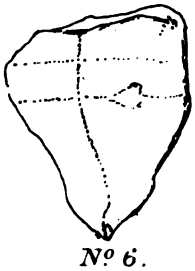
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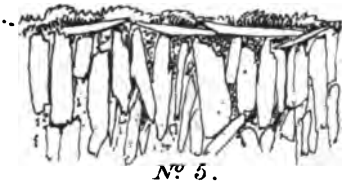
Nº 3.



Nº 4.



Nº 6.



Nº 5.

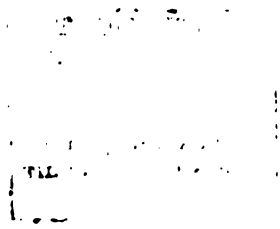


Nº 7.

DRUMGAY CRANNOGS.

W.F. Wakeman, 1870.

Photo-lithe Whitmore & Bonn



coatings of paint or gilding, clearly represents the bearings peculiar to King William III., which serves to identify it with the subject of the foregoing orders. I have not met the name of Peter Delelas, the Carver, in any other document, but it is not probable he was a resident of Kilkenny. This carving for many years hung over the chimney-piece of the assembly room in the present Tholsel—the position in which it seems to have been placed in the former Tholsel, called "New" in 1701; but it was not very long since removed to the apartment in the same building used as the Mayor's office, where it is similarly suspended over the mantel-piece.

FURTHER REMARKS UPON THE HITHERTO UNNOTICED CRANNOGS IN DRUMGAY LAKE, NEAR ENNISKILLEN.

BY W. F. WAKEMAN, ESQ.

SOME months ago I had the honour of laying before a Meeting of our Society a short account of three of the Crannogs which remain in the Lough, or more correctly *Loch* of Drumgay, a picturesque sheet of water lying nearly mid-distant between Enniskillen and the inconsiderable village of Bellinamallard, in the county of Fermanagh. That notice was incomplete, and in all probability would not have been immediately supplemented but for the kind assistance rendered by the Earl of Enniskillen, the owner of the soil, who, with his well known zeal in the cause of antiquarian investigation, at his sole cost, supplied a boat, and the workmen necessary to carry out the excavations.

My present paper is the result of a careful and very complete examination effected during the course of a five days' exploration.

The islands (crannogs) in the Loch, at its lowest summer level, as stated in my former paper, are three in number; but during our recent inspection of the south-eastern shore it was found that a projecting point, which in winter becomes isolated, was also artificial, and of a character probably unique in the list of lacustrine structures. The

sketch (No. 1.) at the top of the accompanying plate will afford an excellent idea of the general aspect of the Loch, as well as of the positions of its several islands. Our operations commenced on the 15th of September, and continued uninterruptedly until the following Monday. It required another day to fill in the trenches which we had opened in order that as little trace as possible of our intrusion might remain. On reference to the general view, it will be seen that a large wooded island occupies a position near the centre of the Loch. This is now known by the neighbouring peasantry as the "Bone Island," though its older name was the "Cherry Island." To plan and examine the mode of construction of this interesting spot, which, on the occasion of a former visit, I had found to be a splendid specimen of the Crannog, was a chief object of our expedition. The Rev. Mr. Frith, who, as lessee under the Enniskillen family, holds a portion of the Loch, including this island, was good enough to give us leave to work as we liked, though, during the process of excavation, without considerable care, some damage might easily have been done to the graceful timber planted many years ago by his father.

My first care was to cause a trench, about four feet wide by five feet in depth, to be dug, from a point near the centre of the Crannog in a direct line to the eastern shore. By commencing at the centre and cutting down to the water's edge, there was the less danger of our work becoming suddenly flooded. A similar excavation was subsequently made on the opposite side. Besides these two larger sinkings, several minor diggings were effected in the northern and southern portions of the island. While the men were handling their spades and picks, I made the following notes and measurements. The island (see No. 2, in the accompanying plate), is in form as nearly as possible circular; the diameter from north to south being 105 feet, and from east to west a few feet less. As stated in my former paper, it is well fenced round with oaken piles (see No. 7, in plate), the dimensions of which vary from two to six or seven feet. These piles are plainly visible when the Loch is at its summer level; and, no doubt, a considerable number have rotted away, or have

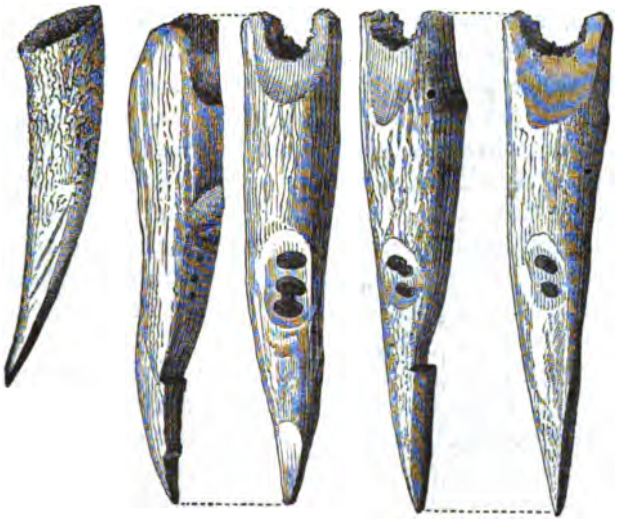
become covered by sediment, or lost to sight in the mass of "swan weed" which of late years has so sadly invaded Lough Erne, and indeed the waters of nearly all the minor lochs of Fermanagh. Referring to notes taken on the occasion of a visit, made to the island last summer two years, at a time when the water was unusually low, I find that the stakes, or piles, were set very regularly, and consisted of young trees, birch, ash, and oak—but chiefly oak. From specimens which I had then an opportunity of examining, and from examples which were still above water at the time of our recent digging, these piles may be described as being generally about the thickness of a stout man's arm. They were roughly trimmed with an axe or adze, and were very sharply pointed. The edged instrument used appears to have been extremely keen, and must have been wielded with considerable force. Very often the longitudinal cuts, or "skelps," as our labourers styled them, were nearly a foot in length, and this even in oak In most instances, where I have been able to observe the piling of a crannog, the encircling stakes sloped outwards, here they were set vertically ; and only at a few points did the rough wood and minor branches, which are usually found interwoven with them, remain *in situ*. This fact may be easily accounted for, when we consider that the island had from time immemorial been touched at by sportsmen, fishers, and others, whose wont it was to make fires for cooking purposes. The old timber, as it came easily to hand, would be readily seized, and converted into fuel by such visitors. From cleanly cut sections, made by the excavations in various parts of the island, a very distinct idea of the internal construction of the work was obtainable. (See Fig. 4 in the Plate). The old crannog builders appear to have selected a natural shoal in the loch as the scene of their operations. This shoal consists of marl, covered by a streak of whiteish sand, about four inches in depth. Over the sand, to a height of six or eight inches, was a stratum of yellowish clay, which supported unhewn logs of oak and birch, together with an immense quantity of small branches, twigs, brambles, small pebbles, &c., &c., compressed into a peatlike mass, about two feet thick. These are covered by about two

feet of earth, containing here and there layers of burnt clay and stones. This clay is mixed all through with bones of animals, mostly greatly broken; articles of early manufacture, of which I shall have to speak hereafter; slag, or dross of iron; charcoal, and rough stones, some of very large size, flat upon the upper surface; and which, amongst a rude people, would very well have answered for seats. The surface of the island is still, in many parts, covered with flat stones of considerable size. Stakes, larger than those which formed the outer circle, but in every other respect of the same character, were found here and there, even in the highest and most central portions of the crannog. They were probably designed to stay and prop the work together, as their points are deeply embedded in the marl, which formed the bottom of the Loch. It was impossible to procure any perfect specimens of these supports, as the wood, through saturation and rottenness, was about as soft as cheese, and broke short off on the application of the least pressure. Lord Enniskillen had given orders that every scrap of bone, as well as the smallest portion of pottery, worked metal, or stone, found in the excavation, should be religiously set aside, and preserved for future examination. Notwithstanding all the care used by Mr. Charlton, a respectable and intelligent tenant of his lordship's, who, in my absence, constantly superintended the diggers, and by whom every shovelful of stuff thrown out of the trenches was searched, comparatively few antiques were brought to light. It is a fact much to be regretted that we were unable to explore the outer margin of the island. One month earlier our exertions might have been attended with a much greater degree of success, as at that time the water had not risen, and we might possibly have arrived at the "kitchen midden" of the hold, if indeed there be one. It was outside the summer water line of this very island that Mr. Bourke, of Bellinamallard, more than twenty years ago, made a large collection of pieces of that curious-eared pottery—a specimen of which was engraved in connexion with my former paper on Drumgay. Mr. Bourke was, unfortunately, not aware of the value of his discovery, or of the interest attached to the specimens which he had gathered from

the bottom of the Loch; and, in the course of time, the collection (which, I am informed, would have filled an ordinary clothes basket) dwindled to about half a dozen examples.

The following is a list of the articles found by our diggers upon Bone Island :—

1. Nine pieces of deer's horn, four of which are curiously



Implements of Deer's horn, Drumgay Crannog, half size.

fashioned, and present the appearance of instruments which had been used in some primitive manufacture.

2. A number of pieces of quern stones, two of which are chastely decorated with the figure of a cross.

3. Four whetstones.

4. Three decorated fragments of fictile ware.

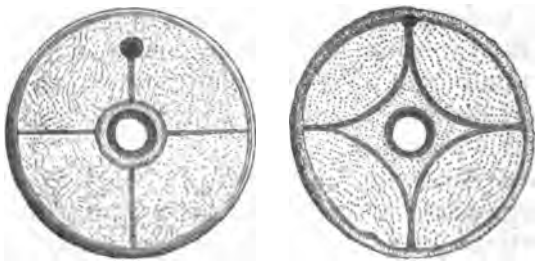
5. Fragments, composed of iron and bronze, apparently portions of a small pot, but so corroded that its character cannot exactly be defined.

6. A large stone, with a punched cross-like pattern upon one of its sides. (See No. 6 in Plate.)

7. An immense number of bones of animals, amongst which I was able to identify those of cows, goats, sheep, and pigs.

The pieces of manufactured horns of deer are very remarkable. I think there can be little doubt that they were used in the making of fishing lines, or nets. They vary in size from six to little more than three inches in length. Objects composed of the tips of deer's horn have frequently occurred in crannog finds; and, during the excavation made about the year 1851, in Christ Church-place, and Fishamble-street, Dublin, very many specimens of articles, somewhat similar in form to our Drumgay "tips," were discovered amongst innumerable pins of bronze and bone, fishing-hooks of iron, iron knife-blades of the ordinary crannog class, bone combs, &c. &c., a large collection of which may be seen in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. My friend, Mr. Bourke, upon examining the Drumgay horns, unhesitatingly expressed an opinion of their character; and, having procured some threads, proceeded at once to illustrate his theory by the manufacture of a fishing-line—a feat in which he thoroughly succeeded.

It is stated by the older inhabitants of the surrounding district, that, some twenty or thirty years ago, the whole of the surface of the Bone Island was richly overspread with quern stones, either whole or in fragments. Of the Drumgay quern stones I am able to present drawings of two most interesting examples. Each is inscribed with the figure



Quern Stones, Drumgay Crannog.

of a cross, one of a pattern representing a most unusual style of geometrical decoration. The second, which was some years ago, amongst several others, removed from the island by Mr. Frith, is at present at that gentleman's house.

It is a very fine example of an early hand-mill; and, as it has been kindly presented to me by its discoverer, I hope soon to lay it before our Society as a deposit in the Museum.

The whetstones, four in number, are of the usual four-sided crannog type, and vary in size from about six to four inches in length. The smaller specimens are not unlike several stones found at Dunshauglin, which at one end were perforated, and neatly fitted with a loop and ring of bronze.

Three comparatively unimportant fragments of earthen vessels rewarded our exertions at the Bone Island. We found none with ears. The rims are decorated as shown in the accompanying cut, drawn half the real size. One



Rim Ornaments of Fictile Vessels, Drumgay Crannog, half size.

of the patterns is a simple chevron; another a punched right-lined ornament, very characteristic of this primitive ware; the third is simply a variety of the latter. But though our digging and care at the Bone Island availed little, at least as regards the discovery of specimens of fictile ware, I am, through the kindness of Mr. Bourke, enabled to draw a restored example of the sort of vessel used by the ancient inhabitants of the crannog in the preparation of their food. The engraving (see next page) is half the size of the original. This is but a waif of the large collection secured at Drumgay some twenty years ago, and since then scattered, no one knows how, or in what direction.

When excavating near the centre of the island, at a distance of about 2½ feet from the surface, the workmen

discovered the stone (No. 6, in Plate), already alluded to. It measures 2 feet 3 inches in length, by 1 foot 9 inches in breadth, and 4½ inches in thickness. The form was irregular, the upper surface was punched over with a cross-like pattern, the style of which can only be understood by reference to the illustration.



Restored Fictile Vessel, Drumgay Crannog, half size.

I have now described, as sufficiently as I may, all the peculiarities of the great "Bone Crannog" of Drumgay. Upon referring to the Plate, the observer will find in the general view of the Loch, a large island represented in the extreme left of the sketch. This also is an artificial work. It is formed entirely of stone, and can, therefore, be scarcely styled a crannog, though, inasmuch as it was until very recently surrounded with rows of oaken stakes, it must be classed as a variety of such structures. The form is an irregular oval 270 feet in length, by 138 in breadth. Charlton, who knows the place for a quarter of a century, states that some fifteen or twenty years ago the work was

closely environed with piles, not one of which can now be seen, all having been systematically dragged from their bed of marl by one Paddy M'Cullion, who seems to have existed just long enough to use up the wood as fuel for his hearth, the man having died seven years ago, at a very advanced age. The great peculiarity of this structure is, as I have said, that it is composed throughout of a collection of rather small flat sand stones, placed, as shown in the diagram (see No. 5 of Plate) edgeways. Through a large portion of this mass I caused a trench to be made to a depth in places of about five feet, where we arrived at what was undoubtedly the ancient bottom of the Loch. We found nothing but stones. The greatest height of this island above the summer level of the water may be stated at five feet. The place is singularly styled "The Quarry," and, if found in a building vicinity, would prove a fortune to its owner. Close to the north-western extremity of this summer peninsula and winter island may be seen a true crannog, which, even in the dryest season, remains all but submerged. It measures about thirty feet in diameter, and is composed of oaken timbers intermixed with stones, as shown by No. 3, in the plan. This islet was also strongly staked; but, alas! Paddy M'Cullion was as busy here as he had been at the neighbouring "Quarry," and not one vertical stick remains. I have now to notice one more crannog of the four to be found in the Loch. It is a little island represented at the extreme right of the general view which heads the plate.



Sculptured Stone from Northern Crannog, Drumgay Lake.

Here, too, the marauder has been at work, and the stakes which in Charleton's memory entirely surrounded the island have been removed and burnt. It is here that the curiously-sculptured stone, figured in my former notice, and here reproduced, is preserved. I have seldom seen crannogs so low as are two of the examples at Drumgay. May it not be that in their construction an unusual quantity of boughs and vegetable matter had been used? These having rotted and settled down, the superstructure of earth and stones would of course subside also. Mr. Bourke informs me that he had at one time in his possession a large portion of a single-tree canoe of oak which had been found in the Loch; and one of our workmen stated that he had seen paddles of the same material, about two and a half feet long, and very neatly formed, which had also been discovered in the sediment surrounding the "Bone Island." Unfortunately these have been lost.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL

ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND:

ORIGINALLY FOUNDED AS

The Kilkenny Archæological Society,

IN THE YEAR

M.DCCC.XLIX.

TWENTY-THIRD SESSION,

1871.

If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

VOL. I.—PART II.

FOURTH SERIES.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,

FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

1871.

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Association, and here printed, except so far as the 10th and 11th Amended General Rules extend.

DUBLIN: PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS BY M. H. GILL.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

THE ROYAL

HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

OE IRELAND,

FOR THE YEAR 1871.

AT the ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held at the Museum of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January 4th, 1871 ;

EUGENE SHINE, ESQ., in the chair:

The Report of the Committee for the year 1870 was read by the Honorary Secretary, as follows :—

"The Association entered on a new phase in its career on the first day of the year which has just closed. Having been recognised by our gracious Queen to have acquired a national character, Her Majesty, towards the close of 1869, had also been graciously pleased to constitute it a Royal Society, and to confer on it the privilege of electing Fellows. At the Annual Meeting of the ensuing year, the friends of the Association looked forward with the confident hope that its further prosperous progress would thereby be secured, and a stability given to its organization which it had previously lacked.

"These sanguine anticipations have not been falsified ; and your Committee can point to its roll of Fellows, the increase of its Members, and the pages of its "Journal" and "Annual Volume," in proof of this assertion. In addition to the Foundation Fellows constituted by the Queen's Letter, the following noblemen and gentlemen have since been enrolled—their names being here arranged in the order of the dates of their election as Fellows :—

"The Right Hon. Lord Castletown, of Upper Ossory ; Rev. Goddard Richards Purefoy Colles, LL. D. ; William Benjamin Leonard, F. G. S. I. ;

General The Right Hon. Sir Thomas Larcome, K. C. B., LL. D., F. R. S., M. R. I. A., &c.; John S. Sloane, M. R. I. A., C. E.; William Henry Lynn, F. R. I. B. A., A. R. H. A., F. R. I. A. I.; Rev. Thomas James, F. S. A.; George Langtrey; Robert Malcomson; R. S. Longworth Dames, M. R. I. A.; The Right Hon. the Earl of Antrim; Arthur Gerald Geoghegan; Rev. S. Malone, R. C. C.; Richard L. Whitty; Rev. George H. Reade (Honoris Causa); A. Fitzgibbon, M. R. I. A., C. E.; Nicholas Carolan; Frederick Adolphus Jackson; Right Hon. Lord Gort; Right Hon. General Dunne, M. R. I. A.; John A. Purefoy Colles, M.D., F. R. C. S. I., L. K. Q. C. P. I.; D. J. Rowan, C. E.; Edward Stanley Robertson, B. C. S.; James B. Farrell, C. E.

"Your Treasurer has, in consequence, been able to invest Entrance Fees to the amount £50 in the Funds, in the names of your Trustees, to form the nucleus of a permanent Reserve Fund. The number of new Fellows and Members elected during the year, amounted to seventy-five; and the entire roll, on December 31st, extended to 692 names, showing an increase of ten. Fifty-nine Members were lost by death or resignation during the year, and six have been removed from the list for non-payment of subscriptions, with the option of being restored to Membership on clearing off arrears. Their names are as follow:—

	£	s.	d.
W. O'Neill (1867–70), ...	1	4	0
Stephen Ram (1867–70), ...	3	4	0
Capt. Swanne, 22nd Regt. (1868–70),	3	0	0
Napoleon Bonaparte Wyse (1867–70),	1	4	0
G. O. Webb (1868–70), ...	1	10	0
Ralph Westropp (1868–70), ...	1	10	0

"It must be apparent to the Members that if they all claimed the privilege accorded to them by the Queen's Letter, and in every case took out their Fellowship, that not only would a large increase be made in the Association's annual income, but that a Reserve Fund, amounting to over £1000, would be at once created by the investment of the Entrance Fees of £2 each. That all should do so is not, of course, to be expected; yet your Committee feel assured that many zealous members will, during the year now entered on, be ready to further the interests and insure the stability of the Association by claiming participation in the honour accorded to them by the Queen.

"Your Committee have the pleasure of laying before you the first part of 'Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language,' forming the 'Annual Volume' for 1870. This truly national work is mainly founded on the invaluable collections of the late George Petrie, LL. D., augmented and edited by Miss Stokes. The letter-press is printed in Demy 4to on tinted paper, and this first fasciculus of the work is illustrated by eighteen plates, comprising forty-seven inscribed monuments from Clonmacnois, in tinted lithography, after drawings by Miss Stokes. Your Committee append, in the accomplished Editor's words, the plan on which it is proposed to carry on this noble work:—

"'In arranging the proposed Series of Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language, an effort has been made to follow a certain plan, by which the various points of interest belonging to this Collection may be most clearly indicated. Although it is intended that the work shall form a

Corpus Inscriptionum Hibernicarum, wherever existing, yet it has appeared desirable that the collection of Inscriptions at Clonmacnois and its neighbourhood should form the First Section. It consists of upwards of a hundred and seventy examples, which, being more or less arranged in sequence, form a complete series ranging from the seventh down to the twelfth century, showing the gradual development and progress of Sculpture and style of Lettering in Ireland, and which may thus serve as a key to the approximate date of such works in other parts of this country, as well as elsewhere in the British Islands. Many of the names on these stones have been identified, and this identification is rendered more or less certain by bringing three forms of evidence to bear on each example: first, the occurrence of the name in the Annals; second, the study of the palæographical and philological forms and peculiarities observable in the Inscriptions themselves; third, the amount of artistic power displayed, and the growth and development of certain designs at certain periods.

"'The series of monumental slabs of the Clonmacnois School thus arranged will, it is hoped, afford data on which to found, with a certain amount of accuracy, a theory as to the gradual progress and development of the art of Design and forms of Letters used at various periods, in accordance with which the Inscriptions forming the remainder of this Collection will be arranged. This, the Second Section of the Work, will contain all the Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language as yet discovered in Ireland and elsewhere, including all such as are found on reliquaries, croziers, &c.

"'Inscriptions widely differing in date are often discovered in the graveyards of monastic sites founded in the sixth century, and restored and re-endowed at a later period. It is quite evident that no topographical classification of the drawings of the stones found in such localities could be attempted, without sacrificing the chronological arrangement. The Inscriptions forming these various groups will, therefore, be arranged according to their periods, irrespective of locality. This part of the work will, however, be preceded by a Topographical Index of the inscribed monuments found in each of the counties of Ireland, with a Chronological List of the names which appear to have been identified.

"'A short historical notice of the various ecclesiastical foundations, in connexion with which such stones and relics are found, will also be given; and the plan pursued in dealing with these monuments individually is to give—

"'1. The Drawing;
"'2. The Translation;
"'3. Philological Remarks;
"'4. Identification, where possible, of the person commemorated;
"'5. Place where found;
"'6. Remarks as to the character and period of the Art shown in the decoration of these monuments.

"'An Essay on the origin and progress of Irish Art will form the Introduction to the entire Collection, which will be concluded by an Alphabetical List of all the proper names which occur in the Inscriptions, and a General Index.'

"Your Committee feel assured that the 500 copies of this valuable

addition to the historic, artistic, and palæographic literature of Ireland will soon be exhausted, and become a scarce work.

"The present juncture of affairs in France, rendering it imminent that the siege operations before Paris might result in a calamity which all ages would lament, rendered it imperative on your Committee—acting on the invitation of the Royal Irish Academy to join that body in taking action in the matter—to address the following memorial to Earl Granville, her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, without waiting for the Annual Meeting. They hope to have the full sanction of the Association for their act :—

"'To the Right Hon. Earl Granville, K. G., Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

"'We, the President, Fellows, and Members of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, desire to call the attention of her Majesty's Government to the irreparable loss which would be sustained by the whole civilized world if the inestimable, physical, scientific, antiquarian, and literary collections of Paris should be destroyed or seriously injured during the siege. These collections represent the accumulated labours of many generations, and are, in truth, not the property of France only but of the whole civilized world. Many of the objects contained in them, if once allowed to perish, no subsequent exertion could ever replace. The fate of the Library of Strasburg shows that these priceless collections are in real and imminent peril from the operations of war. As members of a body, having for its objects the cultivation of history and archæology, we should deeply deplore the destruction of these collections: and we respectfully call upon her Majesty's Government to interfere, as to them may seem most effectual, for their preservation.

"'Signed on behalf of the Fellows and Members,

"'Charles Vignoles, D.D.,

"'President.

"'James Graves,
"'John G. A. Prim,' } Hon. Secs.

"To this memorial Earl Granville has returned the annexed reply:—

"'Foreign Office,

"'*December* 13, 1870.

"'Sir,—I am directed by Earl Granville to acknowledge the receipt of the memorial, signed by yourself in the name of the Fellows and Members of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, requesting that her Majesty's Government will use their influence in order to secure from the destruction with which they appear threatened, the scientific, antiquarian, literary, and other collections now existing in Paris; and I am to state to you in reply, that Lord Granville will cause a copy of your memorial to be transmitted to her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin, for communication to the Prussian Government.

"'I am, Sir,

"'Your most obedient, humble servant,

"'J. Hammond.

"'*The Very Rev. C. Vignoles, D. D., President,*
Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.'

"Your Committee must not forget to call attention to the valuable collection of antiquities connected with our Irish Lake Dwellings, or Crannogs, deposited in our Museum by the Earl of Enniskillen and Mr. W. F. Wakeman, which it is hoped will, when completed, in connexion with the papers contributed by Mr. Wakeman to our 'Journal,' do much to illustrate this hitherto much neglected department of Irish Archæology.

"The Treasurer's account for the year 1869, when audited and laid before the Association, will be found most satisfactory.

"It is hoped that the movement set on foot by the Association for the preservation of the ancient remains at Glendalough, may be successful, and that when the spring opens operations may be commenced. Your Committee also trust that the thorough repair of the Round Tower and ancient Churches of Monasterboice will be secured, through the influence of the Association, before the present year expires.

"A record of the generous aid continued to be afforded to the Association by Mr. A. Fitz Gibbon must not be omitted. When the Members receive the result of his investigations, and liberal pecuniary outlay, they will be sensible that the delay of the 'Journal' for October, 1869, must confer a lasting benefit on the Association, as it will contain a most valuable contribution to the history of Ireland. The causes which have hitherto kept back the number of the 'Journal' for October, 1867, being now removed, it also will shortly be issued.

"Amongst the Members whose removal by death the Association has to regret, your Committee regret to place on record the names of John Lindsay, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, the Hon. Robert O'Brien, and Mr. Charles Foot, Barrister-at-Law.

"Mr. Lindsay[1] was born at Cork in the month of April, 1789, where he received the rudiments of his education: he graduated in Trinity College, Dublin, and, after a distinguished course, took his degree. He subsequently entered the Temple, and was called in due time to the Bar. But his taste for the study of archæology and the elucidation of ancient coins developed itself at a very early period. Whilst yet a boy he had acquired a very considerable collection of Greek and Roman coins, to which he added a very rare selection from the Saxon series; and so highly did he value these, his early treasures, that he used to point out in his cabinet, when showing to friends his subsequent extensive and valuable acquisitions, these very coins of which, when a youth, he was so proud. Mr. Lindsay, like many other aspirants to literary fame, commenced by communicating papers on coins and kindred subjects to the *Gentleman's Magazine* and other periodicals then devoted to the cultivation and study of such researches, and for many years he kept steadily accumulating such stores of information as an extensive European correspondence afforded, and his own cultivated mind had from time to time suggested. He was a perfect master of the Greek and Roman classics, and his numerous friends, especially those more intimate, who used to meet him at his old friend Richard Sainthill's, must remember the pleasure they experienced whenever they entered on the discussion of some rare Greek or Roman

[1] This obituary notice is from the pen of Richard Caulfield, Esq., LL.D., Cork.

coin, and the clearness with which he used to comment on the passages from the old writers that had reference to the character and times of the emperor or king under consideration. In matters of general archæology, he was also an able expert; and in mediæval antiquities and history he was eminently qualified to pronounce judgment, and the writer remembers how profitably he spent some leisure half hours in examining the Jewish coins in his collection, and how from the records of that ancient people, both sacred and secular, he illustrated the legends and devices on the coins that were struck by her conquerors, when a daughter of Israel was represented mourning, bound and in captivity, seated beneath a palm tree, with this inscription, 'Judea Capta.' A brief review of his several works will best show how successfully his long life has been devoted to his favourite pursuit. In 1839, Mr. Lindsay published 'A View of the Coinage of Ireland, from the Invasion of the Danes to the Reign of George IV., and Some Account of the Ring Money, with Descriptions of Hiberno-Danish and Irish Coins," &c. 4to. This was the first successful attempt to throw light on the coins, which are said to have been struck by the Northmen in this country. In 1842 he published 'A View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy, &c., with a List of Unpublished Mints and Moneyers of the Chief Sole Monarchs from Egbert to Harold II., and an Account of Some of the Principal Hoards or Parcels of Anglo-Saxon Coins,' &c., 4to. In this important section the author was able to add much to the labours of Ruding and Mr. Hawkins, of the British Museum, both in the Northumbrian, East Anglian, Kentish, and Mercian series. In 1845, appeared 'A View of the Coinage of Scotland, with Copious Tables, Lists, &c., of the Numerous Hoards Discovered in Scotland, and of Scottish Coins found in Ireland,' 4to. This work, which was eagerly looked for, redeemed the hitherto neglected state of the Scottish series, and received at Mr. Lindsay's hands a thorough and systematic examination and arrangement. In 1849 there appeared, 'Notices of Remarkable Mediæval Coins, mostly unpublished,' 4to. This treatise contains some most interesting solutions of the legends on some hitherto unknown mediæval coins, and is of great interest to the student of mediæval history. In 1852 the literary world received with gratitude 'A View of the History and Coinage of the Parthians, with Descriptive Catalogues and Tables, &c, a Large Number Unpublished,' 4to. The obscurity and little success that had hitherto attended all attempts to illustrate the coins of the Parthian princes render this work most valuable, and it is an abiding evidence of the minute scholarship of the author and his intimate knowledge of the less known Greek and Roman writers. In 1855 he printed 'Some Observations on an Ancient Talisman brought from Syria, and supposed to be the Work of the Chaldeans,' 4to. This remarkable talisman has defied the learned labours of every *savant* who has attempted its interpretation up to the present time. In 1860, 'Notices of Greek, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and other Mediæval Coins in the Cabinet of the Author,' 4to. This work was intended as a supplement to his former treatise on the subject, many most interesting specimens having come into his possession during the interval of publication. In 1859 appeared 'A Supplement to the Coinage of Scotland, with Lists, Descriptions, and Extracts from Acts of Parliament,' 4to.; and in 1868 a second 'Supplement' to do., 4to. The last two works contain many new coins, which the author became possessed of since his larger publication. This magnificent array of accurately illustrated works

will show how thoroughly he exhausted the subjects on which he toiled with such zeal; but although Mr. Lindsay continued his labours to the last, yet his health had been so declining for some time past, that it was deemed advisable by his family and friends that his collection should be disposed of. After much hesitation, he at length consented, and a considerable portion of the coins, which he had already used in his publications, were consigned to Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, and on August 14th, 1867, were sold in London. The sale, which continued for three days, realised the sum of £1,260, and of such rarity were some of the Scottish coins, that two gentlemen were sent down from Edinburgh, who purchased some of the lots at romantic prices. Mr. Lindsay contributed several papers to the 'Journal' of the Association, and the aid of this eminent numismatist was ever afforded to your Secretaries on numismatic questions with that unselfish and kind spirit which distinguished him. Towards the close of December, he was seized with an attack of acute brochitis. At first it was hoped that timely aid would have averted the danger, but he gradually sunk, and died on the last day of the old year, at noon.

"Mr. Foot contributed a valuable paper to our Association, and was ever active in enlisting recruits from amongst the Bar of Ireland, many of whose names in consequence grace our List of Members.

"The Hon. Robert O'Brien contributed a mass of most valuable notes to the portions of Dineley's Tour relative to Limerick and Clare, and had promised his aid in anything that related to the History of Thomond, with which he was intimately acquainted."

On the motion of Dr. Barry Delany, seconded by Mr. Bracken, C. I., the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted, and the former officers and members of Committee were re-elected for the ensuing year.

John Fitzsimons, M. D., and James George Robertson, Architect, were elected Auditors for the ensuing year.

A vote of thanks was given to Mr. P. A. Aylward, for his kindness in acting as Auditor for many previous years.

The following Fellows were elected :—

Captain T. Bigoe Williams, F. S. A., 27 Waterloo Crescent, Dover: proposed by Mr. R. H. Jones.

John Somerville, Gilford House, Sandymount-square, Co. Dublin : proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

The following Member of the Association was admitted to Fellowship :—

Evelyn Philip Shirley, F. S. A., &c.

The following Members were proposed and elected :—

The Right Hon. the Countess of Howth: proposed by Dr. Stokes.

Miss O'Rourke, Moylough House, county Galway;

Griffith Griffith, Esq., M. D, Taltreudyn, Merionethshire; and Arthur M'Mahon, Kilkenny: proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

The Rev. Edward O'Brien, Professor of Humanity, Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth: proposed by Rev. James Hughes.

Thomas Scully, jun., M. D., Gordon-street, Clonmel: proposed by J. B. Lacy.

Thomas Watson, Londonderry: proposed by W. Dugan.

Robert Romney Kane, Barrister-at-Law, Wickham, Dundrum, Co. Dublin; and the Very Rev. Canon T. Murphy, P. P., Youghal: proposed by Barry Delany, M. D.

David Augustine Nagle, Solicitor, 59, South Mall, Cork; and Robert H. Jones, Clyde House, Dover: proposed by George Anderson.

Thomas Earley, 1, Upper Camden-street, Dublin: proposed by the Rev. P. V. Skelly, O. P.

Nicholas Ennis, Claremont, Julianstown, Co. Meath: proposed by Maurice Lenihan, J.P., M. R. I. A.

W. H. S. Creed, Enniskillen; and Charles W. H. S. Richardson, Rossfad, Ballycassidy: proposed by W. F. Wakeman.

William Fitzsimons, Solicitor, Maryborough: proposed by J. Fitzsimons, M. D.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

"Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution," 1868; "The Gliddon Mummy-Case in the Museum of the Smithsonian Institution," by Charles Pickering, M. D.; and "Narrative of a Journey to Musardu, the Capital of the Western Mandingoes," by Benjamin Anderson: presented by the Smithsonian Institution.

"Statistics of Minnesota," for 1869; "Minnesota, its Progress and Capabilities;" "A Report of Explorations in the Mineral Regions of Minnesota," by Colonel Charles Whittlesey; and "Annual Report of the Minnesota Historical Society," for the years 1868 and 1869: presented by the Minnesota Historical Society.

"Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London," second series, Vol. IV., No. 8.

"Archæologia Cambrensis," fourth series, No. 4: presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

"Journal of the Statistical and Social Enquiry Society of Ireland," Part 38: presented by the Society.

"The Fiftieth Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society," for 1869–70: presented by the Society.

"Records of Buckinghamshire," Vol. IV., No. 1: presented by the Architectural and Archæological Society for the county of Buckingham.

"A Collection of Curious and Interesting Epitaphs, copied from the Monuments of distinguished and noted Characters in the Ancient Church and Burial-grounds of St. Pancras, Middlesex," by Frederick Teague Cansick: presented by the Author.

"Catalogue of the Valuable and Extensive Library of Austin Cooper, Esq., F. S. A., &c. To be sold by Edward Maguire, at his extensive Sale Rooms, 23, Suffolk-street, on Monday, February 21st and following days," Dublin, 1831: presented by the Rev. J. S. Cooper.

"The Fireside Stories of Ireland," by Patrick Kennedy: presented by the Author.

"Ancient Irish Architecture—Ardfert Cathedral, Co. Kerry;" "Ancient Irish Architecture—Templenahoe, Ardfert;" "Ancient Irish Architecture—Kilmalkedar, Co. Kerry." Drawn and Lithographed by Arthur Hill, B. E., Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects: presented by the Author.

"Lough Erne, Enniskillen, Beleek, Ballyshannon, and Bundoran, with Routes from Dublin to Enniskillen and Bundoran by Rail or Steamboat," by W. F. Wakeman: presented by the Author.

The Secretary drew attention to the three last donations on the list, and said they were well worthy the patronage of the Members. Mr. Kennedy's book was a most valuable contribution to Irish folk lore. Mr. Hill's publications combined the taste of the artist with the exactness of the architect; his measured drawings and details leaving nothing to be desired, whilst numerous photographs of the buildings

described bore witness to the correctness of his pencil. The Hiberno-Romanesque Churches of Kilmalkedar and Temple-nahoe were remarkable amongst Irish buildings of the twelfth century, and the Cathedral of Ardfert was a fine example of the pure First Pointed, or Early English style of the thirteenth century. As to Mr. Wakeman's "Guide" to Lough Erne and its neighbourhood, he could from perusal say, that it was racy of the soil, and, as might be expected from Mr. Wakeman's status, showed the touch of a true antiquary and artist. It was much more than a Guide Book, whilst it was all that could be desired by the practical tourist. He was not ashamed to say that he had derived much information, as well as pleasure, from its pages. The woodcuts were exquisite, and one only desired to see the pages of the work enriched by more of them, as he hoped would be the case in a future edition of the book.

Mr. A. G. 'Geoghegan sent for exhibition an extremely curious bronze fibula, of, amongst those found in Ireland, most uncommon design, being strictly Roman in form, but with the chevron incised ornament of our gold antiques; and a small bronze spear-head, both of which were stated to have been found near Fethard, county of Tipperary; as also a silver signet ring, the device being a double cross, with a crescent and star at either side, which latter he had purchased in a London curiosity shop, where it was labelled, "Irish religious antique ring;" but this seemed dubious enough.

Mr. Prim exhibited a silver cup, which he said Mr. Colles, Millmount, had, at his request, entrusted to him for the purpose. At a recent meeting of the Association, he (Mr. Prim) had read a paper on the Civic Insignia of Kilkenny, in which the name of Mr. Barry Colles had been introduced as having, when Mayor of Kilkenny in 1743, caused the city sword and mace to be repaired, and reference was then made to that gentleman having exerted himself for the time with great success, although the trade afterwards died out, to establish linen manufacture in Kilkenny. This cup seemed to have been a presentation to Mr. Barry Colles, in connexion with that manufac-

ture movement. It bore the inscription, in cursive characters :—

"*Barry Colles, Esq., Mayor of Kilkenny, September*, 1743."

Over which was a shield bearing a spinning wheel. Mr. Barry Colles was brother to Alderman William Colles, the inventor of the machinery for cutting and polishing marble by water-power, as still practised at the Kilkenny marble mills by Mr. A. Colles, his great grandson.

Mr. Richard Long, M. D., exhibited an original Charter, bearing a well-preserved example of the Great Seal of Charles II. Both sides of this fine Seal were equally sharp and uninjured; it was of dark green wax, and attached by a double cord of yellow and crimson plaited silk. The Charter was one of those issued under the Act of Settlement, and was dated at Dublin, May 14th, 19th Charles II. (1667), granting to Honor Hansard and Elizabeth Hansard the lands of Richardstown, containing 115 acres, plantation measure, in the barony of Iffa and Offa, county of Tipperary, they being entitled under the will of John Hansard, which was set out as follows :—

"In the name of God, amen, I, John Hansard, of the city of Waterford, late of Knocktopher, clerk, &c., doe make and ordaine this my last will and testament in manner following [here follows the usual clause about soul and body]; and as for my lands, goods, and chattels, ... ffirst, I give to the poore of the city of Waterford, or of the place where I shall die, or be buried, twenty shillings, at the discretion of my wife to bee distributed. Item, I give and bequeath unto Honor, my loveing wife, the moyety or half of the rents reserved upon my lands lying and being in the east division of the barony of Iffa and Offa, and county of Tipperary, for and during the time of her widowhood; but if she shall marry, then to have but the third part of the said reserved rents during her naturall life. As likewise during the time of her widowhood to have and enjoy half of the rents and profitts of such lands as shall be received and obteyned by way of reprisall, but that she shall have the third part thereof in case that she marry during the time of her natural life. Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth Hansard, all my lands, tenements, and hereditaments, ... to the onely use and behoofe of my said daughter, &c. Provided that if I dye and depart this life before my said lands be settled, conteyning reprisals or otherwise, that then it shall be lawful for my said wife and daughter, by the advice of my Christian ffrends, whome I shall appoynt supervisors of this my last will and testament, to sell all the said lands, and equally to divide the money

. . . in case it be souled in the time of my said wife's widowhood; but in case she shall marry, then the money to be divided into three parts, and my daughter to have two parts thereof, and my wife one. Item, I appoint and ordaine my loveing wife and daughter to be executrixes of this my last will and testament. . . . Item, I appoint and intreat my Christian ffreinds, Collon[ll] Crooke, of Clonmel, and Thomas Watts, of the city of Waterford, Esquires, to be supervisors of this my last will and testament, whome I earnesttly intreat to have a care of my wife and child, and to see my will performed; and I give and bequeath to each of them a payre of gloves of the price of tenn shillings a payre, &c. In witnesse whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seale the three and twentieth day of May in the yeare of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, 1664."

The Charter likewise granted to William Stephenson, Thomas Wood, and John Todd, the lands of Ballywin, alias Maynestown, in the barony of Iffa and Offa, County of Tipperary; and also part of Goodwin's Garden, in and about the town of Kells, being the easterly part from High-street, containing 47A. 3R. 14P. plantation measure, situate in the barony of Kells, and county of Kilkenny; and also the lands of Nichollstown, containing 65A. 3R. plantation measure, in the barony of Fassadinin, and county of Kilkenny. The grantees in both instances claimed as "Adventurers" under the Act of Settlement and Explanation; and the Charter was at present in the possession of William Nunn Saunders, Esq., of Ballyhack, county of Wexford, by whose permission it was exhibited.

Mr. J. O'Beirne Crowe sent the following note on the origin and meaning of the word clocan, as applied to a class of Irish Pagan and early Christian buildings:—

"I have long been of opinion that the name clocan, applied to an Irish building of a certain type, Pagan and early Christian, was not, as hitherto supposed, a derivative from cloc, *a stone*, because such a building was made of stone. The formation clocan would, no doubt, be quite legitimate as a diminutive from cloc, but I have really thought that clocan, 'a little stone,' would hardly be adopted by any people as a common name for a class of unique, artificial structures. Co-ordinately with this conviction of mine I have been impressed with another—namely, that, as in early Irish Christianity the clocan was a religious building, so it must also have been originally among our Pagan ancestors. But where did they get the name? Just where they got the language, and that was most assuredly in ancient Gaul. It is not necessary for our purpose to discuss here the route taken by our forefathers in their journey to Erin, but every argument, linguistic and ethnological, confirms the tradition that

they came direct from Spain, and were a colony of Celtiberians, who were themselves a branch from ancient Gaul. The Gaulish vocabulary has of late received some valuable aid from our old well-known Irish forms: let us see if, on the other hand, some of our more obscure ancient terms may not receive reciprocal light from Old Gaulish. In the illustration of the word cloċan, I think, this will be found to be the case.

"In the Alisian inscription (*Pictet* 'Nouvel Essai sur les Inscriptions Gauloises,' p. 16) occurs the word *celicnon*, agreed upon to signify some religious place or structure, and also agreed upon by some of our ablest philologers to be the Gothic *kelikn* of the Gospels of Ulphilas. The translator gives *kelikn* as the equivalent of the Greek *ανώγαιον* (an upper chamber), in Mark, 14, 15; and as that of *πύργος* (a tower), in Mark, 12, 1; and in Luke, 14, 28; and from this word have branched out in the various Teutonic and other dialects, several forms to signify the Latin *ecclesia, fanum, turris*, &c., such as the German *chilecha* (a church); Swiss, *chilche* (id.); then *chiricha*, *kirche*, down to the Scottish, *kirk;* English, *church*, &c.

"Now this *celicnon* (= celicanon) I take to be the ancient form of our cloċan, the noun stem being *celica*, and the affix—*no* = Latin—*nu*. The final—*o*, with the neuter sign attached = *on*, would be dropped in old Irish, and then we should have *celican*, which by aspiration of the second—*c* coming between two vowels, and by certain laws of transposition, would become clóiċan. Compare ṗṙóiċ, heath, = Latin, *erica* = *verica* (*id.*): clóin, unjust, = Latin, *clinus* = *celinus*, &c. Thus we have our present cloċan shortened from cloéċan = clóiċan = Gaul. *celican:* and that clóiċ (= *celica*) is older than cloċ, we may infer from Cormac's glossary, where he gives cloeċ (= clóiċ), as the word for stone in the beṙla aiṙbeṙca, "language of exposition."

"It will be seen that according to the view here taken of cloċan, the final syllable is not the *long diminutive*, but the short Indo-European *a-na*. We must bear in mind that we have *a-na* in Irish as well as in Old Gaulish. In the latter language it appears in such words as *Matrona*, *Sequana*, &c.; in the former we find it in *Ceranus*, *Adomnanus*, the penults of which are short in the following lines from Alcuin:—

"' Patritius, Cheranus, Scotorum gloria gentis
Atque Columbanus, Congallus, Adomnanus atque'
(Adamnan's St. Columba, ed. Reeves).

"Again as *kelikn* has become *chiricha*, by the change of *l* into *r*, so the Irish cloċan has become *crochan;* comp. *Crochan Aigle* (now Croch Patric) in which form we could hardly take the last syllable as a diminutive. As to the cloċan and the cṙuaċan they have exactly the same form—starting from a wide base and ending in a sharp peak. And, again, the cloċan was built *on* the earth, while the uáim (cave) and other buildings were built *in* the earth. In co-ordinating cloċan and *kelikn*, this is the exact idea required—that is, elevation from the surface of the earth. That the uaim (cave) was a religious building in early Christian Ireland we know from several passages in the "Lives of the Saints." Thus, in that of St. Brendan in the "Book of Lismore," Bishop Erc is represented as once sending Brendan into a penitential cave from night till morning.

"I have here thrown together the few reasons which have led me to seek in the Gaulish *celicnon* the present form of the word clocan. The root I take to be cel, in the Latin *excelsus*, and the primary idea to be *height*."

Mr. Waters, Town Clerk of Kilkenny, exhibited some further specimens of the Records in his custody. He said that he had selected for this occasion a few letters from the Irish Government to the Corporation in the beginning of the seventeenth century, of more interest, perhaps, from their being authentic original documents than from their respective contents. But he was sure that the signatures appended, in autograph, by the Lord Lieutenant Wentworth, the unfortunate Lord Strafford; Sir Christopher Wandesforde, Adam Loftus, Sir Charles Coote, Parsons, Borlase, and others bearing historic names, could scarcely fail to have some attraction for the Meeting. All the documents which he would lay before the Meeting were originals except the first, which was a certified copy. It had reference to hawking, which was a sport so highly prized at the time:—

"By the Lord Deputie.

"Whereas we have imployed the bearer hereof, Richard Kingstone, to hawke for o^r ꝑvision in any p'te of Ireland where he shall thinke fitt, for Partrige and Phesante. These are, therefore, to will and require all men whom it may concerne, to ꝑmitt and suffer him so to doe, without any lett or molestation, and that he may have haukes meate, doges meate, horse-meate, and mans meate, payinge readie money for the same or his tickquett, given at his Ma^ties Castle of Dublin, this sixth of October, 1621.

(copia vera.).

"I do acknowledge to have receaved of the Portreffe of Gowran, by vertue of this warrant in meate and drinke, w^th horse meate and doges meate, the some of viii^li ster as witnes my hand this xviii^th of October, 1621.

"*Richard R. K. Kingstoune.*
his marke."

The next document which he would read did not follow in the sequence of date, but had reference to the same subject as the other, and also was connected with hunting:—

"After our heartie Commendations, Wee have caused a Proclamation be to lately imprinted concerninge hawking and hunting whereof we send yo^u herew^th a certaine number, requiring yo^u to cause the same to be pub-

liquely fixed upp and published and proclaimed in all the market townes and other publique places throughout that county. And soe we bid yo^u hartelie farewell. From his Ma^tie^s Castle of Dublin, xxx° August, 1639.

"Yo^r verie loving ffriends,

"WENTWORTH.

"RANOLAGH.

"R. DILLON.	"GLD. LOFTUS.
"WM. PARSONS.	"GERRARD LOWTHER.
"CHR. WONDESFORDE.	"JO. BORLASE.
"PH. MAENWARENG.	"CHA. COOTE."

(Addressed)—"To our verie loving friends, the Mayor and Sheriffes of the Cittie of Kilkenny."

(Endorsed)—"Receaved this Letter uppon the 25^th^ of September, 1639."

Doubtless the proclamations themselves, referred to in this letter, would be of more historic interest than the letters which accompanied them, but he supposed all the copies had been posted—at least, none of them, unfortunately, had come into his custody. He would now read a letter from the Privy Council, on the subject of the famous Commission for the Remedy of Defective Titles—one of those plans for increasing the royal Exchequer, which ended so disastrously for royalty:—

"After o^r very hartie Commendac̃ons, wee have by his Ma^tie^s dyrec̃ons caused a proclamac̃on to bee lately imprinted declaringe his Ma^tie^s Royall Grace to confirm to his subjects of this Realme of Ireland theire defective Titles, and to Establish theire Estates and possessions by Commission, under his Great Seale of Eng^d^, of w^ch^ proclamac̃on wee have herew^th^ sent you a certaine number, requiringe you to cause the same to bee published throughout that Countie, that all p̃sons whom it may concerne may take notice therof, and by the time therin limited, lay hold on the grace and favour thereby tendered them. And soe we bid you very hartely farewell. From his Ma^tie^s Castle of Dublin, 28° July, 1632.

"Yo^r verie lovinge frends,

"A. F. LOFTUS, CANC^a^,	R. CORKE.
"WM. PARSONS,	GL̃D^o^. LOFTUS.
"Civit. Kilkenny.	Ed. by PAUL DAVYS."

(Addressed on the back)—"To our very loving freindes the Mayor and Sheriffs of the Citty of Kilkenny."

(Endorsed)—"Letter from the Lords Justices to y^e^ Mayor and Cittizens of Kilkenny, 1632."

A letter in connexion with a proclamation relating to the Irish currency, which, however, was not assimilated to that of England for a long time afterwards, was the next document:—

"After our hartie Commendacõns, wee have caused a proclamacõn to bee lately imprinted concerninge the Reducinge of all Accompts, Receptes, Paymen^ts and issues of moneyes to sterlinge English money throughout this Kingdome, and not as hath bein formerly used in Irish money, and have herew^th sent yo^u a certaine number of the s^d proclamacõn, Hereby requiringe yo^u to cause the same to be proclaymed and publiquely fixed upp in all the Marketts and other publique places throughout that County, that soe all p'sons may take notice thereof. And soe wee bid yo^u hartily farewell. Ffrom his M^ties Castle of Dublin, 28° Apr., 1637.

"Yo^r very loveing freind,
"WENTWORTH.

"Co. Civit. Kilkenny. Ed. by PAUL DAVYS."

(Addressed on back)—"To our very loveinge freinds the Mayor and Sheryffs of the Citty of Kilkenny."

(Endorsed)—"Receaved the 7^th of June, 1637, Government Letter ab^t Reducinge y^e coin, 1637."

The mode of recruitment of the army at the period was indicated in the next letter, which was as follows:—

"After o^r hartie commendacõns, Wee have caused a Proclamacõn to be imprinted inlargeing the tyme appointed for the provinciell Rendezvous of the men to bee pressed to serve his Ma^tie as Soldiers from the 18^th day of this month to a further tyme, of w^ch Proclamacõn wee herewith send you a certaine number, Requering you to cause the same to bee openly proclaimed and publicquely fixed upp in all the Marketts and other publique places throughout that County, that soe all men whome it may concerne may take notice thereof. And soe wee bid you heartely farewell. From his Maj^tie Castle of Dublin, 9° May, 1640.

"Yo^r loving frinds,
"CHR. WANDESFORDE,
"GĨD^. LOFTUS,
"JO. BORLASE,
"THO. ROTHERHAM.
"R. DILLON,
"WM. PARSONS,

"Civit. Kilkenny."

(Addressed on Back)—"To o^r loving freinds the Mayor and Sheriffs of the Citty of Kilkenny."

(Endorsed)—"Receaved this ire together w^th twoe ꝓclamacõns the 12^th of May, 1640. The proclamacõns was ꝓclaymd then."

He would conclude, for this occasion, by reading a letter from the Secretary of State of the day, to Colonel Warren, one of the magistrates of Kilkenny, and a member of the

Corporation, respecting the second Duke of Ormonde, who had been attainted of high treason by the Parliament of George I., and was then an active supporter of the Jacobite interest.

"DUBLIN, 20*th January*, 1718.

"SIR,—Their Exc̄ys the Lords Justices & Council having issued a proclamation for apprehending the late Duke of Ormonde, who tis believ'd is either actually landed or will soon land in some part of this kingdom, and being sensible that special care ought to be taken in those parts particularly where his former friends and Dependents reside, since it is most likely he may resort thither in hopes of creating disturbances or remaining conceal'd among them, have directed me to send you the said proclamation, promising themselves more than ordinary diligence and circumspection from your known zeal to his Ma^{ty}" and his Government:

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient

"humble servant,

."W. BUDGELL.

"Col. Warren."

(Endorsed)—"Secretary of State's letter ab^{t} y^{e} Duke of Ormonde. 20th Jan^{y}, 1718."

The Chairman expressed the sense which the meeting entertained of the importance and interest of the valuable historic documents which Mr. Watters had kindly brought under their notice. He expressed a hope that such an inestimable collection of documents, and one of such national value, should never come into the keeping of a less zealously careful and thoroughly appreciative custodian than Mr. Watters.

On the motion of Mr. T. R. Lane, seconded by Mr. Robertson, a special vote of thanks was given to Mr. Watters for bringing so many curious and unpublished records under their notice.

An important paper was contributed to the Association by General Lefroy, giving a detailed account of the opening of the tumulus of Greenmount, near Dundalk, County Louth, last autumn, by Lord Rathdonnell and the writer, when their researches were rewarded by the discovery of a bronze plate, evidently a portion of the ornamentation of a sword-belt, having on one side an interlaced pattern, Hiberno-Danish in its character, formed of silver let into the bronze;

and on the other side, a Runic inscription—the first ever found in this country, although such inscriptions are frequent in England and the Isle of Man, and Scotland. The accounts hitherto given of the operations in opening the tumulus, and the nature of the discovery made, were not correct in the details. The inscription on the plate was at first read as stating the sword to be that of "Tomi;" but the Danish *savants* to whom the inscription has been referred, and they ought to be the best judges, declared the name to be "Domnall," and they conjectured that it must have belonged to a Dane bearing an Irish name. It is hoped the person referred to may be identified. General Lefroy sent the precious piece of bronze containing the Rune to be submitted to the meeting; and Lord Rathdonnell sent the bronze hatchet and the bone harp-pin which also had turned up in the course of the explorations already made at Greenmount, which were to be resumed—it is to be hoped with further success as to important discoveries—during the ensuing spring.

General Lefroy's Paper would, the Secretary said, be printed in a future number of their "Journal."

Mr. Daniel Mac Carthy contributed a transcript of "The Spanishe Letter" written by "Don Dermicio Cartie" to Florence Mac Carthy, in 1600, and never before published, accompanied by a translation as follows:—

"Early in the month of June, 1601, the world of Munster, not less than the Lords of the Privy Council, were surprised to hear that the Lord President had 'laid hands on Florence MacCarthy, and cast him into prison.' In Her Majesty's State Paper Office are to be found in the handwriting of Sir George Carewe, the minutest details of his long patient endeavours to reclaim that Irish chieftain, and the final necessity and manner of repressing him; these explanations were intended for the statesmen of England, men who were able to understand how the *Raggion di stato* must overrule all other *raggioni*, and they are written, therefore, with naked candour and veracity; but for the world without, scrupulous about the violation of safe-conducts and protections and the royal parole, another account not quite so circumstantial, nor quite so true, was written; and with this the world has been better acquainted for the last 300 years.

"'Upon these, and many other reasons that shall hereafter be alleadged (writes the author of the 'Pacata Hibernia'), 'the President thought that he could not possibly accomplish a service more acceptable to Her Majestie, nor profitable to the State, and more available to divert the Spanish preparations, then to commit unto prison, and safe custody, the body of this

Florence, which was accordingly effected about the beginning of June, 1601, a man so pernitious and dangerous to the State, which had sundry wayes broken his severall protections. Upon his apprehension (which was in Corke), the President tooke present order that search should bee made in the Pallace (his chiefe home in Desmond), and other places of his abode, for all such letters and writings as could therein be found; whereby was discovered such a sea of rebellious and traiterous practices as Her Majestie and her honourable Councell (being acquainted therewith) thought good that hee should be sent into England.'

"The plain meaning of these sentences is that when Her Majesty and the Privy Council were made acquainted with the treasonable practices of Florence, by the perusal of this sea of rebellious writings, they, in consequence thereof, desired Carewe to send him to England. The transfer of the prisoner to England was *their* doing, not Carewe's. The plain meaning of the letters of Carewe and Cecyll was, as the reader will see, that as soon as Florence was committed, Carewe wrote to the Minister tidings of the capture, and of his intention (not 'to wait till he should have laid the treasonable papers before the Queen and Privy Council, and till he should have received their orders as to the disposal of the prisoner,' but) 'to send him at once to England.'

"'*June*, 1601.—CAREWE TO CECYLL.

"'Your Honour, by Patrick Crosbie, was fully advertised of all the affrayes of this province until the date of the letters he carried; since which time, more than the restrayning of Florence MacCarthy, who is now Her Majesties prisoner, nothinge hath happened. With James Fitz Thomas, I do propose to send him into England.'

"'*June* 29, 1601.—CECYLL TO CAREWE.

"'I have received a letter from you of your apprehending of Florence; in whose case, I pray you, spare not sending over of any proofs you can, for although Her Majestie is not lykely to proceed vigourouslle, yet, she accounts it an excellent pledge to have him safelye sent hither.'

"It is true that the prisoner was not sent away from Cork till the 13th of August; but this was because there was no ship earlier to take him; but, as the reader has seen, Florence was committed in the beginning of June, and on the 18th of the same month Carewe wrote that he did propose to send him into England. Scarcely two months later, the Lord President laid hands upon another Irishman, a Mac Carthy also, and wrote that he meant to send *him* to England. To this Cecyll wrote hurried answer, 'As for your motion to send over Cormuck, the Queen seems yet a little tickle about the Tower. Always, methinks, the ordinary course which now you should take (if his treasons be so manifest), were to put him to his triall, and then stay his execution; for the clappinge them up without proceedings (whereby their faults are made known to the world) may prove scandalous.'

"The sea of traitorous correspondence seized in the 'Pallace,' and other abodes of Florence, consisted of the several letters which the reader may see in the 'Pacata Hibernia,' addressed to Florence by Irish chieftains,

and others in rebellion; amongst which was one written in Spanish, of which only an abstract is there given in English; it is this letter which is now about to be presented to the reader, with its translation. Nothing more strongly proves the great prudence or wariness of Carewe's great adversary, who for his part had also gauged, not the abilities only, but the conscience of his adversary, than the fact that although a sudden and simultaneous irruption and search had been made into, and through, all his places of residence, only one single letter, or copy of a letter, in his own handwriting was discovered; and this consisting of a few lines to his kinsman the White Knight, containing no more of treason than the writer or its recipient need have cared to see placarded on the walls of Shandon Castle. The notice we find of this Spanish letter, and its writer, in Stafford's narrative is the following:—

"'One Dermond Mac Cartie, a kinsman and dependant upon Florence, and by him, as is supposed, was sent into Spaine, where he continued his intelligencer many years; and by the Spanyards called Don Dermutio Cartie, wrote a letter to his Master, Florence, dated at the Groyne, the 9th of March, 1600, a long letter in Spanish, the materiall poynts whereof are thus abstracted. and Englished.'

"That this Don Dermicio was not a person of the insignificance the reader might suppose from this brief introduction of him, and the few short passages of his biography that Carewe has preserved for us, namely, that he was captured at Rincorran, and hanged at Cork; but that he was a man whose opinion influenced the counsels of Spain at a critical moment, with regard to his own country, and that he possessed intelligence, such as we should expect in a person chosen by one of the wariest of men for an office of great trust and importance, we may judge from two facts, each remarkable. The first—That Florence did not hesitate to follow his advice, and at once to make offer of his services, and nearly in the words of Don Dermicio himself, to the king of Spain; and the second—that when the threatened expedition of the Spaniards had filled the minds of all men with alarm, and the Privy Council in England, as well as the Lord Deputy and Council at Dublin, were agitated by doubts as to the part of the Irish coast most likely to be selected for a landing, Carewe without hesitation declared his opinion that the enemy would land at Cork, for several reasons, but the *first* of all was because this Don Dermicio had so advised it. 'Because those that had beene the greatest dealers about this invasion, in Spaine, namely, one Dermond Mac Cartie, a neere kinsman to Florence, called by the Spaniards Don Dermicio, did advise (as aforesaid) Florence by letters (which were intercepted) to surprise Cork.'

"What was the precise degree of kindred between the writer of the Spanish letter and Florence it is not easy to determine; Christian names amongst the Mac Carthys were few in number. Donal (Daniel), Cormac, Donogh, Justin, Finin (Florence), and Dermod, comprised the small baptismal circle which for centuries had circumscribed nearly all the male members of this numerous sept. At the time this letter was written there were multitudes of living Dermods, all of whom would have claimed cousinship, more or less remote, with Florence. We know by the Lambeth pedigrees, that Sir Owen MacCarthy Reagh, Florence's uncle, had two sons, one of whom, Donogh, had likewise two sons, whose Christian names are not given, but who are stated to have been 'in Spain, or with the

Arch-Duke.' These sons were Florence's cousins once removed; but, whatever his parentage, the ill-fortune of Don Dermicio attached him to the hapless expedition of Don Juan d'Aquila. His capture in the fort of Rincorran is thus related in the 'Pacata Hibernia.'

"'Of the Irish there was not a man taken that bare weapon, all of them being good guides escaped: only one, Dermod Mac Cartie, by them called Don Dermicio, was taken, who was then a pensioner to the King of Spaine, and heretofore a servant to Florence Mac Cartie.'

"Without loss of time Don Dermicio was examined, and the history of the Spanish letter, and other matters, was extracted from him, but nothing whatever, not a single syllable that Carewe, under the urgency of Sir Robert Cecyll, in search of proofs of the disloyalty of Florence, could find worthy to report to England.

"'*Nov.* 8, 1601.—CAREWE TO CECYLL.

"'In my last to your Honour, sent with these, I did somewhat touch the speeches which hath passed from Don Dermicio, and now for your better understanding I doe send you enclosed in this, his examination, his voluntary confession, and the causes of his knowledge to approve his assertion.

"'The Examination of Don Dermicio taken before the Lo: Deputy, and President, the 2nd of November, 1601.

"'He sayeth that an Irishman called Patricke Synnot (a priest serving Don Lois de Carvillo, governor of the Groyne), did write the letter from him, which in March or May, 1600, he did send unto Florence Mac Cartie. Don Dermicio, when a boy fourteen years ago, quitted Ireland.'

"All the further thought that Carewe bestowed upon Don Dermicio was but to order his execution, and make known the same to Cecyll; but his countrymen have not dismissed him so briefly and ignominiously out of memory.

"'In succeeding centuries,' writes Mons. Lainè, in his 'History of the Mac Carthys,' 'this house has produced many general officers, &c., &c., and many holy personages eminent for their piety and apostolic zeal; amongst others, Dermod Mac Carthy bishop of Cork,[1] who in the reign of

[1] In the pedigree of the Mac Carthys of Muskerry at Lambeth, Carewe MSS., vol. 626, fols. 6, 7, occurs the following note:—

"In this yeare, 1615, Donal Mac Carthy, a neere kinsman to Cormac M'Dermod, is made by the Pope Bishop of Cork, Rosse, and Cloyne. Quære whether he is not one of his uncle's sonnes?"

By the same pedigree, we learn that Sir Cormac M'Dermod xvith Lord of Muskerry had four uncles (paternal):—1st. "Cormac, Tanist to his brother Sir Dermod, the xiiith Lo: of M: and after him xivth Lo: of M." 2nd. "Callaghan, Tanist to Sir Cormac: he was xvth Lo: of the country of Muskerry one whole year, and by a composition for a portion of land did render the same to his nephew Cormac M'Dermod." 3rd. Owen. 4th. Donal, who, by his wife Ellen, daughter to Teig M'Dermod Cartie of Coshmange, had four sons, that is—"Teig, a captain with the Arch-Duke in the low countries." Donagh, Owen, *Dermod*. If it be permitted to hazard a guess in reply to the query of the pedigree, we would point to this Dermod, son of Donal, "one of Sir Cormac M'Dermod's uncle's sons," as the Bishop of Cork, Ross, and Cloyne. The Pedigree calls the Bishop *Donal:* Mons. Lainè calls him *Dermod*. If his name were really Donal he was *not* "one of Sir Cormac's uncle's sons:" for none of his uncles had a son of that name: if Mons. Lainè was right, the Bishop may well have been Dermod (not Donal, as the pedigree has it, but son of Donal), "one of the sons of Sir Cormac M'Dermod's uncles."

Elizabeth, laboured during twenty years to maintain the faith in his diocese. And at the same time, another Dermod, a Priest only, who arrived at the crown of Martyrdom,' and he adds in a note, 'The charity of this worthy Priest had caused him to attach himself to the national troops, whom he accompanied in their battles to administer spiritual consolations to the wounded. Taken prisoner by the English, he was conducted to Cork, where he was offered not his life only and liberty, but liberal recompense if he would consent to embrace the reformed faith. The aspect of a frightful death failed to terrify Dermod; he rejected the offer to perjure himself, and chose to die for the faith he had always professed. He was tied to the tail of a fiery horse, dragged through the city, and finally hanged; he was cut into quarters, his bowels were torn out, and his members exposed in public places.'

"For this frightful narrative Mons^{r}. Lainè quotes the authority of the Abbè M'Geoghegan's 'History of Ireland,' Tome III., p. 614. Although it is very probable that Sir George Carewe may have been willing to apply a portion of Her Majesty's treasure to purchase the spiritual profit of any relation of Florence Mac Carthy, or indeed of any Irishman, this story of the manner of Don Dermicio's execution is not in accord with the known humanity of character of the Lord President."

"*A Spanishe Letter from* Don Dermucio Cartie *to* Florence Mac Cartie. 1600." [*thus endorsed in the handwriting of Sir Robert Cecyll.*] *Lambeth. Carewe MSS. Tome* 605.

"Mucha alegria tomé con la buena nueva de V. Señoria, quando me dixeron que abia desembarcado en Corca a 15 de Diciembre proximo passado, despues de aber passado tantos travayos en los onze años que estuvo preso en Ynglatierra, siendo tres años dellos en la Torre de Londres que no pudó casi levantarse en pie, ny consentido a ningun conosido suyo visitar le. Tomando por achaque occasa desto el aberse V. S. casado con la hyja del Conde de Belensen, sin licencia de la Reyna y, aunque dizian que esto era la causa, yo sé al contrario; y lo supé, y pasó en la manera siguiente. Una caravella de la Mag^{d}. del Rey Catolico estando en esa costa encontró con una pinassa di Aviso, que de Yrlanda yva á Ynglatierra; habia en se mas çontreinta Españoles, y Ytalianos á ser justiciados; y sucedio que la caravella tomô al Yngles, y la trayó á este Reyno. Y en esta yo vy las cartas dé aviso que el Visorey embiava: y particularmente he visto una carta que el Tesorero de Yrlanda embiava á la Reyna, qual hablava solamente de V. S^{a}. diziendo que como tenia tantos Señores vassallos suyos poderosos, y ser V. S^{a}. bien aparentado, onde relatava los nombres de cada uno dellos; y tener V. S. sus tierras en la parte de Yrlanda mas sercana á España, y aver ydo sus antecessores della, por cuya causa, y ser tan aficionado a esta Nacion, y aver prendido lengua della, sin salir de su tierra, la Reyna no tendria seguro Yrlanda si V. S^{a}, tendria liberta; que le haria guerra, y procureria que Españoles la suyetasen, y que por evitar los muchos deservicios que á la Reyna podrian resultar, seria bien que V. S^{a}. fuese llevado preso a Ynglaitierra, por asegurarse en este caso: y esto es [segun?] que disia [dijo?] aquella relacion, y presto es la causa porque V. S^{a}. a onze años que esta fueso, y no como ellos dizen por aber casado sin licencia dela Reyna: y la causa porque agora libertaron a V. S^{a}. es que

como veen que su hermano, deudos, vasallos, estan en ayuda de los Catolicos, haziendo la guerra, y como la Reyna ve que su negocio va al contrario de su deséo en Yrlanda, usa de clemencia en libertar a V. S^{a}, dando le posesion de sus estados para que la sirva. Pero y á V. S^{a}. con razon estaba escarmentado de los travayos que a onze años de prision pasó en Ynglitierra, será le muy necessario guardarse, y non se fiar de Yngles; si otra ves le toman entre manos yamas le solteran; y pues agora está con libertad en su patria, entre sus vasallos y parientes, y le aconseyo que agora diese prueba de si y de la esperanza que siempre prevaleció de su persona, en que se aventaye en essa guerra de los Catolicos, pues lo puede hazer muy a salvo: sey sierto que no ay para que encargo esto a V. S^{a}. que de suyo tendra el quidado, y asi podra avisar ala Mag^{d}. del Rey Catolico su deseo, y el servicio que le puede hacer, las villas y lugares que le puede entregar, y el numero de la gente de guerra que tiene, biensi que V. S^{a}. quiere pued tomar la ciudad di Corka, y avisando largamente a su Mag^{d}. será V. S. ayudado. Podra encaminar sus cartas al Señor Don Diego Brochero Almyrante Reall de la Armada de su Mag^{d}., persona que quiere mucho a los de nr̃a nacion, y que con el Rey puede mucho; y veniendo las cartas, y recandos de V. S^{a}. a sus manos vendran bien encaminados, y gran meyor dispechados, y por este camino me podra escribir para que yo solicite su negocio: y todo se avra bien, que de acá en tres dias se puede avisar a V. S^{a}., lo qual no se puede hazer sin mas dilacion a los Señores O'Neill y O'Donnel, avitando la parte del Norte dc ese Reyno; y me parece que por meyor seguridad V. S^{a}. embie sus cartas al Sen^{r}. O'Neill dirigidas, como digo, al Almyrante Real, que el las encaminara a este Reyno; y si V. S^{a}. no quisiere escribir por esta via, por mayor seguridad que quiere que Yo vaya a Yrlanda, sobre ello avise dello al Señor Don Diego, que el me embiera allá; pues V. S^{a}. sabe que Yo so bien essa costa de sus tierras, y con esto no me alargo. Nr̃o Señor guarde y acresiente en mayor estado a V. S^{a}. como deseo.

"Della Coruña el dia nueve de Marzo de 1600 an.

"Su Primo de V. S^{a}. que sus manos besa, &c., &c., y^{mo}. A mi Señora la Condessa embio mis encomiendas,

"Don Dermicio Cary.

"Nr̃o pariente Don Carlos Macary ha sido Cap^{o}. de una compania de Yrlandeses los quales por sierta disgracia que hizieron, que seria larga de escribir, le quitaron la compania; el fué a la Corte, y no se que sera del; el S^{or}. Almyrante escribió a su favor, que acá no tiene mayor amigo salvo a Don Juan; di aquel unque al presente no tiene mando que tenia. Confio que se librara, bien que el no tubo culpa de lo que hizieron los soldados, los quales eran tan dissolutos, y tan mal inclinados que mas no podrian ser: y el Captitan disimulaba mucho con ellos, sin castigarlos, contra mi voluntad, y a si retornaron disobedientes de suerte que infamaron la Nacion; en esto no me alargo, a que se a casado contra mi voluntad no como deviéra, sino como se le antoyo; y á largo tiempo estaba mal con el por hazer casamiento. Yo sirbo en la compania del Cap^{n}. Diego Costella, y porque podria ser no estaria aqui quando vendrian sus cartas de V^{a}. S^{a}. ponga el sobre escrito en 'sta forma—'A Don Dermicio Cary Yrlandes, en la compañia del Capitan Diego Costella, &c.' La causa porque yo no procuro yr a Ultonia es que espéro que su Mag^{d}. embiara Armada este verano a Yrlanda, y sera a Momonia, onde son V^{a}. S^{a}. y los de mas mis parientes

y deudos, onde yo los pueda serbir, pero si acaso este nño no vaya ala Armada Y procurero licencia, y ara yr me allá siquiera no quiero estar mas tiempo en estos Reynos. V^a. S^a. se sirba di comendar me a mi Señora Madre, y que no este mal comigo por no estar como los de mas mis hermanos. Estoy aqui en servicio del Rey Catolico de quien espero mucho merced, que aunque ellos estan bien, confio que de Su Reall mano estaré mas aventaydo

" Vño con todos," &c.

TRANSLATION.

I received with much joy the good news that your Lordship[1] had disembarked at Cork, on the 15th of December last, after having endured

[1] *Lordship* — The stately courtesy of the Spanish language not permitting the homely usage of addressing all men alike, or speaking to a nobleman, or indeed to any man, as one might to a drove of contumacious pigs, the words *you* and *your*, which, in the language we are now using, are thought sufficient for all the descendants of Adam, and of all the creatures that came out of the ark, are not admitted into polite Spanish conversation or correspondence. For ordinary mortals the terms "Vuestra Merced," or "Usted," for a single person, "Vuestras Mercedes," or "Ustedes" for several, represented by the initials V^m. or V^ms. are used as indispensable titles of politeness; but for personages better born, or by position exalted above the crowd, the words "Vuestra Sẽnoria," represented by the symbols V^a. S^a. are repeated as often as such person is addressed. The writer of the "Pacata Hibernia" was aware of this, and when translating Don Dermicio's letter, used, even to Florence, the style of "your Lordship:" the present translator can find no term more appropriate. The position of Florence as Mac Carthy Mor, or chieftain of his entire sept, was never fully appreciated or understood by the English Authorities; had he been, as his predecessor, an Earl, they would have had no difficulty as to their manner of addressing him, when in favour, or out of it. Had he been, as the foremost of his subordinate chieftains were, prescriptively knights, by tenour of their dignity, they would not have hesitated thus to address him. In their embarrassment, unwilling to countenance his true title, and unwilling to fall into the absurdity of calling him Mr., they knew no other way to speak of him than by his Christian name, and so constantly was this name before the public and the Privy Council, that he stands apart from the men of his age as one with whom all the world, friend and foe, were alike familiar. In the letters written to Florence by James Fitz-Thomas, the "Sugaun" Earl of Desmond—using Norman, not Milesian style—he is addressed as "My verie good Lord;" and the writer signs himself, "Your assured friend and cousin." A letter from the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin has placed on record something more than a stately address; for that Prelate "calls God to witness that after his arrival in Ireland, having knowledge of your Lordship's valour and learning, I had an extreme desire to see, communicate, and confer with so principal a personage." Of Florence's learning Carewe makes nowhere any mention, nor does Cecyll; on the contrary one of them called him a fool, and the other an idiot; but this was because he had allowed himself to imagine that "the Queen's sacred word solemnly and advisably given," and "The Lord President's Protection, given in Her Majesty's name, for his freedom," would have kept him out of Carewe's hands, or would have sufficed to procure his liberation when exhibited to the Privy Council. But his letter written to Lord Thomond from the Tower sufficiently proves that he *was* learned, at least in the history of his own country. These phrases of foreign politeness may have been pleasing to Florence, who met with not much of it from his English acquaintances; but historically they are not of much importance. How our Irish chieftains were usually addressed by all men who admitted their real position may be matter of more interest. In the rolls of the early Norman Sovereigns, when Irish kingly titles were still fresh in remembrance, this title was ungrudgingly given to the representatives of those who had formerly borne it. This writer is indebted to the kindness of Mr. T. G. Macartney of Lissanourne Castle, M. R. I. A., for the following instance of the application of this title to our Irish chieftains as late as the reign of Edward

so many sufferings in the eleven years of your imprisonment in England, three of these years having been spent in the Tower of London, in a cell in which it was barely possible to stand erect[1], and where no acquaintance was permitted to visit you, the reason assigned for this treatment being

II. This monarch preparing for his invasion of Scotland, sent his royal letters into Ireland, to various of our chieftains to crave assistance.

"T. Rymeri Fœdera Acta," Tom. I., pp. 426, 427.

"Littera Donnaldo Regi de Terah: pro succursu ejus contra Regem Scotiæ."

"Rex Donnaldo Regi de Terchernall salutem," &c.

"Eodem modo scribitur Felminio quondam filio Regis, &c., O'raly, &c., Mackartan. Offlen Regi de Turtari, &c. Cormac Lethan Macarthy de Desmonia," &c.

As time passed on, the kingly title ceased to be used towards Irish chieftains both by English and Irish. In October, 1535, O'Brien writing to King Henry VIII., says:—"I, Conoughoure, O'Bryan called Prince of Thomon," and he signs himself "Conohwyr O'Bryen, Prince of Thomone." In the same reign, we find O'Neill officially styled "Nobilis et præpotens Vir." King Henry VIII. addressing the Earl of Surrey, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, writes "Right trustie and well beloved cousin." And the same monarch honouring Hugh O'Donel with his royal letters makes use of phrases scarcely different, "Right Trustie and well beloved." As O'Donel was certainly not a nobler or greater personage than O'Conor, nor O'Conor than O'Neill, nor O'Neill than O'Brien, nor O'Brien than Mac Carthy Mor, this, we may presume, to have been the address which that Sovereign would have used to each of our higher Irish chieftains.

The terms of address used by the heads of the great septs one towards another were clearly enough defined, as was also each one's mode of signature. They assumed the exclusive possession of the sept name, which no other than a chieftain presumed to use without his Christian name preceding it. No one knew this better than O'Neil, who, though an English Earl, ventured all risks, and assumed it.

"Meanwhile," says Camden, "the Earl of Tiroen watching his opportunity, Turlogh Leinigh being dead, who last bare the title of O'Neal, assumed the said title to himself (in comparison whereof the very title of Cæsar is contemptible in Ireland), contrary to what he had sworn, and which was prohibited by a Statute that made it Treason."

And Sir George Carewe, by a felicitous coincidence of thought, or taking friendly loan of the expression of Camden, wrote that "Tirone thirsted to be called O'Neil, which in his estimation was more gratifying than to be entituled Cæsar."

In their letters to Florence, both O'Neil and O'Donel address him merely as "Mac Carthy," or "Mac Carthy Mor," a title, says Dr. Petrie, "which was applied to the chief of the senior branch of the MacCarthys, to distinguish him from the chief of another branch who was called Mac Carthy Reagh, and was not so applied until after the time of Cormac Finn, King of Desmond, who died in the year, 1215." —"Round Towers of Ireland." "Our hearty commendation to you, Mac Carthy Mor," &c. They knew the exact purport of these words; the use of any others would have been received, and could have been intended only as a denial of his right to the chieftainship of his sept.

[1] *Stand erect.*—Amongst many contrivances in the Tower of London, for eliciting testimony from reluctant speakers, was an instrument, the use of which was rarely attended with unsuccess; it was a cage or chamber into which the body of a man of ordinary stature, and with ordinary pliancy of limb, could be made to enter. Once there, the space allowed him but little variety of posture; he could neither stand erect nor lie at length. The reader might suppose from the above passage in the letter of Don Dermicio, that his cousin had been made to pass a portion of his imprisonment in such a chamber; had it been so, the reader may judge of the effect of such an experiment upon the body of this Irish chieftain, who is recorded to have been "taller by the head and shoulders than other men;" but in reality, whatever may have given occasion to the expression of Don Dermicio, we have no sufficient reason for believing that Florence was ever subjected to any such torture; for we have the assurance of Sir Robert Cecyll, "that it was not likely Her Majesty would proceed vigorously against him;" and, although Florence, in numerous passages of his petitions to the Privy Council, makes us

because your Lordship had espoused the daughter of the Earl of Belensen[1] without license from Her Majesty. Such was the cause alleged, but I

acquainted with much that was unpleasant in Tower life, we find nowhere any complaint of this nature. In the remarkable letter to the Earl of Thomond, written from the Tower in the ninth year of his captivity, he wrote of "the languishing torture of this close prison, where, since my commitment, I have bene threese tossed without any matter to charge me withal." And to Sir Edward Conway in 1625 from the Gate-house, "I am here kept in a *little narrow close room* without sight of the air, where my life, that am above seventy years of age, after my long restraynt is much endangered." It was not till twenty-four years after Don Dermicio was turned to dust that Florence penned this description of the close prison into which he was again tossed; and it is rather of the want of air and light that he complains than of want of space for the extension of his limbs. But the man whose lot it was to be *close prisoner* in the Tower of London needed no machinery for the compression of his frame to make his life one of languishing torture! What *close* imprisonment was we are informed by Mr. Simpson, who, in his admirable 'Life of Father Campion,' has collected from the State Papers the regulations to be observed with regard to close prisoners.

"All their windows," this author informs us, "were blocked up, and light and air conveyed to them by a "slope-tunnel" slanting upwards, so that nothing might be seen but the sky, glazed or latticed at the top, so that nothing might be thrown in or out: closed also at the bottom with casement made fast, and not to open, save if need were, one diamond pane with its leaden quarrel, and these openings were to be daily examined, to see whether any glass was broken, or board removed, and especially whether any of the pieces of lead with which the glass was tied, were taken away to write with. No one was allowed to pass by the Tower-Wharf without cause, and watchmen were on the look out to observe whether any of the passengers made any stay, or cast his eyes up to the prison windows; the like watch was also kept on passengers by Tower-Hill. The Lieutenant himself was always to be present when a keeper held communication with a close prisoner, and the key of his cell was always to be in the Lieutenant's own custody. Any servant kept by such a prisoner was subject to the same regulations as his master; every thing sent to him was to be searched, his clothes examined, pies opened, bread cut across, and bottles decanted. The strictest rules were made about admitting strangers, and every keeper and servant in the place was bound by oath to carry no message."—S. P. O. Dom. 1584 April, No. 241.

[1] *Earl of Belensen.* Evidently Valencia; a title of the Earl of Clancar, who was also Baron Valencia. B in Spanish has occasionally, before a vowel, the force of English V. Philip O'Sullevan Bear, writing of MacCarthy Mor, styles him Domhnaldus MacCarrha Clancarrhæ Princeps, atque Belinsiæ Comes: but we are less prepared to find official personages writing not in Spanish or in Latin, but English dispatches, applying the same term to the son of the Earl of Clancar. In May, 1580, Lord Deputy Pelham wrote to the Commissioners of Cork a letter, which, as it tends to illustrate more things, and greater things than the meaning of the word used by Don Dermicio, we lay before the reader:

Pelham to the Commissioners at Cork, May 17, 1580. Carewe MSS.

"Having sent to Cork, of purpose, a sufficient convoy of horsemen, and appointed certain bands of footmen to remain near the Great Water for the safe conduction hither of the Baron of Valentia, or Balinche, son to the Earl of Clancartie, remaining there (as I suppose) in the custody of you, Mr. Meaughe, second Justice of Munster, these be as well to require you Sir Warham Sentleger, Knight, as you the Justice Meaughe, and also the Mayor and officers of that city (if the case so require), to deliver the body of the said young Lord to the hands of Captain Warham Sentleger, Provost Marshal of Munster, to be by him presently brought and delivered to us. Limerick 17 May, 1580." Signed. Contemp. Copy, p. ¾.

What the Lord Deputy contemplated as likely he should have to do with this child (then probably about six or seven years old) we learn from another letter written by him three days later to Walsingham.

Pelham to Walsingham, May 20, 1580. Carewe MSS.

"Those who were with me in this assembly are not disposed to serve Her Majesty. There is such a settled hatred of English Government, that the best disposed of the

know the real reason to have been far different, I learned it in the manner following :—A caravel of His Catholic Majesty cruising on the Irish coast fell in with a despatch boat, on board of which were some thirty Italians and Spaniards on their way to England for execution.[1] The English pinnace was captured and brought to this country; I myself saw the dispatch from the Viceroy (Lord Deputy), and especially a certain letter from the Irish Treasurer to the Queen. This letter was solely concerning your Lordship. It stated that as you had so many powerful gentlemen your vassals, and as your Lordship was so nobly allied—and the letter enumerated and mentioned them each by name—that as your country lay most tending towards Spain, and your ancestors having come out from that country, for these reasons, and because you were so fervently affected towards this nation, and had acquired its language without leaving your own country, the Queen could never hold Ireland safely as long as your Lordshship had your liberty; for that you would be ever at war with her, and eventually cause the Spaniards to subject the land; and to avoid the many evils that must result to Her Majesty, it would be well that your Lordship were taken and sent prisoner to England. This is the literal matter of that dispatch; and this is the true reason of your Lordship's eleven years of imprisonment; and not, as they pretend, because of your Lordship's marriage without royal permission: And the reason why you are now set at liberty is, that, as they see your brother, your kindred, and vassals are all in arms to aid the Catholics, and as the Queen sees that all her affairs in Ireland are going contrary to her wishes, she uses clemency towards your Lordship, setting you at liberty, and restoring your estates, to induce you to serve her. After the experience your Lordship has had of the sufferings of eleven years in an English prison, you will

Irish do make profit of the time to recover their accustomed captainries and extortions.

"Should the Earl of Clancartie revolt, his country is a place of such strength as will protract the war to more length; which treachery can be no way *requited* but with the execution of his son."

No wonder that before much longer we find a Lord Deputy reporting to the same Minister "the young Lord Valentia's most undutiful departure into France."

[1] *For execution.*—The dispatches thus intercepted, and very accurately abstracted, and translated into Spanish for Florence's information, were those penned by Sir Warham St. Leger in May, 1588, on occasion of Florence's marriage, and doubtless not sent away till the seas were supposed to be clear of Spanish ships. Of the circumstance thus incidentally revealed to us of the capture of one of H.M.'s pinnaces bearing dispatches, and conveying some thirty Italians and Spaniards to England to be "justiciados," dealt with according to justice—executed—we have no other record than this; nor can we be quite certain what fate awaited, in Spain, the English sailors thus having to change places with their prisoners. We may conjecture that these Spaniards and Italians were miserable waifs from the wrecked ships of the Great Armada; and when we remember the hospitality these wretched men, cast away on the coasts of Ireland, received from the Lord Deputy, who, Camden informs us, "fearing lest they should join with the Irish rebels, and seeing that Bingham, Governor of Connaught, whom he had once or twice commanded to show rigour towards them (in deditios saevire) as they yielded themselves, had refused to doe it, sent Fowl, Deputy Marshal, who drew them out of their lurking holes, and hiding places, and beheaded about two hundred of them. This carnage the Queen condemned from her heart as savouring of too great cruelty. Herewith, the rest being terrified, sick and starved as they were they committed themselves to the sea in their broken and tattered vessels, and were many of them

surely never trust these English again! If once more you fall into their hands be assured they will never let you out of them again.[1] And now that you are once more at liberty, in your own country, and amidst your own relatives and vassals, I advise you at once to give earnest of your resolution, and of the hope that has ever been entertained of your Lordship's person, by entering into the Catholic war, which you can do with great safety: be assured that in recommending this I have at heart but your Lordship's security. You will do well to make known to His Catholic Majesty the towns and fortresses which you can secure for him, the number of the forces you have under arms, and that your Lordship can, when you wish it, secure the city of Cork; advising at large His Majesty of all things, you will be amply assisted.[2] Your Lordship may send your letters to the care of Don Diego Brochero[3] admiral of the fleet of His Majesty, a person who is much attached to our nation, and who has much influence with the king; and your letters reaching him will be sent on with the greater speed; and by this means you can write your commands to me, that I may further in all ways your Lordship's wishes. By this course we shall be able to communicate with you within space of three days, which cannot be done with the Lords O'Neill and O'Donel, living so far away in the North of Ireland. It seems to me, even, that you can more securely communicate with O'Neill by the means I have pointed out, by your directing your letters for him to the care of the Admiral, who will forward them to him. But if your Lordship should not like to write in this manner, but would prefer that I should myself come to Ireland, make your wish known to the Admiral Don Diego, and he will send me to you. Your Lordship

swallowed up of the waves." When we remember this, it is but too easy to predict what would be the nature of the reception of these poor English sailors in Spain, and it is impossible to suppress the regret that the Lord Deputy and Deputy Marshal Fowl were not there to protest against any severity, should any be intended.

[1] *Out of them again.*—Vain alike foreboding and warning! and lost even the lesson which the writer might himself have learned from his own words! Florence did, as he was warned, take the utmost precautions for his freedom that could be taken amongst civilized men.—"the Queen's word solemnly and advisedly given," "the Lord President's Protection," and similar trumpery; but he was fated to fall again into English hands, and although his life was prolonged nearly forty years after his capture, the words of Don Dermicio held true to the last day of his existence: he never did again escape them.

[2] *Assisted.*—If a certain letter seized by Carewe, when Florence's houses were searched, which purports to have been written to the King of Spain by Mac Donogh Mac Carthy, who is called Florence's agent, be genuine, it is evident that the advice of Don Dermicio was quickly acted upon. The writer of the letter says:—

"Having received direction from the Earle of Clan-Care, I would not omit this opportunity at the departure of the Archbishop of Dublin, and Don Martin de la Cerda, to make knowen to your Majestie, how the said Earle hath written to your Majestie by two or three wayes; but understanding that these letters came not to your Royall hands, he hath now againe written by me to your Majestie, making offer, as well of his person and lands, as of his vassals and subjects, to your Royale service." &c.—"Pac Hib."

[3] *Don Brochero.*—Don Brochero was the Spanish Admiral who conveyed the force under Don Juan D'Aquila to Kinsale in 1601. He appears to have been very impatient to quit our Irish shores; for we read in Stafford's Narrative, that when Don Juan requested his help to land the stores, "he answered that he could not attend to this, or disimbarque the biskets which came in the bulke, which were there; but to returne presently; and so with great haste caused the munitions to be landed, which they left upon the shore

knows that I am well acquainted with your coasts, I do not, therefore, enlarge upon this matter. May our Lord protect you, and prosper you in your estate, as I could wish. From Coruña, this ninth day of March, 1600.

From your Lordship's cousin, who kisses your hands, &c. To My Lady the Countess I desire my salutation, &c.

DON DERMICIO CARY.

Our relative Don Carlos[1] Macary has been Captain of a Company of our countrymen, who have lately so misbehaved themselves—it would be too long a story to enter upon it now—that his company has been taken from him. He has been to the Court; but I know not what is likely to be the result. The Lord Admiral, than whom he has no greater friend in this country, save perhaps Don Juan, has written in his favour; but up to the present he has not recovered the Command he had. I trust he will be restored to favour, for he was not in fault, in what the soldiers did. They have been so ill disposed, and ill conducted, that nothing could exceed it. The Captain, much to my displeasure, temporized with them, and would not punish them, and the consequence was, they became so disobedient as to be a disgrace to their country; but I will say no more upon this subject. I have been, besides, for some time much displeased with him on account of his marriage a marriage which he has chosen to make, following his own caprice, and by no means such as he should have made. I am serving in the company of Captain Diego Costella, and as it might happen that I should not be here when the letters of your Lordship come, I pray you to address them in manner following:—*To* DON DERMICIO CARY, *Irishman, in the company of Captain Diego Costella, &c.* The reason of my not procuring permission to go into Ulster, is that I am in hopes His Majesty will be sending the Expedition this summer into Ireland, and it will certainly be directed into Munster, where your Lordship, and most of my kinsmen and connexions are; and where I may the best serve them. But should our Company not be sent, I will procure permission myself to go, for I do not wish to stay longer in this country. Your Lordship will do me a favour in commending me to my Lady, my mother, and requesting her not to be displeased with me for not being in a like position to that of my brothers. I am here in the service of His Catholic Majesty, from whom I trust to derive much advantage, so that although they are in good position, I trust, through his royal beneficence, to be in even better.

With all respect, &c.

without account or reason; and such was the haste that in the durt and ooes of the shore, they were ill-handled and wet, as if the enemy had beene already playing with their artillery on their ships."

[1] *Don Carlos.*—He was one of five brothers who all attached themselves to the Spanish Expedition. His company must have been speedily restored to him, as he went in command of it to Kinsale, where, at least more fortunate than his kinsman the writer of this letter, he met with a soldier's death in action. His brothers—1. Donal Moyle M'Encssis (Dermod Moyle Mac Carthy), Florence's brother's man; 2. Owen Mac Donogh Mac Finnin Cartie of Currowrane; 3. Donel Oge Mac Donel Cartie; 4. Finnin Oge Cartie, appear on "the list of those who shipped themselves for Spain, from Kinsale, with Don Juan D'Aquila in 1601," after the capitulation

The precise duration of the captivity—that is, of the life of Florence Mac Carthy—had escaped much diligent investigation of this writer; he is indebted to the very patient and more successful research of Sir John Maclean, one of our ablest genealogists, for the discovery, at last, of what there can be little doubt is the registry of the place, and date of his burial.

"In the burial register of St. Martin's-in-the-fields," writes Sir John, "occurs the following entry:—

'Makarkey.
'Dec'. 18th, 1640.
'D^{nus}. Hibernicus.'

This can, I think, be no other Irish Lord than Florence."

The subjoined Transcript of the Foundation Charter of Dunbrody Abbey, with a translation and notes by J. H. Glascott, J. P., was contributed by the Rev. John Dunne, P. P., Horetown, Co. Wexford :—

"*Monasterium B. Mariae de Dunbrothy, Alias de Portu S. Mariæ, in comitatu Wexfordiæ (cella de Bildewas in Anglia, carta fundationis ejusdem.*

"Sciant omnes Sanctae matris Ecclesiae filii, tam moderni quam futuri, Quod ego Herveius de Monte Marisco Marescallus domini Regis de Hiberniâ, et Senescallus de totâ terrâ Richardi Comitis, dedi et concessi, et hac meâ praesente Cartâ confirmavi, Deo, et S. Mariae, et S. Benedicto et Monachis de Bildewas in puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro salute animae meae, et Henrici Regis, et Richardi comitis, et uxoris meae' et antecessorum meorum, ad Abbatiam construendam de ordine Cistertii, has terras cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, in bosco et plano et aquâ; Scil. Ardfithen et Crosgormos, et cum plano nemus ibi per fluctum, et sic sursum, per aquam quae vocatur Kempul, usque ad quendam torrentem qui venit ab australi parte et cadet in Kempul ad Malpas per viam quae vadit ad Theachmun, Has vero terras cum praedictis terris dedi et concessi; Scil., Colatrum, et Cusduff, et Roidern, et Coilan, et Urbegan, et Lesculenan, et Urgoneran, et Kuillefkerd, et Balligone, et sic per torrentem qui est in oriente de Balligone, et in occidente de Drumculip, ut sit ille torrens terminus terrae illorum ibi, sicut ipse torrens descendit ad aquam de Banne, et inde publica via quae vadit de eâdam aquâ, per extra nemas usque ad Balliffroge, terminus est terrae illorum inter eos et negros monachos, ita ut planum quod est inter viam et nemus et ipsorum nemus, in parte illorum sit, et planum ex alterâ parte viae sit nigrorum monachorum, Dedi etiam in Dunmesharan et Dunbrodik cum omnibus pertinentibus suis, et duas caracutas terrae in insulâ ex australi parte, et quatuor neilandos proximos ipsi terrae, cum piscariis. Volo igitur, et stabiliter confirmo quod praedicti monachi praedictae Abbatiae teneant et possideant praedictas terras plenarie, sine aliquo retenemento, in bosco, in plano, in aquis, per terminos suos in terrâ, in mare, in salinis, in piscariis, in piscaturis, in stagnis, et locis,.et molendinis, in pratis et pascuis, in viis et semitis, et in omnibus aliis rebus pertinentibus ad praedictas terras, libere et quiete ab omne seculare servitio et exactione, et a tolneo per fora mea, et materiam

lignorum ad domos suas per omnia nemora mea habeant, et curiam suam. Et si Malefactor ad eois confugerit, pacem habeat dum fuerit cum eis.

"Testibus,—Josepho Episcopo de Weseford, Faelice Episcopo de Ossoria, Dominâ Nestâ, Willielmo Brun, Jordano Canonico, Richardo Presbytero, Rogero de Punfret, Helia Keting, Simone Clerico, Willielmo de ——,. Richardo filio Hay, Nicholae filio Willielmi Brun, et multis aliis."

TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING CHARTER, WITH NOTES AND EXPLANATIONS.

Be it known to all the sons of Holy Mother Church both now and hereafter, That I Hervey de Monte Marisco, Marshal of our Lord the King in Ireland, and Seneschal of all the land of Earl Richard,[1] have given and conceded, and by this my present Charter have confirmed to God, and Blessed Mary, Saint Benedict, and the Monks of Bildewas, in pure and perpetual alms, for the health of my own soul, that of King Henry, that of Earl Richard, that of my wife, and of my ancestors, for the purpose of constructing an Abbey of Cistertians, these lands with all their appurtenances, in pasture, plain, and water, that is to say Ardfithen,[2] and Crosgormos,[3] and with the plain the Grove there by the flowing water,[4] and so upwards by the water which is called Kempul,[5] as far as the same torrent which comes from the south part, and falls into Kempul at Malpas,[6] by the road which goes to Theachmun,[7] with the aforesaid lands. I have truly given and conceded these lands, that is to say Colatrum,[8] Cusduff,[9] Roidern,[10] Coilan,[11] Urbegan,[12] Lisculenan,[13] Urgoneran,[14] Kuillefkerd,[15]

[1] This was Richard de Clare, second Earl of Pembroke, the celebrated Strongbow.

[2] Ardfithen, probably the high ground to the south of the Abbey, where there is still some small planting.

[3] Crosgormos. There is no such denomination now, but from the words following it is evidently the ground on which the Abbey now stands.

[4] This was a wood stretching from where the Abbey stands down to the river on the north and over to Dunbrody Castle on the east, and which was in being when Robert Leigh wrote his MS. 1682.

[5] Now Campile.

[6] This is the stream coming along under Ballykeerogue and falling into the tide at Campile bridge. The name Malpas is not known.

[7] This is Taghmon, and the road is the old road leading over Tinnock Hill, and so on for Burkestown.

[8] Colatrum. This is now known as Killesk, on which lands is a well, known as Killestrum Well. There were no less than three churches in this district.

[9] Cusduff. This denomination is not known now, unless it be the place they call the "Black Knocks."

[10] Roidern, *alias* Boidern, now Boderan.

[11] Coilan, *alias* Coulath, now called Coole.

[12] Urbegan, an English corruption for Tirbegan. Tip, and Seilb, in Irish have the same meaning, so that Tirbegan and Shelbeggan, the name by which the townland is now known, are the same.

[13] Lisculenan. No such place known now.

[14] Urgoneran, This evidently means the district now included in the townlands, Saltmills, Nuke, Grange, Kilhill, and Ballyhack.

[15] Kuillefkerd, *alias* Kulliakard, now known as Clonard or Clonlard.

and Ballygone,[1] and so by the rushing stream which is in the east of Ballygone and in the west of Drumculip,[2] so that the same stream may be the boundary of their land, as well where the same stream descends to the water of Banne,[3] and thence the public road which goes from the same water by the edge of the Grove, as far as Ballyfroge,[4] is to be the boundary between them and the Black Monks;[5] so that the plain which is between the road and the wood, and the wood and their own wood, may be theirs on the one part, and the plain on the other part of the wood may be that of the Black Monks. I have also given Dunmesharan,[6] and Dunbrodik with all their appurtenances, and two carucates of land in the Island in the South part,[7] and four neilands next the same lands,[8] with the fisheries. Therefore I will, and steadfastly confirm that the aforesaid Monks of the aforesaid Abbey shall hold and possess the aforesaid lands fully, without any power of re-entry, in pasture, plain, and water, according to their boundaries, in land, in sea, in salt-pits[9] in fisheries, in fishing weirs, in ponds, both for lands and Gristmills, in meadows and pastures, in roads and paths, and in all other matters pertaining to the aforesaid lands, free and quit from all secular service, exaction, and toll from my markets, also they may have material of wood for their houses through all my forests, and their own Court. And if any Malefactor[10] flies to them, he may have peace while he may be with them.

These being Witnesses,—Joseph Bishop of Wexford, Felix Bishop of Ossory,[11] The Lady Nesta,[12] William Brun, Jordan the Canon, Richard the Presbyter, Roger de Punfret, Helias Keating, Simon the Clergyman, William de ———, Richard son of Hay, Nicholas son of William Brun, and many others."

The following notes on the ancient Church and Well called Toberkeelagh, on the western shore of Lough Mask were sent by Joseph Nolan, F. R. G. S. I.:—

[1] Balligone, now called Ballygow.

[2] Drumculip, now Dungulph.

[3] Banne, now Bannow. The rushing stream mentioned here is the river that runs along between Battlestown and Winningtown, and so on to the Chapel of Poulfur, and divides the Dunbrody and Ely estates.

[4] Balliffroge, now Ballyvarrig, on the Ely Estate and joining the Demesne of Tintern Abbey.

[5] These were the Monks of Tintern Abbey. They were Cistertians of the Black Order, and were established at Tintern by Fitz-Stephen, a short time before the foundation of Dunbrody Abbey.

[6] Dunmesharan. This is now called Mersheen, and is the portion of the estate on which Dunbrody Park, the residence of Lord Templemore stands.

[7] This was a small portion of land in the tide way to the south of the Great Island, and now included in the reclaimed lands of Kilmannock.

[8] This is the ground on which Kilmannock stands, and contains about fifty acres. It, with the above small portion of lands, are the fee-simple estates of F. A. Leigh, Esq., of Rosgarland, but leased by one of his ancestors to the Houghton family for 500 years, as the Lands of Kilmannock, *alias* Kilmanogue, with "the islands thereof."

[9] These were the salt pits, works, and mills, from which Saltmills townland derived its name.

[10] This was the clause or express condition in the Foundation Charter, from which Dunbrody Abbey was called the Abbey of St. Mary de Portu, or St. Mary of Refuge.

[11] Consecrated A. D. 1178. Joseph Bishop of Ferns died in 1185.

[12] The wife of Harvey de Monte Marisco and daughter of Maurice Fitz-Gerald.

"The district in which these are situated is one which, comparatively speaking, is very little known. It is nevertheless highly picturesque, and the antiquarian tourist who, with the assistance of Sir W. Wilde's admirable book,[1] has explored the eastern shores of Lough Mask, with its interesting castles and ecclesiastical ruins, cannot but be struck with the wild beauty of the majestic chain of mountains that bound the opposite shore of the lake. Among the nearer objects that engage his attention, will be the tasteful plantations about Toormakeady Lodge, the property of Major Horsfall; and at about a mile farther south, a single tree standing near the lake is a conspicuous object. At the foot of this tree is an ancient well, which is held in great veneration by the peasantry of the neighbourhood. It is called on the Ordnance Map, Toberkeelagh (the Well of St. Keelagh, or perhaps more probably Keelan). Immediately over it is a bush, on which pieces of cloth, &c., are generally hung as votive offerings; and at a few yards to the south, is a stone seat, which appears to be of ancient date. "Stations" are performed here almost every day, during the course of which it is usual to walk barefoot around the well, tree, and bush. The practice of leaving some portion of their dress, &c., on the latter appears to be a very ancient and probably an Oriental custom, for in 'Fraser's Handbook for Ireland,' at p. 64, where the author describes a similar well and bush at Ballyman, near Bray, he refers to Sir W. Ousley's 'Travels in Persia,' who says: 'we passed by an old and withered tree half covered with rags, fastened as votive offerings to the branches. I had already seen four or five near Abdni, and two or three previously in other places.' And he also says, that 'Morier in his second journey through Persia, makes mention (p. 239) of the tomb of a Persian saint and a small bush close beside it, on which were fastened various rags and shreds of garments, that it was supposed had acquired, from their vicinity to the saint, virtues peculiarly effacacious against sickness.'[2] Again he says, that 'Chardin made similar observations at Ispahan,' and that Brand and Pennant speak of a similar custom in Scotland.

"These mementoes are not always rags. Portions of their hair are frequently left; and the grey silvered locks of age will often be seen fluttering in the wind with the fair curling tress of some youthful votary.

"About a mile south of this well is a ruined church, which was probably dedicated to the same saint; and indeed there is a popular tradition, that the holy well just described was originally beside this church, but that, having been desecrated by some irreligious person, it was miraculously removed to its present place.

"The church is a rectangular building, measuring externally forty-two feet in length by twenty-two feet eight inches in width, and the walls are two feet six inches thick. Most of the eastern gable is standing; it is about twenty-four feet high. Of the rest of the church little remains but some twelve or fifteen feet of the western gable, and about the same height for

[1] "Lough Corrib its Shores and Islands, with Notices of Lough Mask."

[2] When sickness afflicts any of the peasantry in the neighbourhood of Toberkeelagh, or even their cattle, it is usual to go and pray, or perform "stations" for their recovery at the holy well. It is held in such great respect by the people, that none of them will pass by without making some reverence.

a few feet of the southern wall. The foundations of the rest can be traced. The doorway was probably in the southern wall.

"The only interesting feature in the church is the window in the east wall, which would serve to fix the date to about the middle of the fourteenth century. Externally, it measures thirty-eight inches in height by nine inches in width at the sill, lessening to eight inches at the top. There are three holes at each side, probably intended to hold horizontal bars. The semicircular head is, as usual, cut out of a single stone, and those which form the jambs are fitted with the utmost exactness. The window splays internally to a height of five feet three inches, and a width of two feet six inches.

"In the same wall on the right, and at about two feet from the present level of the ground, is a small square recess, measuring one foot in height, width, and depth. No trace of any hole was found in the under slab, it was probably not a piscina; but one of those recesses common in ancient churches known as ambreys, which appear to have been used for the keeping of sacred things.

"It is difficult to determine who was the patron saint of this church and well. As I before remarked, the name of the latter on the Ordnance map is Toberkeelagh, but I am informed by intelligent people in the district that it should be Toberkeelan. Might not this Keelan mean St. Kilian. There were two Irish saints of this name; one who was born in the seventh century, and who, being distinguished for great sanctity in his own country was consecrated bishop, and having preached the faith in Franconia, was there martyred in A. D. 689. The other St. Kilian, a relative of St. Fiacrius, preached in Artois. He also died in the seventh century, and it is mentioned that his body is kept at Aubigny, near Arras, in a priory of Canons regular which bears his name. He is honoured on the 13th November."

The subjoined notes on Ancient Settlements in West Galway were sent by G. H. Kinahan, M. R. I. A., Hon. Provincial Secretary for Connaught:—

"During the older times in different places in West Galway there seem to have been considerable Settlements, although scarcely any notice of their remains is recorded on the Ordnance Maps. Those on the Aran Islands, Galway, which apparently were unnoticed during that survey, have on a former occasion been the subject of a short paper by the Author,[1] and the subject of this notice will be some short remarks on the remains of apparently a large Settlement in the valley of Ballynakill Lough and Cleggan Bay.

"Cleggan Bay lies to the N. W. of the County Galway, and is the mainland harbour from which communication is kept up with Bofin and the neighbouring islands. In its vicinity, marked on the Ordnance Maps, are the ruins of a 'Druid's altar,' on the N. E. shore, and 'Dermot and Grania's Bed,' at Sellerna Bay, while near Ballynakill Lough are marked a 'Cromleac' and a church called 'Ballynakill Abbey.' The three first

[1] See "Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy."

of these have in a former communication to the Assocation been mentioned and their original uses suggested.[1]

"In addition to these, however, there are many other sites, none of which have been recorded; all these are more or less dismantled, while some are nearly obliterated. Besides the 'Dermot and Grania's Bed,' near Sellerna Bay, there were other structures farther S. E., especially in the neighbourhood of Courhoor Lough. They are sadly broken and destroyed; one only being now in a tolerable state of preservation. This appears to have been a double *Fosleac*,[2] about thirty feet long and ten feet wide; the north chamber being ten feet long and three feet five inches high, while the south division was about twenty feet long and four feet high. The doorway is about two feet wide and the full height of the rooms; while the upright flags are about 1·5 feet thick, and of various widths. Originally it would appear to have been covered by five large flags, 1 to 1·5 feet thick, but of these only three now remain, the others having been removed and broken up to build modern houses or fences. Of none of the other structures in this neighbourhood do there remain more than the sites, marked by a few upright stones, but apparently they were once in considerable numbers.

"Between Cleggan Bay and Ballynakill Lough, on a height near Lough Woongar, are the remains of an oval enclosure, probably a *Caher*;[3] while farther S. E., on the slope south and south-west of Ballynakill Lough, are various heaps of stone, or in a few places standing-stones, that evidently are ruins of different artificial structures—some being circular and others rectangular, some perhaps being the sites of *Clochán*s[4] and others of *Fosleacs*. None, however, are in such a state of preservation as to call for special notice; it will, therefore, only be observed, that what still exist seems due to this side of the lake having been uninhabited or cultivated for ages—it probably being a wood till about 150 years ago.

On the north of the lake are the previously mentioned Cromleac-like structure, and the ruins of Ballynakill Abbey, the latter a rectangular building, probably of the fifteenth or sixteenth century; others that may once have existed were removed to make way for the present inhabitants. At the east of the lake, there also appear to have been considerable buildings, as there still remain the foundations of different circular and oblong structures that appear to have been either small *cahers* or large *clochán*s; while for miles along this valley on nearly every height are one or more standing-stones, but on none of them were carvings of any kind detected. These standing-stones on heights are very prevalent in West Galway and Mayo, and I would suggest that originally they were placed as landmarks to point out the tracks or roads from one place to another. The present inhabitants of these counties built small carns of stones on the heights near mountain paths, also by the side of paths across flats or slopes, to guide them at night and in fogs."

The following Papers were then read:—

[1] "See "Journal" for October, 1869.

[2] A chamber built of, and roofed with, flags.

[3] A fort with a stone rampart.

[4] A circular beehive-roofed hut built of stone.

IRISH ART IN BAVARIA.

BY M. STOKES.

It must appear remarkable to the student of early Christian art, when exploring the treasures contained in the libraries and museums of different countries throughout Europe, to meet with, here and there, and in the most widely separated places, examples of a school of art showing a strange and strongly-marked character, totally differing in all vital principle from that of the works around it; and the interest is increased tenfold, when it is found that these are the relics of a number of devoted men, who came from a little island in the western ocean, preaching the Gospel of Christ among the then barbarous tribes who peopled the shores of the Danube and the wilds of Franconia; men who came barefoot and poorly clad, their whole outfit consisting of a pilgrim's staff, a leathern waterbottle, a wallet, and a case containing relics.

Thoughts such as these may have passed through the mind of M. Wattenbach, the eminent German antiquary, when he first saw, at Würzburg, the ancient illuminated copy, in Irish handwriting, of the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Latin Gospels of St. Kilian; and first traced the histories of ten out of the twelve monasteries of the Irish in Germany: those of St. James, and of St. Peter, at Regensburg; with others at Würzburg, Nürnberg, Constance, Vienna, Memmingen, Eichstadt, Erfurt and Kelheim. In an interesting essay,[1] written some years ago by this learned man, on the "Congregation of the Monasteries of the Scoti in Germany," he has described the journeyings of these Irish missionaries, who penetrated not only to Poland and Bulgaria, but to Russia and Iceland, settling down as duty or inclination prompted them; and then, after their national manner, enclosing a large space, wherein they built their huts, and in the midst of which rose the

[1] See translation of Wattenbach's Essay, with notes by the Rev. Dr. Reeves, in "Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. vii., pp. 227–295.

church, with its round tower or belfry, which also served as a place of refuge in times of need.[1]

Since the publication of this essay, M. Wattenbach has met with an illuminated copy of the Gospels, the work of this ancient Irish school, which belongs to the Princes' Library of Oettingen-Wallerstein, and which came originally from the convent of Saint Arnoul, or St. Arnulphus, a very ancient and celebrated monastery of the order of Saint Benoît (Benedict), founded about the year 600, in the town of Metz (Latin Metis), on the Moselle, in France.[2]

We may here insert the description, given by M. Wattenbach, of the Irish illuminated Gospels brought from Metz.

"ON AN ILLUMINATED GOSPEL OF IRISH ORIGIN IN THE PRINCES' LIBRARY OF OETTINGEN-WALLERSTEIN."[3]

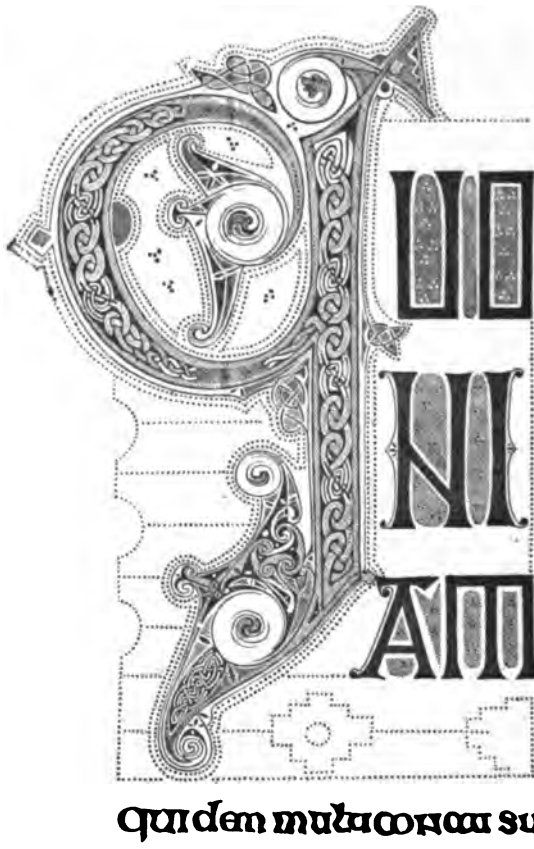
"This magnificent copy of the Gospels, belonging to the Library of the Princes of Oettingen-Wallerstein at Maihingen, which has been for some time deposited in the German Museum of Nuremburg, where I met with it, may now be added to the number of remarkably illuminated manuscripts of Irish origin, which have already been described.

"The peculiar characteristics of Irish illumination are immediately recognisable in the initial letters, Q and I, which form the headings of the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John, and which are here reproduced, such as the spirals, birds' heads, and framework of red dots. The text exhibits that beautiful round character, which, in some measure, resembles the uncial writing, but is distinguishable from it by the letters being smaller and more connected in some places, so much so even as to spoil their clearness, although the eye may be gratified by the uniformity of writing throughout the MS. The deciphering of them is rendered difficult, especially by the extreme resemblance of the letters N and R. The parchment is fine and strong, without being too white, and the ink brilliantly black. The initials present the ordinary colours—violet, green, yellow, and red, which in some places have preserved their primitive freshness. One detail, however, does not agree with the other characters of the writing, that is, the employment of gold and silver, in the favourite ornamented capitals which, though common in the writing of the Carlovingian period, was foreign to Irish illuminative art of the ninth century. But this enigma is solved on closer examination. Between the closing lines at the end of the Gospel of St. Luke: '*Expl. evang. secundum Lucam Deo grat. felic.*,' some fresh hand has intercalated the words in letters of silver: '*Explicit liber Sci. Evan-*

[1] "Zeitschrift für Christliche Archäologie und Kunst." Leip., 1856, pp. 21-49.

[2] See "Dictionnaire des Abbayes," col. 57. Abbé Migne.

[3] This essay first appeared in the "Revue Cellique," No. 1, p. 27, and was translated and printed here by permission of the Editor, M. Henri Gaidoz.



gelii secundum Lucam Deo gratias.' The title, in golden letters, '*Evangelium secundum Lucam,*' may also be the addition of a later period; and we may conclude that the gold ornament in the initials is a factitious embellishment of the Carlovingian period. Hence the manuscript may be attributed to a pre-Carlovingian epoch, say to the seventh, if not to the sixth, century.

"Whence comes this manuscript? A leaf pasted on to one of the pages refers us to the convent of St. Arnoul of Metz. The entry is as follows:—

"'The writing of the codex contained in this jewelled case is Merovingian work of the end of the sixth century in uncial characters. Another Anglo-Saxon MS. of about the same time of uncial characters also. Each MS. would, if for sale, be of great pecuniary value. This value should be upwards of 125 louis d'or for each.—Dom Maugerard, Librarian in the Monastery of St. Arnoul, Great Almoner of France, Fellow of the Royal Academy of Metz, Commissary in the Episcopal Chamber of Regulars.'

"The author of this note has, through a common enough error, called the Irish writing of the MS. 'Anglo-Saxon,' but he has correctly stated its age. The case of the book was doubtless of great value, even if it had not been, as in the instance of the other manuscript, ornamented with precious stones. However that may be, it has disappeared, and the rare MS. is now covered in simple half binding. The inscription, '*Ex libris A* (or *H*) *Gœrtler a.* 1809,' points to a more recent possessor of the manuscript. The copyist of the manuscript has given his name. On the last page, we see a lion rudely painted, above which is written, in characters probably more recent: '*Ecce leo stat super euangelium.*' Below the lion, in a framework of green lines, some verses appear, the second line of which certainly is an hexameter, and the others are meant to be such.



'*L*ux mundi laeta deus, hæc tibi celeri curs . . *U*
*A*lme potens scribsi soli famulatus et un . . . *I*
*U*t te vita fruar teque casto inveniam cult . . *U*
*R*ectaque per te, ad te ducente te gradiar ui . *A*
*E*xcelse cernis deus quæ me plurima cingun . *T*
*N*ota et ignota tuis male nata zezania sati . . . *S*
*T*u sed mihi certa salus spesque unica uita . . *E*
*I*mmeritum licet lucis facias adtingere lime . . *N*
*U*erba nam tua ualida imis me tollat avern . . *I*
*S*ola hæc misero mihi te vitam dabunt seruul *O*

'All nourishing powerful God, joyful light of the world,
To thee One and alone have I thy servant written with rapid pen,
That in my life I might enjoy thee and find thee in pure worship,
And through thee by thy guidance, I may walk in the straight path which leads to thee.
God on high thou seest how many things enchain me.
The ill-sprung tares, known and unknown, mixed with thy seed.
But to me thou art my certain salvation and only hope of life.
Thou canst make me, unworthy as I am, to reach the threshold of light,
For thy words of power shall lift me from the depths of hell.
These alone give Thee, the true Life, to me thy wretched servant.'

"The first and last letters of the lines, written in red in the manuscript, form the words '*Laurentius vivat senio.*' This is probably the name of the scribe, a name which is not Irish, and may, perhaps, be one adopted on entering the cloister.

"I leave to theologians the task of critical examination of this text of the Gospels, and will continue the description of its exterior. On the back of the first leaf, under the title, *Kanon Euangeliorum*, some verses on this canon are found commencing thus:—

Quam in primo speciosa quadriga,
Homo leo vitulus et aquila,
LXX unum per capitula,
De domino conloquuntur paria,
In secundo subsequente protinus, &c.

"On the following page, two marvellous birds are represented on a plate, or space, which contains the letters, *Evangelia veritatis* in an arrangement full of art. The reverse contains the words: '*Prologus quattuor evangeliorum bono lect. felicit,*' in large characters of pure uncial writing. The lines are alternately red and black, here and there ornamented with yellow; all the title pages are likewise written in this ancient manner. The prologue commences by a line (*plures fuisse*), ornamented in a perfectly Irish style. The text is written in two columns; the book is large quarto; each paragraph is headed with an ornamented initial. First comes a letter from St. Jerome to St. Damasus; then the *Canones evangeliorum*, in columns, as usual; and lastly, the Gospels, preceded by their summary. The Gospels themselves commence with richly ornamented initials. Before the Gospels is a page filled with geometrical designs and ornamental patterns, such as are often met with in Irish manuscripts; but the latter

are not remarkable for beauty. The text is written 'per cola et commata,' that is, to say, that, instead of punctuation, each phrase is complete in a line. If an empty space is anywhere left, it is filled up by means of red points arranged in groups of three. The quoted passages have before each of their lines, a sort of flourish, with a dot in the middle, all in red. At the close of the Fourth Gospel are the words: '*Expl. Evang. Sec. Johann. Uiue et fruere.*' And with this wish I, too, conclude.—W. WATTENBACH."

THE TASSILO CUP.—In an essay, by Franz Bock, on Ecclesiastical Vessels of the Carlovingian Period, we find that he has met with another example of the art of this school, judging from the excellent illustrations with which his work is enriched by M. Zimmerman.

This is the chalice of Kremsmünster, and bears an inscription in Latin hexameter, which fixes its date :—

TASSILO DUX FORTIS LUITPIRC VIRGA REGALIS.

M. Bock gives a detailed account of this chalice,[1] which is in the form of a large cup, with a stem wide at the bottom. It is composed of red copper, overlaid with silver work on a gold ground, or niello on a gold ground, and ornamented with red and black enamel. The inscription is in the uncial Roman letters of the eighth on ninth century. On the cup are representations of the Four Evangelists, quite the same in character as the rude representations of them in the Irish illuminated books of the seventh century. On the stem, four other figures appear which M. Bock believes to be meant for the four corresponding prophets of the Old Testament. The first figure is accompanied by the two letters I B, the second T M, the third P T, the fourth M T, all with marks of contraction over them. M. Bock offers no suggestion as to the probable meaning of these letters.

This chalice, and an illuminated codex belonging to the same school of art, which the writer informs us dates from the time of Tassilo, lead to the belief that they formed part of a complete set of furnishings for the altar, pre-

[1] Which will be found at large in "Mittheilungen der k. k. central commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale herausgebehn unter der leitung des sectionchefs der k. k. central commission Karl Freiherrn von Czoernig Redacteur Karl Weiss. IV. Jahrgang February."

sented by Tassilo at the foundation of the monastery in the eighth century.

Thassilo, or Tassilo, was the last Duke in Bavaria of the race of the Argilosinger. He fought during his minority, under Pepin the Little, afterwards king of the Franks, and in the year 757, he undertook the government of his own duchy. He afterwards married Luitberga, the daughter of Desiderius, the last king of the Lombards.

In the year 778, he began to assert his independence of the Frankish crown, and, as a first step, he named his eldest son Theodore co-regent. Charlemagne, however, succeeded in humbling him; and, in 781, the duke swore fealty to the king, and received pardon. Three years afterwards he again offended the king, who demanded his son Theodore as a hostage. This incensed him and his wife Luitberga, so that they formed a treacherous league against Charlemagne, on the discovery of which he was condemned to death for high treason. However, the king obtained his pardon, on condition of his retiring to the monastery of San Goar, when his duchy was made into a regular fief and governed by Frankish counts, into whose hands the inheritance of his whole race passed.[1]

From this, we may conclude that the time at which this chalice was presented was somewhere between the year 757, when he became duke, and shortly after which time he married Luitberga, and 781, when he was first reduced to submission by Charlemagne; or, at all events, 784, when he was obliged to retire from the dukedom. Much beautiful work had been executed in Ireland at that time. The Books of Kells and Durrow, and other illuminated manuscripts; the shrines of the Domnach Airgead and St. Moedoc; the sculptured tombstone of the abbots and celebrated men of Clonmacnois, from Columba, who died A. D. 628, to Cellach and Tuathgal, who died A. D. 735, A. D. 806, all bear witness to the skill attained in this island, before the ninth century, in the practice of the art of painting, metal-work, and sculpture.

The eighth century was the period at which so many

[1] "Conversations Lexicon," vol. xiv.; Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1868.

missionaries from Ireland visited Bavaria. They were often either scribes and artists themselves, or came accompanied by such. They not only bore with them copies of their books and reliquaries, but, when stationed in any of the Irish foundations in Bavaria, they carried on the practice of those arts they had acquired in Ireland. And so, in works thus executed, some small portion of foreign design, totally different in principle and feeling from that of Celtic art, would creep in, as in this chalice of which we now speak, where foliate design, based on the acanthus leaf, appears in one or two of the corners, forming a strong contrast to the character of the rest of the ornamental design on this chalice, and an accident which never occurs on work executed in Ireland. The conclusion, then, to be arrived at appears to be, that, about the year 760 or 770, Duke Tassilo employed some Irish artist, perhaps the companion of St. Kilian of Franconia, or Virgilius, of Saltzburg, to execute this work for the monastery at Kremsmünster.

The monastery is now one of very considerable importance. It is situated eighteen miles south of Wels, in Lower Austria, near the Danube. Another monastery in this district, that of Gottweich, was frequented by Irish missionaries in the eleventh century. Here Johannes died, who was a companion of Marianus. He came from Ulster, in Ireland, and lived as a recluse in Obermünster. In the old life of St. Altmann, founder of Gottweich, we read :— "In this venerable bishop's time, there came a priest to Mount Kotwich, by nation a Scot, in profession a monk, in conversation religious. The name he bore, which was John, signifying 'God's grace,' was in accordance with his disposition. Bishop Altmann loved this grace which was in him ; and that he might the more readily abide with him, a narrow cell was assigned him beside the church of the Blessed Mary, in which, agreeable to his wish and solicitation, he was immured." (See notes by the Rev. William Reeves, D. D., to *The Irish Monasteries of Germany*, "Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. vii. p. 243.)

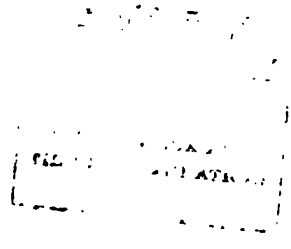
(*To be continued.*)

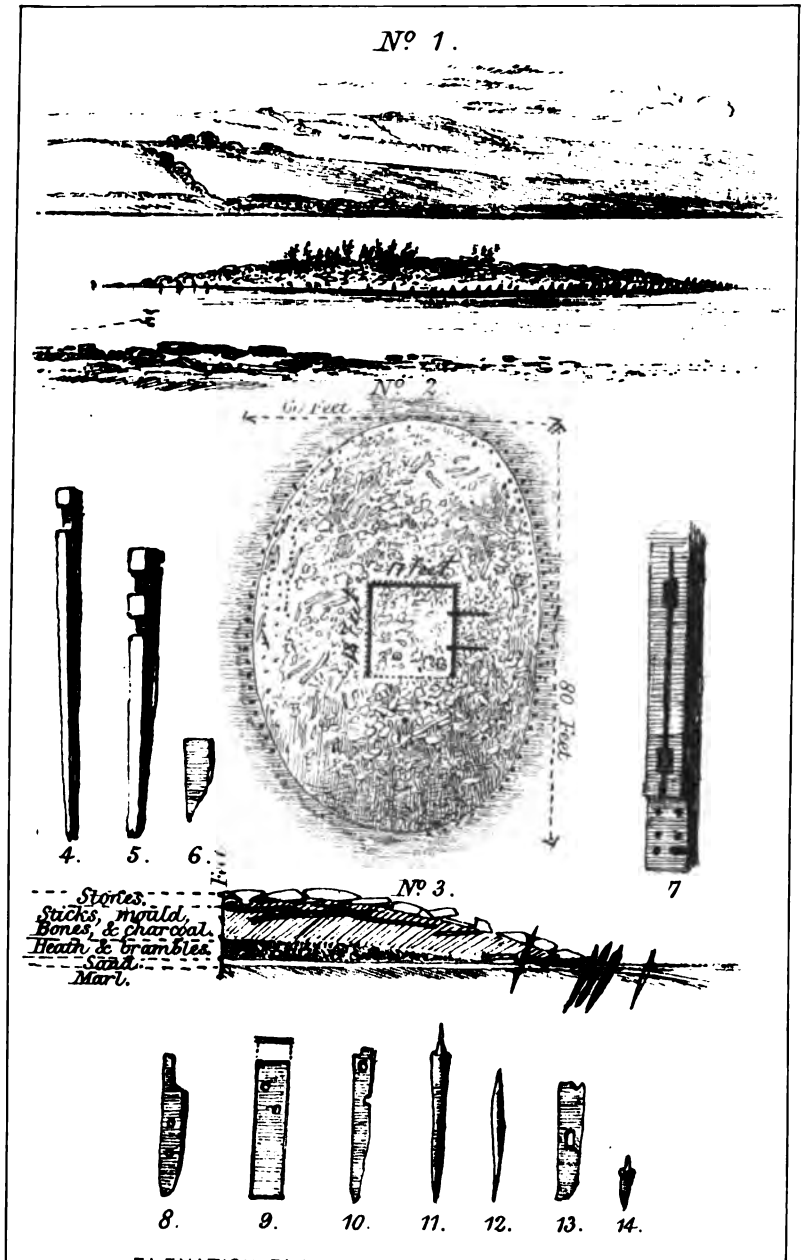
REMARKS ON THE CRANNOG AT BALLYDOOLOUGH, COUNTY OF FERMANAGH.

BY W. F. WAKEMAN, ESQ.

LATE in the month of June, 1870, I was shown by Mr. Plunkett, a respected merchant of Enniskillen (and now a member of our Association), several fragments of fictile ware, which that gentleman informed me had been picked up by himself from the shore of a small and recently exposed island in Ballydoolough. The place lies at a distance of about five English miles from Enniskillen, not far from the old road to Tempo. The area of the loch is said to be about twenty-four acres. The depth is inconsiderable, not exceeding twenty feet even in winter time. From the highest level of the shore towards the centre of the loch, as far the eye can pierce through the generally clear water, may be discerned at intervals the remains of immense trees, principally oak and pine, relics of a primeval forest, hence probably the name "*Ballydoolough*," the Place or Town of the Dark Lake.

Upon examining the fragments of pottery already referred to, I was at once impressed with their similarity to portions of earthen vessels which had been obtained in the neighbouring crannog of Drumgay, and which on a recent occasion I had the honour of exhibiting before a meeting of our Society. Feeling assured that the island spoken of by Mr. Plunkett was a veritable crannog, I arranged to visit the place, with a view of drawing and measuring such relics as might be found there. As no boat remained upon the loch, I was obliged to get one carted from Enniskillen, and great indeed was the astonishment of the people of the locality to find one morning their lonely water invaded by a strange keel. Upon examining the island, in company with Mr. Plunkett, I found it to be, perhaps, the best preserved and most instructive "Lake Habitation," hitherto noticed in Ireland. In fact, during the subsidence of the water, owing to unusual activity in the operations of a neighbouring mill, belonging to Mr. Willson, the crannog was so washed by waves that much of the timber had been





ELEVATION, PLAN, SECTION AND DETAILS OF THE
BALLYDOOLOUGH CRANNOG, Co. FERMANAGH.

W. F. Wakeman, 1870.

Photo-Lith. Whitman & Bass

laid bare. It may be here remarked that, in the memory of the oldest person residing in the townland, until the summer of 1870, the island, even in the dryest months of the year, had never shown more than a few feet of uncovered surface. Upon landing, I at once observed, lying near the centre of the enclosure, an oaken timber fifteen feet seven inches in length. This was almost entirely exposed, and had evidently formed one side of the lower framework of a dwelling-house. It was grooved from end to end, as shown in fig. 7 of the Plate which faces this page, and exhibited two holes measuring, respectively, nine inches by six, which were evidently intended to receive upright posts, to which the side boards of the structure were anciently attached. Several oaken slads grooved at the sides (see fig. 9 of Plate), were found lying about partially buried in the sand or mud. With the volunteered assistance of some friendly natives, and with the aid of one hired labourer, I caused the ground to be cleared so as to bring to light the remaining foundation of the house. My success was highly satisfactory, as but one timber of the quadrangle appeared to be missing. The framework was composed of well-squared oak, grooved, as already noticed, for the reception of planks, and morticed for the insertion of uprights. The angles were dovetailed together and fastened with wooden pins, some specimens of which I have already laid before a meeting of our Association. They are marked No. 16 amongst the articles sent to the Museum. The timber which formed the eastern foundation rested upon two blocks of dressed oak, which projected from it at a right angle to a distance of seven feet, and had, no doubt, supported a kind of porch. (See the ground plan on Plate.) This porch appears to have contained the only doorway to the building The lowest timbers of both house and porch were secured in their position by a row of oaken pegs, or small stakes, which enclosed the whole of the foundation and rested against it, on the exterior. These I have indicated in the plan by dots. Of the upper work of the house I can give no description, though several dressed boards, which had certainly formed a portion of it, still remained scattered about. These I have drawn in figures 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, and 13, in the Plate. They are all given on a scale

of one-eighth of an inch to the foot. Upon being first discovered they were well formed, and apparently tolerably sound, but, owing to exposure to the almost uninterrupted sunshine of last July and August, in some instances they have become distorted and split. The island was enclosed on every side by stakes of oak, pine, or birch, varying in length from two to six or seven feet. (See Plate, figs. 11, and 14.) The flat block (fig. 6) strengthened the south-western angle of the house. Upon the western side of the island, which was greatly exposed to the action of the waves of the loch, the stakes are most numerous, and are placed four, and at one point five deep. It would appear that, in some instances, at least, their spike-like tops were anciently mortised into holes cut for their reception in beams of oak, which were laid horizontally. Just one such beam we found undisturbed resting on the vertical spike, *in situ*. A respectable elderly man, named Coulter, who resides not far from the loch, informed me that he well recollected to have seen many of these horizontal timbers resting upon the stakes or piles. They were hardly ever uncovered, but were distinctly visible a few inches below the surface of the water. This I believe to be a feature in the construction of crannogs but seldom remarked. A very correct idea of the form and dimensions of the island and its house may be derived from an examination of the accompanying Plate. About 160 stakes are still visible.

Opposite the site of the doorway already alluded to, along the shore of the island, might be seen a considerable quantity of the bones of animals, intermixed with fragments of ancient pottery. Here was evidently the refuse heap, or "Kitchen Midden," of the hold. A selection of the bones, as well as some perfectly similar remains from the neighbouring crannog of Drumgay, were most kindly forwarded by the Earl of Enniskillen to London, for the inspection of Professor Owen. The subjoined note, which Lord Enniskillen received in reply to his communication, has been most obligingly placed at my disposal.

"My dear Lord Enniskilen,

"The box of remains from the crannog of Ballydoolah arrived this morning, and I have completed the examination of its contents. They include parts of *Bos longifrons*, *Cervus elaphus*, *Sus scrofa*, *Equus asinus*.

"I have had the teeth and portions of jaws wrapped in separate parcels including the names. All the limb bones have been fractured for the marrow. The box returns by train to-day.

"Ever your Lordship's most truly,

"RICHD. OWEN."

In reference to bones of the *Equus asinus* occurring in a crannog, it may be observed that a portion of a small iron shoe, fashioned like a horseshoe, was amongst the few metallic remains found in the refuse heap. Did the ancient Irish, like the besieged French in Paris, strengthen themselves for fighting by eating the flesh of asses, and were the animals shod? Besides the bones already mentioned were those of goats, which, however, did not come under the notice of the Professor. We have here, then, very good data for inference as to the kind of animal food used by the crannog builders. That the pieces of earthen, fire-hardened, eared vessels found with and amongst the bones were used as cooking utensils there can be little ques-

No. 1



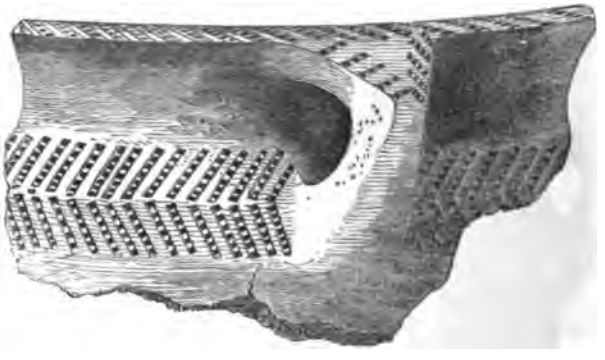
Fictile Vessel found on Ballydoolough Crannog, restored.

tion. Altogether about 140 fragments occurred. No vessel was found entire, but the pieces in some instances were

very large, and several were found to fit together, so that it was not difficult to form a restoration by which a correct idea of the perfect crock or vase might be obtained. Almost every specimen was more or less ornamented. Some of the patterns have an extremely early look, and if found in a grave would be referred to a pre-historic age.

The accompanying cut (No. 1.) represents one of the finest of the crocks obtained in Ballydoolough. It measures three feet two inches round the mouth, and is tastefully ornamented on the rim and sides. The decoration which was impressed upon the soft clay before the vessel was burnt, is extremely like that which appears upon silver bracelets preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, and also found amongst the Cuerdall hoard in Scotland, but it is not the same. Colour, light yellowish red, or drab.

No. 2.



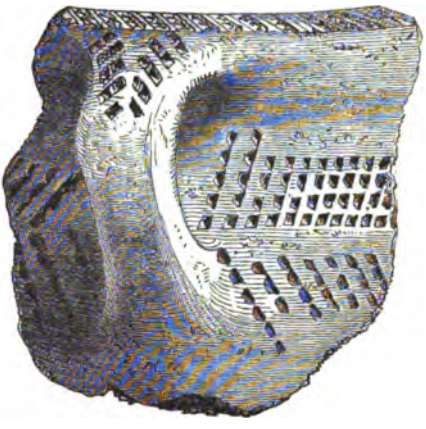
Portion of Fictile Vessel found on Ballydoolough Crannog.

The second illustration is drawn from a portion of what would appear to have been a magnificent vessel. It is highly ornamented on the side by a chevron, and on the rim by an oblique pattern. Material, very hard-baked clay of a dark colour.

Another fragment (No. 3.) was somewhat like the last described, but the decoration is more elaborate, and consists of an interesting variety of the punched design, inasmuch as many of the indentations are of semicircular form, and not angular or semiangular as in most of the other crocks. The material is of very hard substance; colour dark.

I next present a drawing of a portion of a large straight-lipped vessel (No. 4.), which, though singularly plain and unornamented, is of excellent material, a hard, well-baked darkish coloured clay. It measured over three feet in circumference round the rim, and must have possessed a most graceful appearance.

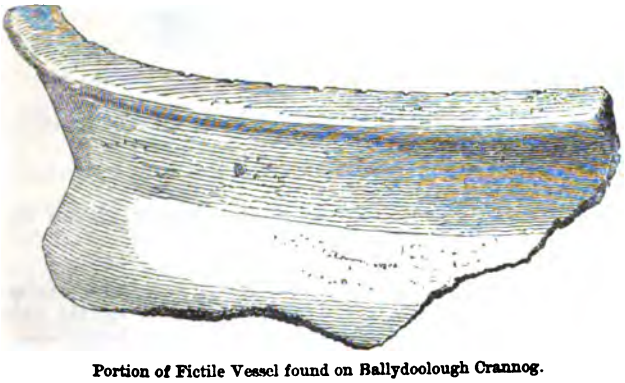
No. 3.



Portion of Fictile Vessel found on Ballydoolough Crannog.

The rim figured below (No. 5) is the only pattern of its kind found at Ballydoolough. It belonged to a well-baked, and tastefully designed vessel, and is drawn half the actual size. Whether this specimen or No. 4 were furnished with ears or not it is impossible to say. Altogether there

No. 4.



Portion of Fictile Vessel found on Ballydoolough Crannog.

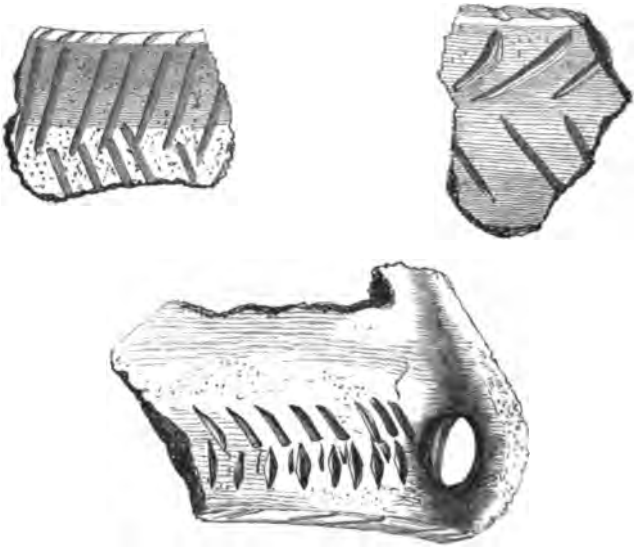
were about thirty-five different patterns, showing that there had been at least the same number of vessels, but from the quantity of fragments which lay upon the shore, or appeared upon the mud being disturbed, it would be difficult to form an idea of how many more there might have been. All these vessels seem to have been hand-made, no trace of the work-

No. 5.



Rim Ornament of Fictile Vessel.

ing of a lathe being discoverable in a single instance. Acting upon the suggestion of the Rev. James Graves, I forwarded an account of the discovery of the crannog pottery to Mr. Albert Way, a well-known authority upon such subjects. At the same time I enclosed a few specimens which Mr. Way thought of considerable interest, as



Portions of Fictile Vessels found at Ballydoolough Crannog.

appears from the following reply which he was kind enough to make :—

"*Wonham Manor, Riegate, August* 28, 1870.

"My dear Sir,

"I am very much obliged to you for taking the trouble to send me the specimens of crannog pottery. They present a variety quite new to me; unlike in form and paste to any early Irish burial urns that I have seen; perhaps fifteen in all. Your samples seem to come nearest to our Anglo-Saxon, which is of coarse black or dingy brown paste, full of small grit or particles of stone, to give some greater consistence to the ill-compacted clay. There certainly appears to me to be some resemblance, although not identity, between your ware and the vessels found so abundantly with us, but your forms are much better, the contour more graceful; the two wares are perfectly distinct, although there may be some indications that might suggest the idea that the two are not far apart as regards period. The little ears are also peculiar, the impressed ornament is not of the earliest period (with us). I should not, however, ascribe these

remarkable wares to a very early age; for instance, to that in which the use of bronze was prevalent. I have sought in vain for data on which to ground any reliable opinion as to the date of this very curious pottery. I should like much to know whether you can discover any trace of the use of the lathe in its manufacture. The mode of ornamentation certainly appears to present some resemblance to that of early silver ornaments, for instance, in our Cuerdale hoard, which may be ascribed to the ninth century; but this circumstance alone would not, I imagine, suffice to justify our conclusions as to the date of the pottery. In Ireland, as you truly observe, old fashions and forms were retained long after the age to which they may properly belong. I thank you very much for the trouble you have so kindly taken for my gratification, and for the samples of the ware. If possible, I will show them to Mr. Franks, who is our great authority, but he is, I fear, absent from London.

"I remain, yours very truly,
"ALBERT WAY."

It is but justice to Mr. Way to state that the specimens sent to him consisted of portions of some of our better formed and more richly-ornamented vessels. At Ballydoolough and at other crannogs in Fermanagh, at a period subsequent to the date of his letter, I discovered many examples of the "coarse dark black, or dingy brown paste, full of small grit or particles of stone, to give some greater consistence to the ill-compacted clay." Numerous examples of such rude manufacture are included in the collection of pottery fragments which I have deposited in our Museum. Aware as I was that crannog fortresses had been in use in Ireland all through the middle ages, even down to the sixteenth century, I hesitated to believe that this kind of ware was necessarily of any very high degree of antiquity. However, upon comparing the markings most commonly found upon the vessels, with those shown upon some very beautiful sepulchral urns, discovered in the immediate vinicity of Ballydoolough and Lough Eyes, I find that the very same kind of punch and the identical pattern which were used upon the one were likewise used upon the other. In a small box, enclosed in my recent consignment to the Museum, will be discovered two fragments, one a portion of a Ballydoolough crock the other a fragment of a sepulchral urn (the most exquisite fragment perhaps ever exhumed in Ireland), and it will be seen that the impressions which form their ornamentation are exactly similar. It may be said further that in the numerous designs found upon

the crannog vessels, there is not one which is suggestive of the work of Christian times in Ireland, on the contrary the greater portion—chevrons and circular depressions—are all expressive of Pagan ideas of ornamental art. The log house at Ballydoolough is almost precisely of the same size and of the some style of construction as the celebrated dwelling, described by Captain Mudge in the "Archæologia," in which was found a stone hatchet. We should not, then, without further data to guide us, assume that this crannog pottery must necessarily be of date later than some of the Pagan sepulchral urns.

Of the antiquities found at Ballydoolough, beyond all question the most important is a block of hard, reddish sandstone, measuring in length two feet one inch, in breadth four inches and a half, and in depth six inches. This *monument* is inscribed with well-marked Ogham characters which, when read by the light of the alphabet which has been adopted by our Society, would seem to spell the word—

BALHU.

At the thicker end of the stone, just before the commencement of the Oghams, a slightly marked cross of pecular form may be traced, especially when the light has been so arranged as to glance horizontally along the upper surface of the *leac*, in the direction of its smaller termination.



Ogham found at Ballydoolough Crannog.

In the comparison of Irish and Gaulish names by Professor Adolphe Picket, published in the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. vii., page 73, I find the Celtic name

Balanau (BALANU), which seems to sound very like that upon our stone. The subject of the correct reading of this inscription I look upon as a matter of considerable archæological importance. As far as I am aware, it is the only example of writing of any kind hitherto discovered in connexion with a crannog. The stone is at present in my own hands, and I retain it solely for the purpose of making a drawing, which I hope will be in time to illustrate this paper in the pages of our Journal. After the reading of my present communication, I trust it may be considered the property of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland; and I shall only wait the direction of our Secretary for its transmission to the Museum. One short suggestion, in connexion with the name *Balhu*, may not here be out of place. Joyce, in his admirable book upon the "Irish Names of Places," translates the name of the Fermanagh town of Lisbellaw, "*Lios-bel-atha*, the lis of the ford-mouth." Now any person who knows the industrious village of Lisbellaw will be aware that there was never a river there; and that consequently there could be no "ford-mouth." There is certainly a *lios* or fort in the neighbourhood; but the little stream which now serves the woollen mill of Lisbellaw flows through a deep cutting communicating with Loch Eyes, which was made by the Rev. Grey Porter some few years ago. The natural outlet from the loch ran, and still runs, in a northerly direction, and cannot be supposed to have influenced the naming of Lisbellaw, as its course commences at a distance of some miles (two or three at least) from that village. I shall at present merely confine myself to the remark that the name Lisbellaw seems to invite investigation. Could it be translated, "the fort or lis of Balhu," as Dunleary is "the fort or dun of Laeghaire?"

The following is a list of the antiquities of minor interest discovered at Ballydoolough:—

No. 1. A very fine and perfect crucible of the usual crannog kind.

No. 2. A remarkable brooch, or fibula, composed of iron, bronze, and a white metal, probably white-bronze, or silver. This had been intended for enamel—the pin had mouldered away, and indeed the whole was a ruin.

No. 3. A well-formed iron knife with bronze mounting to the handle, which was pierced for rivets.

No. 4. An ordinary crannog knife blade, similar in every respect to those found in Anglo-Saxon interments.

No. 5. A portion of an iron shoe for a horse or ass. Perfect shoes of this class were found at Dunshaughlin crannog, Edenderry, and elsewhere.

No. 6. A piece of an iron band.

No. 7. A slight thin bronze fillet, which was probably used for securing the staves of a small wooden vessel. It might also have been intended as a hair band.

No. 8. A small article of late bronze, apparently belonging to horse furniture.

No. 9. An ordinary crannog whetstone.

No. 10. A worked stone or disc, used probably for breaking nuts upon. An immense quantity of hazel nuts were found amongst the timbers and stones of the island.

No. 11. A lump of iron dross, or "slag."

No. 12. The under stone of a quern.

It may not be uninteresting to state that Mr. Coulter, the elder, of whom I have already had occasion to make mention, informed me that he himself had from time to time discovered no fewer than three single-piece canoes (one of them twenty feet in length) beneath the waters of the loch. These have unfortunately been all destroyed. One having been used for years as a trough for cattle, was at length cut up for firewood; the others were utilized in the roofs of out-offices, after having, of course, been split, and fashioned for their destination.

This paper, already too long, must yet be a little further extended. I cannot conclude without referring to the liberality and antiquarian zeal of the Earl of Enniskillen, who as soon as his Lordship had been informed of the interest attached to the newly-discovered crannog, lost no time in proceeding to the spot, where he at once secured the timbers of the loghouse and other remains for presentation to our Society.

In this gift we possess, I believe, the only relics of the kind to be seen in any collection. They form a fitting beginning wherewith to commence the formation of the "Crannog Room" in our Museum, so happily suggested

by our Secretary. To the surprise of many of the Ballydoolough folk, some carts arrived to carry off the venerable timbers; and in due time all was presented for bookage to Kilkenny at the Enniskillen Railway station. But here was a hitch—"What," said an official on duty, "send all that rubbish to Kilkenny!—nobody would receive it; we would be laughed at; there is not a sound stick amongst the lot; it will be refused, and we shall be at the loss of the carriage?"—"But it is sent by Lord Enniskillen."—"Then his Lordship must guarantee, under his own hand, that there is no sell. What should a nobleman have to do with such trash?" At this stage, the matter was referred to a higher railway authority, and the "rubbish" was sent off.

SIABUR-CHARPAT CON CULAIND. FROM "LEBOR NA H-UIDRE" (FOL. 37, ET SEQQ.), A MANUSCRIPT OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY J. O'BEIRNE CROWE, A. B.

THE following historical romance is taken from the celebrated "Lebor na h-Uidre," the most ancient Irish manuscript now remaining, and is here printed and translated for the first time. The subject is this:—

On a certain occasion—not the first, as may be gathered from the words cia noppiocaibe bó, "though he used to be preached to him," St. Patric went to preach the Christian faith to the monarch Loegaire. This haughty ruler, who, as we know from other documents, had previously given him so much trouble, consented to embrace the new belief, but on one condition only, namely, that Patric would call up Cu Chulaind from the dead, and bring him into his presence in all the traditional dignity and surroundings of that distinguished hero. The saint agreed to the condition. Cu Chulaind accordingly appeared to Loegaire in his old historic chariot, drawn by his two famous horses, the Liath Macha and the Dub-Sainglend, and driven by Loeg, his faithful charioteer. Some conversation, which, however, is not recorded, took place between the strangers.

Patric who, though absent, was yet conscious of the interview, afterwards asks Loegaire if he would now believe, inasmuch as he had seen Cu Chulaind. Loegaire replies that he has some doubts of the ghostly warrior being Cu Chulaind, especially as his stay was so very short. The Saint rejoined that God was powerful, and that Cu Chulaind would come to converse with him again.

Cu accordingly did return, and this time in the presence of Patric, whom he respectfully salutes and addresses at once. He then turns to Loegaire, and exhorts him to believe in God and Patric; "for," he says, "it is not a demon that has come to thee, it is Cu Chulaind, son of Soalta." He reminds him that the world he lives in is not his for ever, but every one's in turn. A lengthened dialogue now begins, Cu Chulaind giving short sketches of his deeds while on earth, and Loegaire still persisting in his doubts about the visitor, alleging as a reason that, though the deeds he named were mighty ones, yet they were not equal to those of Cu. At length the great chief of the Plain of Murthemne burst forth into a poetic recital of his famous adventures at home and abroad. The recital of these adventures in the terse yet mellow strains of Celtic poesy, so accurately defined the historic Cu, who was himself not only a warrior but a poet, that Loegaire believed at once. The scene is closed by Patric declaring Heaven opened for the penitent "Hound of Emain Macha."

To my annotations I have subjoined two Essays, one on the Irish Chariot, in which I have also introduced the warrior's and charioteer's dress, &c.; and the other on the Fetes of Cuchullin.

We have no means at present to ascertain the date of the composition of the "Demoniac Chariot;" we may feel certain, however, that it is not the work of Moil Muire, son of Ceilechar, son of Mac Con nam Bocht, who was the compiler of "Lebor na h-Uidre," and who died, according to the "Four Masters," in the year 1106. This conviction of mine will be sustained by the following facts and considerations. Throughout "Lebor na h-Uidre" a *second* hand is here and there distinctly recognisable both in the penmanship and the orthography; and that this hand is not another

mode of Moil Muire's is rendered certain from an entry by him on the top of fol. 45. This entry reads in English—"A trial of the pen of Moil Muire, son of the son of Mac Con nam Bocht," and is in penmanship exactly the same as the general body of the Transcript. Now, in our tract the second hand begins with the 35th quatrain of the poem; and, while running through to the end, betrays a want of acquaintance with Irish history, which could not reasonably be charged to Moil Muire. The writer, or the scribe, says it was great power in Patric to resuscitate Cu Chulaind, after having lain for "*nine hundred years* in earth." But Cu had been scarcely half that time in earth—from about the beginning of the first to the middle of the fifth century; and of this Moil Muire could not be ignorant. From these considerations and facts, we can safely infer that Moil Muire neither wrote nor transcribed the portion which I have assigned to the second hand; and we can also infer that he is not the author of that portion which is written in his own hand. Were the latter to be the case, he would scarcely allow a man, who has shown himself so innocent of Irish history as our second scribe has done, to take part with him in the composition of an Irish historical romance.

Our tract, then, was not composed either by Moil Muire or any of his contemporaries. It must have been copied from an older manuscript, and that copy instead of the .ix. céd, "nine hundred," above referred to, had probably .ix. $\overline{c}$, that is, noí cóicad, "nine fifties," which would be quite in harmony with the deliverances of Irish history. The antiquity of the piece, however, rests upon a higher authority than any induction we could make on this point.

The language, though somewhat broken up, still observes the laws of ancient Irish, and that not alone in isolated passages but throughout. One test example is the dative plural of the article in agreement with its noun: ir naib luachraicaib lánaib, co fagbaind-se an eladae beómarbae ir naib slébib:—"In the full rushries, until I used to leave their flocks live-dead in the mountains." This with other characteristics brings the composition of our tract as far back, at least, as the eighth century.

In conclusion, I beg to tell the Irish student and the antiquary, that I guarantee the perfect accuracy both of text and citations.

SIABUR-CARPAT CON CULAIND INSO.

Dolluid Patraic do Themraig do erail creitme for rigu Erend .i. for Loégaire mac Neill, ar ir eride ba rí hErend ind inbaid: ar ni cretead ríde in Comdid, cia norridcaide dó. Arbert Loégaire fri Patraic: "No co cretiub-ra duit-siu nád do Dia, nó co rodurce Coin Culaind dam-ra fo míadamla feib auríadar i fcelaib, conidnacur 7 conidrarladur ar mo bélaib fund: ir iar sin nocretiub-ra duit-siu." "Ir folaid do Dia aní sin," ol Patraic.

Tic tecetaire iarom ó' n Chomdid co Patraic, co tarsitir co arn a bárach for dua na Rátha .i. na Temrach, 7 tiagad Cu Chulaind andocum and. Ir iar sin iarom luid Loégaire do acallaim Patraic iar taidbrin Con Culaind dó in a charput. Arbert Patraic fri Loégaire: "In nutcarfár ní?" "Domarfár immorro," for Loégaire, "7 nimtá cumac di a airnéir, mani rénaru 7 mani corecra mo gin." "Ni fenub-ra," ol Patraic, "do gin-ra co nomraib mo riar: arrénub, immorro, inn áer docáet ar du gin-su, conécur in taidbrin tarfár duit."

"Am bá-ra em," for Loegaire, "oc dul dar Bán in Charpait do Cruc Síde in broga, hi Tulaig in Torcomraic im bruig Maic Indóc, conacar-[r]a in gaidn úairn, aigidi, amail cróirig didrói: bec nád ruc ar folt di ár cennaib, 7 na decaid triund fodesin co talmain. Roiarfacht in gáid do benén," or Loegaire. "Arbert benén frim-ra: 'Ir í gáed irfir[n]o inrain, iarn orlucud ría Coin Culaind.' Conacammár iarom in trom-ciaic mair doléic forro. Roiarfacht-ra dan do benén in trom-ciaig sin. Arbert benén bátar anala fer 7 ed immandeocatar in maig síam.

Conacamar iarom in feócúni mair uarund túar: ba lán in tír diruaib, 7 ba hetar nélaib nime tátár ar

THE DEMONIAC CHARIOT OF CU CHULAIND.

Patric went to Temair for the enjoining of belief upon the King of Eriu, that is, upon Loegaire, son of Niall, for it is he who was King of Eriu the time : for he would not believe the Lord ; though he used to be preached to him. Loegaire said to Patric : " By no means shall I believe in thee or in God, until thou shalt awaken Cu Chulaind for me under dignity, as he is recorded in stories, that I may see him, and that I may address him in my presence here: it is after that I shall believe in thee." " That matter is possible for God," says Patric.

A messenger comes afterwards from the Lord to Patric, that they should remain until the morrow on the rampart of the Rath, that is, of Temair, and that Cu Chulaind would come to them there. It is after that accordingly Loegaire went to converse with Patric, after the appearance of Cu Chulaind to him in his chariot. Patric said to Loegaire : " Whether has something appeared to thee ?" " There has, indeed [something] appeared to me," says Loegaire, " and I have not power for the relation of it, unless thou wilt sign, and unless thou wilt consecrate my mouth." " I shall not," says Patric, " sign thy mouth, until I shall have my demand : I shall, however, make a sign on the air which comes out of thy mouth, in order that thou mayest tell the appearance which appeared to thee."

" As I was, indeed," says Loegaire, " a-going over Slope of the Chariot to the Hill of the Sid of the Plain, in the Plateau of the Assembly in the Plain of Mac Indoc, I saw the cold, piercing wind, like a bi-brow spear : little that it took not our hair from our heads, and that it went not through ourselves to earth. I asked the wind from Benen," says Loegaire. " Benen said to me : ' That is the wind of hell after the opening of it before Cu Chulaind.' We saw then the heavy fog which dropped upon us. I asked that heavy fog also of Benen. Benen said they were the breaths of men and of horses that were traversing the plain before me.

" We saw then the great raven-flock above us above : the country was full of them, and it was among the clouds

an aipde. Roiarfac-fa do benén ani fin. Arbert benén bátar fóit a chuib nan ed bátár fo cairput Con Culaind. Am bámár and iar fain, conacammar fúadu nan ed triar in ciaic, 7 na fer ir in cairpit folam. Arae arfiheri for ard; fiedbe figidi; eic doríadáis feodu.

Conacca-fa iarom in dá ec commóra, comaille, acht nammá co fain delba 7 data: comlúada, comcóri, comgníma, bor-ledna, derledna, biruic, ard-cind, agenmair, gob-cúil, dúalaig, denmeca, dat-álli, tul-leadain, forarda, forána, forbreca. At é cend-beca, cruind-beca, uarda, aurderca, aurgartai, bruinni-dergda, beólaidi, fulgi, flemna, faitridi, rogabalta, régi, ráeborda, femenda, carr-mongaig, cóiri, caini, car[c]arcig.

Broga for fuil in a diaid in ét fide: dan droc duba, tarcire: dá froch cóiri coícriri: fertri cruadi, colgdirgi. Dan alln ardin, intlarre: fídbe find-argit co fedan findruine. Cuing dron, drumnech, fororda. Rupall corcorda: fortde uanide.

Láech and ir in cairpit frin: fuar-máel dub; demir fair forfuidiu: atá lim ir bó fodalig. Súil glar, bannach in a cind. Fúan corcor-gorm im fuide a cetoraib orgait óen-gil. Dulend derg-óir for a bruinnib: foled dar cechtar a dá gúaland. Léni gel, culpatach immi con derg-inlud nclare. Claideb or-duirf[n]d in ecrur férta for a flíartaib: manáir ledan, glar for cruth midiug in a láim. Foga fogéir, fóbartach in a farrad. Scíach corcorda co comrod argit, co túagmílaib óir, úar a dibn imdaidaib. Atá lim-fa bá frarr do nemannaib foláo in a cend. Dubicir led dub-folach cechtarde a da brúad: dergicir partaing a beoil.

Ara ar a bélaib ir in cairpit frin: arailе forfeng fánfota, forbrec. Falt forcar, forfuáo for a mulluc: girne find-ruine for a étan, náo leiced a folt fó agid. Cuaide de or for a díb cúalaid[ib] hi taircellad a falt. Coicline ettech immi con aurflocud ar a dibn

of heaven they were for their height. I asked that matter of Benen. Benen said they were sods from the shoes of the horses that were under Cu Chulaind's chariot. As we were there after that we saw the forms of the horses through the mist, and of the men in the easy chariot. A charioteer behind them on high; a spirit chieftain; horses that ride paths.

"I saw afterwards the two horses co-large, co-beautiful, but only with a difference of figure and of colour; co-fleet, co-symmetrical, of co-action, hoof-broad, back-broad, pointed, high-head, active, snout-thin, wreathful, effective, colour-beautiful, very lofty, very vehement, very speckled. They are head-small, very high, very conspicuous, very nimble. Breast-red, large-lipped, large-eyed, sleek, firm, easily-yoked, sharp, vigorous, powerful, curl-maned, symmetrical, fair, curl-haired.

"A large chariot after that pair. Two black firm wheels: two symmetrical over-lapping rims: hard, sword-straight shafts. Two beautiful, pliant reins: a pole of white silver with a withe of *findruine*. A strong, ridged, very golden yoke. A purple hood: green furnishing.

"A hero there in that chariot: a black, thick head of hair: smoothness on it on him: I should imagine it is a cow that licked it. A grey, jerking eye in his head. A purple-blue tunic about him of borders of all-white gold-withe. A brooch of red gold on his breast: it extended over each of his two shoulders. A white, hooded cloak about him, with a flashing red border. A sword of gold-hilt in arrangement of rest on his two thighs: a broad, grey spear on a shaft of wild ash in his hand. A subsharp, aggressive dart near it. A purple shield with an even circle of silver, with loop-animals of gold above his two shoulders. I should think it was a shower of pearls that was flung into his head. Blacker than the side of a black cooking-spit each of his two brows: redder than ruby his lips.

"A charioteer in front of him in the chariot: a certain very slender, prone-long, very speckled person. Very curled, very red hair on his head-top: a wreath of *findruine* on his forehead, that should not allow his hair about his face. On his two ears spheres of gold, into which his hair

ullennaib. Bruitne di derg-ór in a láim di a taircellad a eocu. Dóiḃ lim-ra bad hé Cu Chulaind 7 Loég a ara nobeṫ and, 7 Dub-raingleno 7 Liaṫ Maḋa nobeṫ fó'n ċarpat."

"In creti Dia fodeċtra, a Loegairi," ol Patraic, "úair dodeoċaid Cu Chulaind do t' acallaim?" "Mára é Cu Culaind atconnarc, ir gart lim-ra fobói icc om acallaim." "Ir folaid Dia:" ol Patraic: "mar éreom foboi and, dorega do t' acallaim-siu arriri."

Am batár and iar sin, conaccatár in carpat ir in mag andoċum con a díbn eċaib, 7 Lóeg mac Riangabrat in a farrsinaċt, 7 Cu Chulaind in a erredaċt. Secht cler-líani ficet uaraib ecarbúar: tairm-cler nónbair .i. cler Cait 7 cler Cuair, cler Daire: dall-ċlern éoin, léim dar neim 7 derg-filliud erred náir, 7 gai bolga, 7 bái brerre, 7 bruṫn géme, 7 sían ċurad, 7 foṫ-ċler, 7 ráebor-ċler, 7 ubull-ċler, 7 torand-ċler, 7 dréim sri fogairt, 7 dirgiud creitte for a sind, 7 fonaidm níaṫ náir, 7 táiṫ-beim, 7 béim co fomur. Immarleig caċ labart imm inn arad gabáil nan érre: bíd uar aib 7 análaib.

Dolluid Cú Culaind do acallaim Patraic, 7 bennaċair dó. Ir andsin arrubairt:

"Ateoċ, a noém-Patraic,
i tarrad iteó:
Romucca la t' reċtmeċo
hi Tír nam beó.

Creit do Dia 7 do naém-Patraic, a Loegairi, nátúadaig tond talman torut, ar ni friabrae fodatánic; ir Cú Culaind mac Soalta. Ar ir bith caċ fuanaid, reċt ná talam: caċ cíuin celar, caċ tríúin talam, caċ núib nem: ar ir dorid síabrai ceċ midi-siu; ir biṫ cáiċ ar úair immarid-siu." Bói Cu Chulaind in a dorn, 7 ni arlarair Lóegaire.

was collected. A winged little cloak about him with an opening on its two elbows. Goadlets of red gold in his hand, from which he was hurrying on his horses. It seems to me it was Cu Chulaind and Loeg, his charioteer, that were in it, and that it was Dub-sain-glend and Liath Macha that were under the chariot."

"Dost thou believe God henceforth, O Loegaire," says Patric, "since Cu Chulaind has come to converse with thee?" "If it is Cu Chulaind I have seen, I think too short he was a-conversing with me." "God is powerful," says Patric: "If it is he who was in it, he will come to converse with thee again."

As they were there after that, they saw the chariot coming in the plain towards them with its two horses, and Loeg, son of Riangabra, in his charioteering and Cu Chulaind in his warrioring. Twenty-seven feat-figures above them in mid-air:

The Noise-feat of Nine, that is the Feat of Cat, and the Feat of Cuar, the Feat of Daire: the Blind-feat of Birds, Leap over Poison, and Red-folding of a brave Champion, and Bellows-dart, and Stroke with quickness, and Ardour of Shout, and Hero's scream, and Wheel-feat, and Edge-feat, and Apple-feat, and Noise-feat, and Ascent by rope, and Straightening of body on Spear-point, and binding of a noble champion, and Return-stroke, and Stroke with measure. In respect to the charioteer, the holding of the reins confounds all speech: he is above evaporations and breathings.

Cu Chulaind went to converse with Patric, and saluted him: it is then he said:—

"I beseech, O holy Patric,
In thy presence that I may be,
That thou wouldst bring me with speed
Into the Lands of the Living.

"Believe in God and in holy Patric, O Loegaire, that a wave of earth may not dash over thee, for it is not a demon that has come to thee: it is Cu Chulaind, son of Soalta. For, a world for every champion is law or earth: every quiet one's is concealment, every hero's is earth, every holy one's is heaven: for of the order of demons is every thing thou ponderest on: it is the world of each in turn that thou chariotest." Cu Chulaind was silent, and Loegaire did not speak.

"Cia ṙét bṙeġa, a Loeġaiṙi? cia ṙuideṙ a ṙantu? cia aiṙeṙ an áċu? cía aiṫet a mna? cia ċaṙat an ingena?" "Ced duit-siu 7 dam-ṙa," oṙ Loeġaiṙe, "an iaṙṙaigid side?" "Roboí tan, a Loeġaiṙi, bá meṙṙe immáṫeġed, immaṫimċellad, immidamṫelleċ. Ba meṙi a lau-cú naḋcaṙṫaiṙ: ġlonnaib aṙḋaib immanaiġtíṙ. Robói tan, a Loeġaiṙe, ba meṙṙi doṫéġed a maṙ-ġṙeṙṙa, noṙúmed a máṙ-congala. Bá meṙṙi in Cú Chulaind caṫ-búaḋaċ, ġnúṙṙaṫaċ, ġeṙeṫaċ, siġ-deṙġ, róiġ-leṫan, ṙoġellaċ, nobíd aṙ Maiġ máineċ Múṙṫemne. Cṙeit do Día 7 do Ṙatṙaic, a Loeġaiṙi, aṙ ní ṙiabṙai doṫáṁic aċt Cu Chulaind mac Soalta."

"Máṙṙa Chú ṙil and," oṙ Loeġaiṙe, "aṙéṫ dúno ni á máṙ-ġnímaib." "Ba síṙ ṙón, a Loeġaiṙi," oṙ Cú Chulaind. "Baṙ-ṙa colliḋ ġiallaṙa in aiṙitin áṫa mo ṫúaṫ: ba-ṙa balc-bémneċ ḟoṙ níaṫaib 7 móṙ-slúaġaib. Imṙéidind-ṙea aṅġ ġṙaiġe ṙide-luaṫa mo námat iṙ naib lúaċṙaċaib lánaib, co ṙaġbaind-ṙe an eltae beó-maṙbae iṙ naib slébib, iaṙn aṙḋbiu a comluṅd comaṙḋae na ṙeṙ nobíṫíṙ ḟoṙaib." "Ma nuṙṙil ṙamlaid na ġnima sin ṙéib aḋṙímiu, batáṙ ġníma éṙṙed lát-su, nitaṙ ġníma Con."

"Bá síṙ ṙón, a Loeġaiṙi," ol ṙeṙeom:

Nisṙa ċú-ṙa ġabála liṙ,
Ba-ṙa ċú-ṙa ġabála uiṙ:
Nisṙa ċáu-ṙa cṙuibin auṙċaill,
Bá-ṙa ċú-ṙa comnaṙt do ċomlond.
Nisṙa ċaú-ṙa imlomṫa ṙuidell,
Ba-ṙa ċau-ṙa taiṙtbe buden:
Nisṙa cáu-ṙa ingaiṙe ġamna,
Ba-ṙa ċáu-ṙa ingaiṙe Émna."

"Ma nuṙṙil na ġníma ṙain ṙeib doḋṙími-ṙeo, bátáṙ ġníma eṙṙed lat-ṙo."

"Bá síṙ ṙón, a Loeġaiṙi," ol Cu Chulaind: "bátaṙ ġníma eṙṙed lim-ṙa.

"Who chariots the Brega, O Loegaire? Who sits their slopes? Who watches their fords? Whom do their wives elope with? Whom do their daughters love?" "What is that inquiry to me and to thee?" says Loegaire. "There was a time, O Loegaire, it was I who used to go among them, who used to go around them, who used to keep them together. I was their little hound whom they used to love: whom with high spirits they used to play about. There was a time, O Loegaire, it was I who used to go to their great attacks, who used to burst their great contests. I was the battle-victorious, grunting, screaming, wrist-red, palm-broad, brave Cu Chulaind, who used to be on the wealthy plain of Murthemne. Believe in God and in Patric, O Loegaire, for it is not a demon that has come to thee, but Cu Chulaind, son of Soalta."

"If it is Cu that is in it," says Loegaire, "he shall tell us of his great deeds." "That is true, O Loegaire," says Cu Chulaind. "I was the destroyer of hostageship in the reception of the fords of my territories: I was strong-striking on heroes and great hosts. I used to hunt the fleet herds of my enemies in the full rushries, until I used to leave their flocks live-dead in the mountains after the slaying by equal combat of the men who used to be over them."

"If those deeds are thus, as thou recountest, the deeds of a hero were with thee: they were not the deeds of Cu."

"That is true, O Loegaire," he says:

"I was not a hound of taking of a *Les*,
I was a hound of taking of a deer:
I was not a hound of a forbidden trotter,
I was a hound strong for combat.
I was not a hound of round licking of leavings,
I was a hound of visiting of troops:
I was not a hound of watching of calves,
I was a hound of watching of Emain."

"If those deeds are as thou recountest them, the deeds of a hero were with thee."

"That is true, O Loegaire," says Cu Chulaind: "the deeds of a hero were with me:

" Bá-ra eirr-rea, bá-ra aura,
Ba-ra ara carpait máir
Ba-ra máeṫ fri máiṫi
Bá-ra imdenaċ fri ṫáir.

" Bá-ra ennaċ mo námat : nirra nem-ṫenga mo criṫ. Bá-ra ċomrar caċa runi do andrib Ulad. Bá-ra mac la maccu : bá-ra fer la firu. Bá d' imċurc arraraṫ. Bá-ra maiṫ fri m' áir : bá-ra ferr fri molad.

" Mára é Cu Chulaind fil and," or Loegaire, "adfét dún ní do na mór-gabṫib rogábi." " Ba fír rón, a Loegairi," ol Cu Chulaind :

I.

" Immáridind-rea már-graige
La Con-cobor cruáid :
Bá in aile-ṫuáiṫ
Arlingind caċm búaid.

II.

" Rocliriur ror analaib,
Uar aúib nan eċ :
Rommebdaṫár riam-ra
Mór-ċaṫa caċ leṫ.

III.

" Robririur-[r]a urgala
For criunu na túaṫ :
Bá miri in caur claideb-rúad
Iar rligi na rlúag.

IV.

" Robririur-[r]a ráebor-ċlerra
For rinnib a claideb :
Roriaṫt a mór-áirgne,
Ba cri adaigṫe ceneo !

"I was a hero, I was a leader,
I was the charioteer of a large chariot:
I was gentle to gentle,
I was retributive against dishonor.

"I was the innocent of my enemies: I was not the poison-tongue of my territories. I was the casket of every secret for the maidens of the Ulaid. I was a child with children: I was a man with men. It was for correction I used to labour. I was good against my satirizing: I was better for praising."

"If it is Cu Chulaind that is in it," says Loegaire, "he shall tell us a portion of the great risks he risked." "That is true, O Loegaire," says Cu Chulaind.

I.

"I used to hunt their great flocks
With hardy Conchobur:
It was in a foreign territory
I used to vision each victory.

II.

"I played on breaths
Above the horses' steam:
There used be broken before me
Great battles every side.

III.

"I broke contests
On the champions of the territories:
I was the sword-red hero
After the slaying of the hosts.

IV.

"I broke edge-feats
On the points of their swords:
I reached their great plunders,
Be it through drivings of fire!

V.

"Tairrem aile dochúadur-ra—
A Loegaire, act ba rin úair!
Co rofertarru-ra már-cath
Fri Loclaind atúaid.

VI.

"Arailе láech and domárraid-ri,
Iar techt dam for fét:
Trícha cubat a ardai—
Ba ed rin a mét!

VII.

"Iar rin forelach-ra,
Iarn glér dún foeri:
Fochart-ra a cend ir in cath
Co torchair ín rí.

VIII.

"Iar rin dorochratar
Rotherbaid díb:—
Secht coécait cach oen-cath,
O rogabtha ar rím.

IX.

"Ir iar rin ronenarc-ra
Forraib for an dáil:—
Secht cét talland arrgait bain
Im frecht cet tallend óir—
Ba rí rin in cáin.

X.

"Tairrem dochuadur-[r]a, a Loegaire,
Di álad hi Tír Scaith;
Dún Scáith and con a glarraib iarn—
Forurmiur láim fair.

V.

"Another journey I went—
O Loegaire, but that was an hour!
That I might give great battles
Against Lochland on the north.

VI.

"A certain hero in it met me.
After I had come on journey:—
Thirty cubits in height—
That was his size!

VII.

"After that I attacked him,
After we had fought three times:
I flung off his head in the battle,
So that the king fell.

VIII.

"After that there fell
A great defect of them:—
Seven fifties of every single battle,
When their number was taken.

IX.

"It is after that that I bound
On them, for their share,
Seven hundred talents of white silver,
With seven hundred talents of gold—
That was the tribute.

X.

"A journey I went, O Loegaire,
For plunder to the Land of Scath:
Dun Scaith in it with its locks of irons—
I laid hand upon it.

XI.

" Secht múir im ón caṫraig sin—
Ba etiu a denu :
Sonnaċ ísarn for cáċ múr
Forru in bátar noé cenu.

XII.

" Dorse iarn for caċ slis—
Frim na ní rocornoda :
Atacomcus-ra co m' laú ;
Con darrala im briathraċa.

XIII.

" Buí cuiṫe is in Dún,
Lar in rígh—adrét :
Deiċ naṫraig doroémdatar
Dar a ór—ba bét !

XIV.

" Iar sin atareċus-[s]a,
Cía ragbol an drong,
Con dernus an orduneċa
Eter mo dá dorn.

XV.

" Teċ lán do lorcannaib
Doarlaiciṫe dún :
Míla, gérna, gulbneċa,
Roleltar i m' srúb.

XVI.

" Bíartai grannu dracondai
Cucund dorusiís :
Tréna an amainsi
Eċ-díli cí adcusís.

XI.

"Seven walls about that city—
Hateful was the fort:
A rampart of irons on each wall,
On that were nine heads.

XII.

"Doors of irons on each flank—
Against us not great defences:
I struck them with my leg,
Until I drove them into fragments.

XIII.

"There was a pit in the dun,
Belonging to the king, it is related:—
Ten serpents burst
Over its border—it was a deed!

XIV.

"After that I attacked them,
Though very vast the throng,
Until I made bits of them,
Between my two fists.

XV.

"A house full of toads,
They were let fly at us:
Sharp, beakèd monsters,
They stuck in my snout.

XVI.

"Fierce, draconic monsters.
To us they used to fall:
Strong their witchery,
Horse-tribe though [they] explained them.

XVII.

" Iar sin atarraet-[s]a,
In tan bá sómsoi:
Cotamsoltsa comtar menbaca
Etir mo dí boi.

XVIII.

" Bái coisi is in dún sin,
Loég nán téorsam bó:
Trícha áige in a ḟroech
Ní s' bo luchtlach dó.

XIX.

" Taitigtis in cairi sin—
ba mellach in bág:
Ní téigtis úad for nách let,
Co sácbaitís lán.

XX.

" Bái mór di ór 7 argut and,
ba hamsae in sríd:
Dobirt in cori sin
La ingin ind síg.

XXI.

" Na teórsa bai dobertamár
Rórnaidet a muis:
ba here deri di ór
La cách for a muin.

XXII.

" Iar tudecht dún forr in farci,
bá haubol la tuáith,
báite fairind mo chuaig
Lar inn anfod chuáid.

XVII.

"After that I attacked them,
When it was that a rush was made on me:
I ground them until they were particles
Between my two palms.

XVIII.

"There was a caldron in that dun,
The calf of the three cows:
Thirty joints in its stomach—
It was not a charge for it.

XIX.

"They used to frequent that caldron—
Delightful was the contest:
They used not to go from it on any side,
Until they used to leave it full.

XX.

"There was much of gold and silver in it—
Wonderful was the find:
That caldron was given
By the daughter of the king.

XXI.

"The three cows we carried off—
They strong-swim the sea:
There was a duad's load of gold
With each upon his shoulder.

XXII.

"After we had come upon the ocean,
Which was vast by the north,
My curach's crew were drowned
By the hard storm.

XXIII.

"Iar sin immórsur-[s]a,
Gía s' ba gábud grind—
Nonbur cectar mo dá lám,
Trica for mo cind.

XXIV.

"Octor for m' dib slíastaib,
Romleltar di m' csrp:
Bá samlaid sain sornaus-[s]a in sarrci
Com boí is in srt.

XXV.

"An nocersus-[s]a d' imned,
A Loegairi, for muir 7 tír,
Bá anra dam-sa óen-adaig
La Demon con ís.

XXVI.

"Mo corpan ba creccnaigte—
La Lugaid a buáid:
Roucrat demna m' anmain
Is in slicht suáid.

XXVII.

"Immásubart-sa in cletine,
Gai bolgae do léis:
Robá-sa i comcet-buaid
Fri Demon hi péin!

XXVIII.

"Bá comnart mo gaisced-sa,
Mo claideb ba cruaid:
Domsimart-sa in Demon con oen-meós
Is in slicht suáid!

XXIII.

"After that I floated them,
Though it was a clear danger :—
An ennead each of my two hands,
Thirty on my head [*or*, on my back].

XXIV.

"Eight upon my two thighs—
They clung to me from my body :
It was in that manner I swam the ocean
Until I was in the harbour.

XXV.

"What I suffered of trouble,
O Loegaire, on sea and land ;—
More severe for me was a single night
With the Demon with rage.

XXVI.

"My little body was scarred—
With Lugaid the victory :
Demons carried off my soul
Into the red charcoal.

XXVII.

"I played on them the swordlet,
The bellows-dart industriously :
I was in my concert-victory,
With the Demon in pain !

XXVIII.

"Powerful was my heroism,
My sword it was hard :
The Demon crushed me with one finger
Into the red charcoal !

XXIX.

" Ind rís conrmac ar ríge,
Cía béit com méit am brigi,
Ni cumcat ní la macn De
Acht a cubat

XXX.

" Sluáig Ulad im Chonchobor—
Calma in coraid—
Navarraiglet na demnae,
In irriur[n]d ac brónaig.

XXXI.

" Acht in rí Mac Nerra
Ar báge ar Mac Maire,
Atát i rein irrirnd
Rormna na laith gaile.

XXXII.

" bá máid tulad dot' breithir, a Loegairi,
Fri Patraic iarrid uair,
Co nomtucad-ra a hirrur[n]d,
Comid damra a buáid.

XXXIII.

" Ir buáid mór do Góedelaib,
Cocloth in rlúag :
[Cach óen] chreitfer do Patraic,
In nim ní bá truág.

XXXIV.

" Ce ní chetind-ro, a Loegaire
Do Patraic nacreitfet Ulaid :
.
.

XXIX.

"The kings who sway their kingdoms,
Though they be with greatness of their power,—
They avail nothing with God's son,
But

XXX.

"The hosts of the Ulaid around Conchobar—
Brave the champions—
The demons are scourging them,
In hell they are sorrowful.

XXXI.

"Save the king, Mac Nessa,
For contention for Mary's Son,
In the pains of hell are
The most of the heats of steam [champions].

XXXII.

"It was well it went for thy word, O Loegaire,
To Patric a request once,
That he would bring me from hell,
So that for me is its victory.

XXXIII.

"It is a great victory for Goedil,
Let the host hear—
[Every one] who will believe in Patric,
In heaven will not be wretched.

XXXIV.

"Though I should not believe, O Loegaire,
In Patric, the Ulaid would believe him:
.
.

XXXV.

"Is-é so mo ċorc do ċaċ oén—
Scarad fri peccad, fri clóen:
Caċ oén ċhetheir do Patraic
Ragaid hi tír inna naém.

XXXVI.

"Caċ mac ríg—nocluinedar—
Di Ultaib in hÉrie
Cheitted do Patraic forrid,
Bad mór a déne.

XXXVII.

"Dober bennacht for Patraic,
Forul al lín,
In ced óen-aird in hÉrie,
Am bia a fíl.

XXXVIII.

"Is buáid mór do Góedelaib,
Nocluined in slóg:
Caċ oén cheitheir do Patraic
For nim ní bá tróg.

XXXIX.

"Is cían mór ó'tbalt-sa—
Rosu mór int úaid:
Is cumachta mór dosfuc
Ar cend inna túaid.

XL.

"Is cían scan-su fri eocu,
Fri carpat fo a lí:
Is cumachta mór domuc,
Amail atomcí.

XXXV.

"It is my instruction to every one—
Parting with sin, with iniquity:
Every one who believes in Patric,
Will go into the Land of the Saints.

XXXVI.

"Every king's son, be it heard,
Of the Ulaid in Ere,
Who would believe in Patric quickly—
Great would be his strength.

XXXVII.

"I shall give a blessing on Patric,
To make their number abound
In every single point in Ere
Where their seed will be.

XXXVIII.

"It is a great victory for Goedil,
The host should hear:
Every one who will believe in Patric,
In heaven will not be wretched.

XXXIX.

"It is a great distance since I died—
Great was the horror!
It is great power that has brought me
To meet the tribes.

XL.

"It is long since I parted with horses,
With a chariot with its beauty:
It is great power that has brought me
As thou seest me.

XLI.

"Ind eiċ reo, a Loegairi,
Reċa riġ com búáid,—
Ir Patraic dodraċbeoagartar,
Condat é ata liáiġ.

XLII.

"In carpat-ro aċċi-riu
In degaid nan eċ :—
Ir Patraic rocruċaigertar
Comid hé ar deċ.

XLIII.

"Cor ind étuċ, cor inn arm,
Cor in erriud clir :—
Ir cían mór o atrubalt-ra,
O rorcanur frir !

XLIV.

"In rlúag mór donarrċomlair
File ro a lí—
Normairred Patraiċ forrid
Con nartir bí !

XLV.

"Dorraiċbeoigred aiċerruċ—
Robad mor in band—
Com becír in biċ-beċaid
Ar bélaib na clann !

XLVI.

"Atomċí, a Loegairi,
Atomglaiċe leir :
Mani cretce Patraic,
Bia-ru hi péin.

XLI.

"These horses, O Loegaire,
Of running of races with victory—
It is Patric who revivified them,
So that it is they that are swift.

XLII.

"This chariot thou seest
Behind the horses:—
It is Patric that formed it,
So that it is it that is best.

XLIII.

"With the dress, with the armour:
With the array of feat:—
It is a great distance since I died,
Since I parted with it!

XLIV.

"The great host which thou hast assembled,
That is in its beauty:—
Patric would kill them quickly,
So that they would not be alive!

XLV.

"He would revivify them again—
Great would be the bound—
So that they would be in continual life
In front of the clans!

XLVI.

"Thou seest me, O Loegaire,
Thou addressest me clear:
Unless thou believest Patric
Thou wilt be in pain.

XLVII.

"Cid lat-su bid-beco
Talman con a lí,
Is fern óen-focraic in nim
La Crist mac Dé bí.

XLVIII.

"Ateoc, a noem-Patraic,
I t' [f]arrad nomeig;
Romforuca la trectmecо
Is tir immaréid. Immar.

"Creit do Dia ocus do noém-Patraic, a Loegairi, ar na tuidaic tond talman torut. Dorага, ni ba cumtabairt, mani crete do Dia ocus do noém-Patraic, ar ní Siabrae dotanic: is Cu Chulaind, mac Soaltai." Rofíad dan aní sin: dodeocaid talam tar Loegaire: adriadar nem do Choin Culaind. Rocretsi tra Loegaire do Patraic iarom.

Ba mor trá a cumacta do Patraic .i. todúrcud Con Culaind, íarn a bid .ix. coecat blidain hi talain .i. ó flaith Conchobair maic Nessa (isse erride fogenair hi comgein fri Crist) co dered flatha Loegairi maic Neill, maic Echaid Mug-medóin, maic Muredig Tirig, maic Fiacrach Roitini, maic Corbri Liffechair, maic Cormaic Ulfadaig, maic Airt Óen-fir, maic Cuind Cet-cathaig, maic Fedelmtео Rechtmair, maic Tuathail Techtmair, maic Fergusig Find-fachtnaig, maic Crimthainn Niad Nair, maic Lugdach Riabn Derg. Dalta side do Choin Chulaind, mac Soalda.

XLVII.

"Though thine were the continual life
Of earth with its beauty,
Better is a single reward in heaven
With Christ son of the living God.

XLVIII.

"I beseech, O holy Patric,
In thy presence that I may come,
That thou wouldst bring me with speed
Into the land which thou drivest about.

"Believe in God and in holy Patric, O Loegaire, that a wave of earth may not come over thee. It will come, there is no doubt, unless thou believest in God and in holy Patric, for it is not a demon that has come to thee: it is Cu Chulaind, son of Soalta." That thing was accordingly verified: earth came over Loegaire: heaven is declared for Cu Chulaind. Now Loegaire believed in Patric in consequence.

Now, great was the power for Patric, that is, the awakening of Cu Chulaind after his being nine fifty years in earth, that is, from the reign of Conchobar Mac Nessa (it is he who was born in co-birth with Christ) to the end of the reign of Loegaire, son of Niall, son of Eocha Mug-medon, son of Muredach Tirech, son of Fiachra Roptine, son of Corpre Liffechar, son of Cormac Ulfadach, son of Art Oen-fher, son of Con Cet-chathach, son of Fedelmid Rechtmar, son of Tuathal Techtmar, son of Feradach Findfachtnach, son of Crimthand Niad Nar, son of Lugaid Riabn Derg. A foster son this to Cu Chulaind, son of Soalda.

De ɡenéluć Con Culaind.

Cú Chulaind,
Mac Soalḃaim,
Maic Ḋub-ċaiɡe,
Maic Cubaiṙ,
Maic Líṙ,
Maiċ Nel-ṙuaid, .i. Nemċiɡ,
Maic Cúṙandin,
Maic Adaɡaiṙ,
Maic ḃoaḋo,
Maic Mid-ɡin,
Maic Caiṙṙ,
Maic Uacaiṙ, .i. Midɡin,
Maic ḃṙanaill,
Maic Reċaiɡ,
Maic Rindail,
Maic Rind-baile,
Maic Slóiġ-ɡen,
Maic Roṫ-ċlaim,
Maic Uacaiṙ Ṫoi,
Maic Mc. Cuill,
Maic Cermata,
Maic In Ḋaɡḋai,
Maic Elaṫan,
Maic Ḋelbaiṫ,
Maic Neiṫ,
Maic Indui,
Maiċ Alloi,
Maic Ṫhaiṫ,
Maic Ṫhabuiṙnd,

Vel ita ɡenelaċ Con Chulaind.

Cu Chulaind,
Mac Soalḃaim,
Maic Ḋub-ċaiɡe,
Maic Cubaiṙ,
Maie Líṙ,
Maic Cúṙandin,
Maic Adaċaiṙ,
Maic ḃaéṫain,
Maic Midɡnai, .i. Midɡin,
Maic Uaċaill,
Maic Caiṙ,
Maic Cermata Cloṫaiɡ,
Maic In Ḋaɡḋai,
Maic Inde,
Maic Ḋoṙain,
Maic Nomail,
Maic Condlai,
Maic Memnéin,
Maic Samriṫ,
Maic ḃuiṫe,
Maic Ṫiɡernmaiṙ,
Maic Follaiɡ,
Maic Eṫniúil,
Maic 'Iaṙeóil Fáṫa,
Maic Eṙimóin,
Maic Miled Eṙṙáine.

FINIT.

The Translation

Of the Genealogy of Cu Chulaind.

Cu Chulaind,
Son of Soaldam,
Son of Dub-thaige,
Son of Cubar,
Son of Ler,
Son of Nel-ruad, .i. Nemthig,
Son of Cusantin,
Son of Adagar,
Son of Boad,
Son of Mid-gin,
Son of Cass,
Son of Uacas, .i. Midgin,
Son of Branall,
Son of Rethach,
Son of Rindal,
Son of Rind-balc,
Son of Sloit-gen,
Son of Roth-chlam,
Son of Uacas Toi,
Son of Mac Cuill,
Son of Cermait,
Son of the Dagda,
Son of Elathan,
Son of Delbaeth,
Son of Net,
Son of Indue,
Son of Alloe,
Son of Tat,
Son of Taburnd.

Or thus, the Genealogy of Cu Chulaind.

Cu Chulaind,
Son of Soaldam,
Son of Dub-thaige,
Son of Cubar,
Son of Ler,
Son of Cusantin,
Son of Adachar,
Son of Baetan,
Son of Midgnae,
Son of Uachall,
Son of Cas,
Son of Cermait Clothach,
Son of the Dagda,
Son of Inde,
Son of Doran,
Son of Nomal,
Son of Condlae,
Son of Memnen,
Son of Samrith,
Son of Buithe,
Son of Tigerndmas,
Son of Follach,
Son of Ethriol,
Son of Iarel Faith,
Son of Erimon,
Son of Miled of Spain.

THE END.

NOTES ON PROSE.

Siabur-charpat. (The Title). In Irish mythology we meet with three principal classes of supernatural beings—the first divine, the second earthly, and the third infernal. The first class is the Sidè, the spirits of the Tuatha de Danand. The chiefs of these spirits became deities: the rest blessed immortals residing in the "Lands of the Living," whither Cu Chulaind (*ut supra*) asks St. Patric to bring him. We must remember that none but the spirits of the Tuatha de Danand are called Sidè. These Sidè were the native terrene deities of ancient Eriu.

It has not been sufficiently borne in mind, that the deities of all peoples, except that of the Jews and Christians, are recognized as *terrigenae* (or, earth-born). Their birth-place, life-history, death and pedigree are given by those who adore them as deities. Thus Jupiter, the *Optimus Maximus* of Greece and Rome, was born and died, and afterwards raised to supreme power. Of him, accordingly, Sophocles says: κλέϊτος τέλος ἔχει ἠδὴ καὶ ἀρχήν: "An illustrious end hath he as well as beginning." In Græco-Latin mythology he corresponds to our Oengus of the Brug, eldest son of the Dagda, that is, Eochaid All-athair (the Danish Ald-father). As Jupiter had two brothers, Neptune and Pluto, so Oengus had two, Aed and Cermait. As Jupiter dispossessed his father, so Oengus dispossessed his of the Sid of the Brug. (*See* The Taking of the Sid, "Book of Leinster"). The gentile Irish had foreign deities, but these were never called Sidè. Clidna, for example, whom I have equated with the Gaulish *Clutonda*. (*See* Religious Beliefs of the Pagan Irish, "Journal," third series, p. 319). This must have been a celebrated deity, but she is never called a Sidè, and is said to have come from Tìr Tairngiri "Land of Promise," a name given by our early Christians to the ancient Irish Elysium.

The second class is the Geinti Glinne: "Gentiles of the Valley." These occur in the Tain Bo Cuailngi, and in the Feast of Bricriu, ("Lebor na hUidre"). They are evil spirits, and represent the traditional fallen angels, who in their descent had reached the earth only, while the Demna aeóir, "Demons of the air," are those of them who had not reached so far. The bravest of mortals dare not meet them. In the "Feast of Bricriu" Conall Cernach and Loegaire Buadach are dreadfully hacked and routed by them, but Cu Chulaind, who was a demigod, goes out to attack them, and after a severe contest drives them from the field. The third class is the Siabrai, who would seem to represent "the Infernals," the actual demons of the lower regions. Cu Chulaind, p. 399, *supra*, tells Loegaire it was not a Siabrae from below that came to him, but his own veritable self. These demons often inflicted injuries on mortals. In our annals King Cormac is said to have been killed by them. The adjectival form is riabur, like crebar, prudent: amlabar, mute: (Zeuss, "Gram. Celt.," 743): the substantival form is Siabrae (*ut supra*). The verbal form is riabraim, which expresses the act of a Siabrae upon any one, thus: conid he a riabrad 7 a raebrorcetul rin radera dorum: "so that it is their influence and evil suggestion that induced him." ("Battle of Mag Rath," p. 167: ed. O'Donovan). This passage speaks of the Furies, and, connecting it with the language of Cu Chulaind, we may fairly conclude that the Siabrai were the deceivers from below.

Con Culainn. (The Title.) The c of Con is not aspirated, because carpat is a neuter noun, that is, carpatn, and, therefore, the c does not come between two vowels. The c of Culainn should be aspirated, as coming after the genitive Con, which originally ended in a vowel: but the omission of aspiration is very frequent even in Zeuss.

Of this mythological "Hound," I have spoken at some length in my "Religious Beliefs," &c., referred to in the preceding note. To that dissertation I beg to send my reader, while I shall here add a few more particulars. Cu Chulaind was the son of Soalta who was married to Dectere, sister of Conchobar Mac Nessa, King of the Ulaid. His patrimony was the Plain of Murthemne, lying between the Boyne and the Carlingford mountains. His original name was Setanta, but he received the name of Cu Chulaind on the following occasion. Culand, the artificer of Conchobur, had a splendid Spanish hound, which attacked Cu when yet a boy, but which Setanta quickly killed. Culand began to weep for his hound, but the young lad offered himself to Culand as a substitute for the hound, and said he would undertake to protect himself and his property until a whelp of the same breed had come to maturity. Culand accepted the offer, and hence the name Cu Chulaind (Culand's hound). This *rationale* of the name occurs in an episode in the Tain Bo Cuailngi. I may observe *en passant* that this artificer's name is always written *Culand*, gen. *Culaind:* that it is therefore erroneous to suppose that the mountain Cuillenn, now *Sliabh Guillen*, in the county of Armagh, has taken its name from our Culand. This has been persistently done, but it must be corrected. The gen. of cuillenn. holly, is cuillinn, while, as I have said just now, the gen. of Culann is Culainn. The two forms occur frequently in "Lebor na hUidre," and there never confounded. Again, in the annotations to the Felire of Oengus in the "Lebor Brec," the Church of St. Moninne is called Cell Sléibe Chuillinn, (Killeavey), "the Church of the Mountain of Holly." Is not this historical Culand Cerdd the mythical Huland Smith of the Northerns, just as our Ui Neill, "Nepotes Nebularum," are their mythical *Nifl-ungen* "Cloud-younkers?"

The historical Cu Chulaind combined in his person the bravery of Achilles and the handsomeness of Paris. The dry annalist Tigernach calls him "fortissimus heros Scotorum," the bravest hero of the Scots; and all our ancient writers love to dwell upon his fame. The great scene of his exploits is the Tain Bo Cuailngi. Being the handsomest man of his time, together with having a peculiar bodily structure, he was loved by all the ladies of the Ulaid. "Three faults, however, he had, his being too young, ... his being too bold, and his being too handsome." ("Courtship of Emer," Lebor na hUidre). Rocarpat mna Ulad co mór Coin Culainn ar a áni oc on clipp, ar atlaimecht a lémmi, ar febar a érgnai, ar binni a erlabrai, ar cóemi a gnúsi, ar fescaigi a breci. Ar bátar fecht maic imlerain in a rig-por[aib]—a cechair ir ind ala súil ocus a tri hir inc súil aile do: fecht meóir cechtar a dá lam, ocus a fecht cechtar de a dí cor:—"The ladies of the Ulaid greatly loved Cu Chulaind for his splendour at the feat, for the readiness of his leap, for the excellence of his wisdom, for the melodiousness of his eloquence, for the beauty of his face, for the lovingness of his countenance. For there were seven pupils in his royal eyes—four in the one

eye, and three in the other for him: seven fingers on each of his two hands, and seven on each of his two feet."—(*Ib.*)

Our hero was very hard to be pleased in a wife. After it had failed Conchobar's nine emissaries for a whole year to find a king's, a prince's, or a farmer's daughter, whom he would deign to woo, he set off himself to *Lug-lochta Logo* (now Lusk), to pay his addresses to a lady there, namely, Emir, daughter of Forgall Monach. Forrdnic iarum Cu Chulainn inn ingin inn a chuci-maig con a comaltaib impe—ingena rón dan innam briugad bátar in Dún Forgaill. Datar rive oc foglaim druine ocus deg-lamda la h-Emir. Is i rin dan den-ingen ba riú lerreom do ingenaib h-Erenn do acallaim, ocus do tocmarc: ar is rí congab na ré búada forri .i. búaid croca, buaidn goca, búaidm bindirro, buaidn druine, búaidn gaire, búaidn genro. "Cu Chulaind afterwards found the daughter in her game-plain with her foster-sisters about her—daughters these, too, of the farmers who dwelt in Dun Forgaill. These were at learning of embroidering and skill-handiness with Emir. She accordingly is the only daughter he deemed worthy to address of the daughters of Eriu, and to woo her: for it is she who held the six victories upon her, namely, the victory of form, the victory of voice, the victory of melodiousness, the victory of embroidering, the victory of wisdom, the victory of chastity."—(*Ib.*)

To this beautiful Emir Cu Chulaind got married. His exploits at home and abroad cannot be even epitomized in a note: they must be left for a fuller occasion, He died at the age of thirty-three, for the proof of which, adduced for the first time, see my "Religious Beliefs of the Pagan Irish," published in this "Journal" for April 1869, p. 322.

Dolluid Patraic do Themraig (p. 374, line 1). Dolluid=do-nluid, literally, "he sent himself," the n being the infixed reflexive 3d. sing. personal pronoun. This verb is one of that class which form the past tense by adding d to the stem. Thus, then, the stem la, "to send," would make with the preposition do the past dolad: but as a and o are interchangeable, and were so even in ancient Gaulish (Magontiacum, and Mogontiacum: Damnonii and Domn.), and as ui is an infection of o, so lad becomes lod, and then luid. In the same way we have the past rogad, "I prayed," and the present guidim: and so ruic, "to fall," Skr. t. *pat:* ruir, "to prepare," Lat. *par-o:* and so on.

It appears plain from the expression, "he would not believe the Lord, though he used to be preached to him," that this was not the first time St. Patric tried the conversion of Loegaire: and though at the end of this tract he is said to have believed, yet it appears certain he died a Pagan. The traditional period of St. Patric's arrival is A. D. 432, and our MSS. agree that Loegaire reigned thirty years after the coming of Patric. With the historical question of St. Patric's arrival I have nothing to do here, but a certain passage in "the Conversion of Loegaire" (Lebor na hUidre) having been hitherto erroneously understood as favouring the Christianity of the monarch, while it actually makes against it, obliges me to quote and explain: Bói Loegaire trícam blíadna iar rin ic rigi hErenn hi comlinn fri Patraic, ocus bá do réir Patraic cena bói reom:—"Loegaire was thirty years after that in the government of Eriu in *conflict* with Patric, and it was at the service of Patric *nevertheless* he was." This gives an exact picture of the monarch's religious life, yielding the Apostle obedience

when convenient, and allowing him to propagate his doctrine, perhaps fully, but still adhering to his old belief. This passage shows how one little word may lead astray. In Dr. Petrie's "Antiquities of Tara," &c., the word comlinɡ is rendered "friendship," and the translation of ċenn is omitted altogether. But comlinɡ is certainly the same as coiblenɡ, "*contention*," "*contest*:" in a ċét ċumṁċi ocus in a ċeṫ ċomlinɡ caṫa for ceṫri coiceḋa h-Ḟenn: "in his first dash, and in his first contest against the four provinces of Eriu." ("Tain Bo Cuailngi,") (Lebor na hUidre). So in a note under the 12th June in the Felire: tria chumlinɡ mór: "through great contention." The formula ocus ċenn, acht ċenn, equals "but yet," "sed tamen," as we see *passim*, limiting, or altogether contradicting the previous words. For the death of Loegaire see "Four Masters," A. D. 457 and 458.

For fíɡin Érenn (p. 374, line 2.) Several attempts have been made to give a satisfactory derivation of the name and formation of Eriu, *gen.* Erend, and as the matter has not been as yet agreed upon, I shall here offer a conjecture of my own. In our earliest native documents the name in Latin is *Iberio*, gen. *Iberionis*: thus always in St. Patric's Confession, and in his Letter to Coroticus. His adjectival form is *Iberionax*, gen.—*acis*: *Ibernicus* once, but most probably a mistranscription. Roman and Greek forms of the name must not be relied upon. The existence of the form *Iberio*,—*nis*, in the days of St. Patric proves the existence of *Eriu*, *Erend*, at the same time. Now, if we compare the stem *Cailledon*, out of which the Romans formed *Caledonia* (Scotland), with the form *Caillend*, which it has assumed in Irish, we shall see that *Erend* should be equal *Exedon* = *Iberedon*. These forms should in the oldest state of our language of which we have any record give a shortened nominative *Cailled*, *Ibered*, making the corresponding genitives *Cailledon*, *Iberedon*. The latter old form is preserved in the Welsh "Iwerdon" (Ireland): adj. "Ewyrdonic" (Zeuss, Gramm. Celtica, p. 814), which Dr. W. Stokes in his Irish Glosses, Art. 305, translates "West-mannish," supposing the last syllable to be the Welsh don = Ir. ḋuine, "*person*."

It is of great importance to establish this *Iberedon*, as it will confirm the old Irish tradition of our Spanish, that is, of our Celt-Iberedian descent, as well as the route we took when coming to the Sacred Isle. It will also account for the mythic *Eber Dond*, "Brown Eber," a name formed by our old Irish bards out of this *Iberedon*. But if a branch of the Celtiberians, how is it that we have adopted for our country a Spanish name, which, so far as our inflections can go, we decline as an old Gaulish noun? This is not strange, though curious. That, however, the Celtiberi were a mixture of Gaulish Celts and of Iberi is stated by the ancient Roman writers, Cicero, Cæsar, Lucan, &c.

As to the word *Celt* itself, we find it fully explained in the *Gallia Comata* of the Latin writers as well as in the Irish word ceilċ, "hair." With the exception of the Narbonensian, all transalpine Gaul—Belgic, Celtic, Aquitanic—was designated *Comata*, "hairy." "Ratio appellationis est, quia ejus populi *comam* non tondebant, sed omni ætate nutriebant." In the "Brudin Da Derga" (Lebor na hUidre), are described certain giants, who had no clothing but the ceilċ, hair, which grew through their bodies. The "Celt" then is the "Hairy one," a very appropriate name, we may presume, from the remotest times; for in our oldest and youngest Hiberno-Celtic MSS. the hair is constantly referred to as worn very long, decked

with various ornaments, and always occupying the most serious attention of its owner.

An example of an authentic personal name, formed like *Ibered*, is that of "Lugnaed," a supposed nephew of St. Patric, whose monumental stone stands in the "Island of the Foreigner," Inis in Gaill, in Loch Corrib. Of the inscription on this stone two readings have been given, the older one Lia Lugnaedon macc Limenue, "the Stone of Lugnaed, son of Limenue," and the later maccı Menue, "son of Menue." I prefer the former, on account of the traditional Lemania, sister of St. Patric: for though macc would in this case be in the nom., while we should expect a genitive, in apposition to Lugnaedon, yet such a construction occurs in our oldest manuscripts. Again, the genitive maccı in an Irish inscription in Roman letters, is as yet unknown, and will remain so. I, however, would prefer reading maccu Menue. This would be only adding one perpendicular stroke or half a stroke to the L, for doing which there is room: and perhaps if the inscription were again more carefully examined, this conjecture might turn out successful. The name "Lugnaed" has been interpreted by Dr. Siegfried, per Dr. W. Stokes ("Transact. Phil. Society," 1866), as a compound of lug, small, and aed, fire: but in this case the .n. would be abnormal. I should prefer lug-naed = lug-o-naed, "little infant:" noidiu, noiden (Z. 264). And perhaps, after all, this compound is not a proper name, and that the extremely small stone, which stands at the head of the grave, is "in memoriam" of some dear first-born infant. The difference in the Zeussian and the inscriptional diphthong—the former oi and the latter ae—is no obstacle, for at the period of the earliest date we can assign to the inscription both oi and ai were occasionally written ae.

The argument for *Iberedon* becoming *Erend* is confirmed by the analogy within historic times of "Dun Calledon" (now Dunkeld), in Scotland, becoming Dun Caillend. See the examples which occur in the entries from Tigernach in St. Adamnan's life of St. Columba, ed. Dr. Reeves, p. 298. *En passant* I would remark that in these entries proper names have been unnecessarily invented. Thus in the entry A. C. 964, the adverbial form in moneitir is rendered "in Moneitir," though it is merely the immanecar (Gl. vicissim) of Zeuss, p. 569: accordingly in the entry under the year 1045, this form is superseded by the use of eturru fein, "between themselves."

In Comdid (p. 374, line 3). Here in is the article, as Comdiu must always have the article, not like crediim in Dia, "I believe in God," where in is the preposition, and Dia the acc. case. In Irish Dia, "God," and Diabul, "the Devil," never have the article. There are three forms of expression in connexion with crediim: as crediim Dia, "credo Deum," "I believe God:" that is, "I believe in the existence of God:" crediim do Dia, is properly "I trust in God," "credo Deo," but it is used almost in the same sense as crediim in Dia, "I believe in God," "credo in Deum." With regard to the word Comdiu, I may observe, that the idea of Trinity, such as Com-Dia (Co-God), being implied in it, is quite erroneous: and that it is equally erroneous to suppose, as some have done, that it is applied to the Saviour only. Like the Latin *Dominus*, it is applied either to the Father or the Son individually, or to the Tri-une God as one Lord.

No co crediub-sa (*Id.*, line 5). This no co is the strongest form of negation in Irish. The aspiration of the c of crediub shows that there is

no n omitted after it. This co is the adverbial form of the pronoun ce, *quis*, and is the same as the Latin *quo* or *qui*, and the Greek πῶς. The full phrase would be ní fil co = Gr. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως, "there is not how," "it is impossible that." Thus, in the Tain, Leb. na hUidre, queen Medb addresses the prophetess Fedelm: co accí in slúag? "How dost thou see the host?" that is, "What appearance does the host present to thee?" This co is glossed cinnas, what manner, which is the more usual form? In the no specniub-sa, towards the end of the sentence, the n of relation is omitted before c, and hence the c is not aspirated.

conidnacus (p. 374, line 7). This and the next verb conidnaslabus are two deponents, like labrus. (Ebel's Zeuss, p. 427.) The former is compounded of co-n-id-n-a-cus: "ad-quod-eum-videam." The verb is acus, in the middle voice, "until I see him for myself, and speak to him for myself," = ad-cus. The second in the same way = co-n-id-n-aslabus. The verb is aslabus = asglabus, the stem being glab, to speak. This glab becomes galb in the noun acallb = ad-galbam, "dialogue."

Nuccarfás (*Id.*, line 15). This form = nu-c-do-arfás, the verbal particle nu, the second personal pronoun .c. infixed, the prepp. do and ar, becoming car, and the verb fás, to appear. Very rarely does the particle nu accompany a primary preterite as here: comp. Ebel's an nu-dacomarc (cum coederet), his ed. of Zeuss, p. 416.

Nimdá cumac (*Id.*, line 16). Here cumac, written also cumaċ and cumang, is the subject to dá, and the m in nimda is the infixed personal pronoun of the 1st person sing. and in the dative—"non est mihi potentia." There is another nimdá, which means "not so," and which is interpreted ni fam dá, "not thus is." In the Turin Glosses, by the Chevalier de Nigra, occurs the phrase ir fam sin, "thus that is," which the editor says is obscure to him.

Fán in Charpat (*Id.*, line 21). This spot was at the dun, or rampart of the *Rath*, where they were directed to stay until the morrow, as above. It was situated just south of Fothath Ratha Grainne. See Petrie's "Antiquities of Tara Hill," p. 142. From this passage we see that the Hill of the "Sid of the Brug" (New Grange) was situated in "the Plateau of the Assembly," and that this latter was a place in "the Brug (or Plain) of the Mac Indoc." Here we have for the first time the name of the spot in which "Sid in Broga," (New Grange), was situated. The place was so called from the religious assemblies held there around the great temple of Oengus, the Jupiter of ancient Eriu. Loegaire was on his way thither, when Cu Chulaind appeared to him, which would seem to have the effect of keeping him back. This special allusion to the Assembly ground around the "Sid" confirms the view I have taken of the worship of the deified dead in ancient Eriu.

Conacar-[s]a in gáith úairn, aigbi (*Id.*, line 23). This is a peculiar expression, but occurring frequently in the classical languages. Thus Virgil, *Aen.* 490:—

"Mugire *videbis*
Sub pedibus terram, et descendere montibus arnos."
"Thou shalt *see* the earth
Bellowing beneath the feet, and the wild-ash trees coming down from the mountains."

On this point St. Augustine in his Confessions, Lib. 10, cap. 35, says: "Ad oculos proprie *videre* pertinet. Utimur autem hoc verbo etiam in

ceteris sensibus, cum eos ad cognoscendum intendimus Dicimus autem non solum, vide quid luceat, quod soli oculi sentire possunt, sed vide etiam quid sonet, vide quid oleat, vide quid sapiat, vide quam durum sit." "To the eyes properly belongs to *see*. But we use this word even in the case of the rest of the feelings, when we apply them to cognition But we say not only *see* what shines, which the eyes alone can perceive, but *see* also what sounds, *see* what smells, *see* what flavours, *see* how hard it is." The Irish use of the verb, however, is much more definite than the Latin, inasmuch as it takes the accusative direct, while the Latin takes the accusative with the infinitive. The Greek supplies examples quite parallel to the Irish.

Rofarpaċt in ġaiċ do Ḃenén (p. 374, line 25). "Interrogavi ventum de Benigno," instead of "interrogavi Benignum de vento." Comp. the Greek *ερωτάω*. *Benen* is formed from the Latin *Benignus*, whose Irish name I have in my "Faeth Fiada," published in the "Journal" for April, 1869, conjectured to have been "Feth Fio."

In fain (*Id.*, line 27). The forms fain and fein are in "Lebor na hUidre" very common for fin. Examples unnecessary.

Ḃan (*Id.*, line 29). In the Zeussian MSS., as well as in "Lebor na hUidre," this ḃan is written ḃā. Zeuss, Stokes, and all else previous to the publication of my Scéla na Ercnge (Dublin, 1865), resolved this contraction into ḃam, or ḃana, &c.; Zeuss always writes it ḃam; Stokes always ḃana. I am glad to see, however, that my mode of resolution has been adopted by the illustrious Chevalier de Nigra in his "Turin Glosses," Paris, 1869. In explaining the word he says—"Ḃan conjunctio scripta in codicibus breviata ḃā et transcripta ḃam a Zeuss, ḃana a W. Stokes" (p. 26). The Chevalier does me the honour to quote from the "Scéla" once or twice.

Immanḃeoċaṫar (*Id.*, line 30). Here the infixed relative plural an is subject; so in the half-line Immanḃiġ maġ Murṫemne, "who defends Murthemne's plain," the infixed an is the nom. singular. (Tain, "Lebor na hUidre").

Feóċúini (*Id.*, line 32). This word is *altered* fiáiċ, "ravens," in the "Book of Leinster," p. 78, col. c.

Roiarfac-fa (p. 376, line 1). In the two preceding cases we have fofarfaċt: comp. immiḃamṫelleċ, p. 380, and forelaċ, quatrain vii. of the poem.

Arae ṡċ (*Id.*, line 6). These words are explanatory of fúaṫu nan eċ &c., and are properly a metric triplet, so that, though the words are some of them obscure, we must make the horses and the two men out of them. Friher is like tarer in form (Zeuss, 616), and means "at back," "behind," the a prefixed is the preposition denoting on the side of. Síṫbe properly means a *pole* or *rod*, but is used here figuratively. It is glossed taisech, chief, by O'Clery.

NOTES ON POEM.

1.[1] The metre of this poem is rather irregular, but, perhaps, intentionally so, as being put into the mouth of Cu at such a critical hour. Its

[1] These numbers refer to that of the quatrains.

type is a distich divided into four parts, the first and third consisting of seven syllables each, and the second and fourth of three syllables each. Then there are several other laws as well as actual allowable variations introduced. One of the latter class is the trisyllabic conclusion of the first part of the first distich, and sometimes in that of the second. All the requisites for the perfect composition of every species of poetry are laid down in the treatise on Irish versification in the Book of Ballymote. Some of these requisites may be seen in the introduction to my "Faeth Fiada," published in this Journal for April, 1869. On the present occasion I shall say nothing special on this subject, as I may have an opportunity of printing the Ballymote tract before very long. I may remark, however, that the irregularity in some of the quatrains might be easily corrected without interfering with the sense. In the first quatrain, for example, we have eight instead of seven syllables, in the first half-line: this is caused by the introduction of the infixed pronoun á (them), in the verb immárbaimm (I drove). But the number of syllables is certainly erroneous, and the pronoun is entirely unnecessary, as it is the same as már-gnáthe (great flocks), which, as the text now stands, is a pleonasm, though a pleonasm of frequent occurrence in the oldest Irish. Again, the second half-line is defective a syllable, a fault which may be corrected by adding thair (in the east). We might thus make all the quatrains uniform in syllables, but as there are several cases where we might have an additional syllable line in a distich, and as I have not just now time to examine the various metrical laws, which would be necessary for the illustration of the poem, I shall let the present text stand as it is.

Immárbimm-rea. First sing. secondary pres. (= consuetudinal past). Ind. act. of the verb berb = rádh, with the prep. imm, and having the pronoun á (them) infixed. It is here transitive, but in other cases intrans., as in the Tain Bo Cuailnge Leb. na hUidre. Imrádhat iarom co Sliab Fúait: "They drive afterwards to Sliab Fuait." The word rádh (intransitive) means to travel in a chariot, in a boat, or on horse-back. A peculiar form of this verb occurs above in the words "Cía bét bregga?" "Who drives the Brega?" that is, "Who drives, or rides, about in the territory called the Brega?" where we have bregga an accus. of cognate signification. Rét (= ráidhi, the ai being expelled and the double dh becoming a t) is the third sing. pres. Ind. active of ráidhim. In the same manner in the phrase, adbét dúnn di á már-gnímaib—"He should tell us of his great deeds;" I take adbét to be equal to adbédeth 3rd. sing. pret. conditional active of adrádhim, *I relate*. la Concobur. This was Conchobur Mac Nessa, who was King of Ulster in the first century. His tragic death, to which reference is made in quatrain 31 following, will be found fully given in O'Curry's Lectures, p. 277, et seqq.

11. Rommebdacár. The third plur. pret. Ind. act. of the verb meb, "to break," with ro the sign of the past tense, and the reflexive n, the third plural personal pronoun (see Ebel's Zeuss, p. 332) assimilated to the m of meb. The verb thus literally means "they broke themselves," like the frequently-quoted rommunur of Z., lit. "I have taught myself," that is, "I have learned." The subject is már-catha, "great battles," in the next half verse. This verb is one of those which form their preterite in d. See Ebel's "Zeuss," p. 454. A large number of these preterites occur in the present tract, but a still greater number ending in that of t.

IV. Ropiacc a mór-airgne. This idea of Cu Chulaind never absenting himself from a plunder made on, or a plunder made by the Ulidians is very general in Irish tales. See notes preceding. Dáil tene. Dáil is the acc. plur. of adaig, the Infinitival noun of the verb adaig, compound of the prep. ad (= to), and aig (to drive) = Lat. *adigo*. (Z. 336). Compare—Dáchatar in crich hi tenid—"They drove the territory into fire."

VII. Rofelach-sa. This formation is like immidamchelleth, and roiarfach, above, save that the latter ch is not aspirated. Verbs of this formation govern datives and accusatives. For rofelach comp.: Rofelaig Cu Chulaind cuci iar tiachtain dó o'nd loch co tarat a di laim im a brágit.—"Cu Chulaind rushed to him after he had come from the lake until he gave his two hands around his throat" (Feast of Brieriu, Leb. na hUidre).

VIII. In this quatrain rochorbaid and sím being nouns of multitude, take the verbs dorochratar and rogabtá in the plural.

IX. Da sí sin in cáin. In this half line the mark over s is somewhat like the horizontal mark of contraction for n: but still though heavy it is oblique. If we leave it as the contraction for n, we must read ba sin, sin in cain, "that, that was the tribute," but the former is preferable. Perhaps we should read bas insin "that was," where bas would be a preterite in -as.

X. Dún Scáith, "The Fort of Scath." This is the proper name, and not Dún Scathaig, "The Fort of Scathach." This latter is an adjective, and means "a native of Scath," that is, the island Skye. In the phrase: con a glassaib fasin, "with its locks of irons," the word fasin is in the gen. plural instead of the more usual gen. sing. faisin, or the adject. fasnaide in agreement with its substantive: and so in the other quatrains.

XI. This quatrain shows the distinction between ronnach and múr. The latter was the base or support of the former, which was made of iron, as here, or of wood. There were nine heads—the sacred number of the Hiberno-Celt—on each ronnach.

XII. Frimma. The manuscript reads frimma, "against me not." According to this the trans. would be "Against me not, as to any thing (ní), great defences." The more usual form of the negative in this collocation is ni, but as the other ní follows, the first might easily become na, which seems to have been the primary form of the Irish negative (Zeus, p. 705). The scribe in fact may have thought that he was copying fri mnái, "against women," that is, "against women not great defences," much less against *heroes*. This, however, is not probable. Frimma (more correctly frimmi) "against us," is the nearest form to the original, though I should prefer frim-sa, "against me," which I believe to be the true reading. The word rochomaide is a formation like rochorbaid, "great defect" in the eighth quatrain above. For in dátar: "On which were." Instead of for sin dátar, the true reading seems to be forrimbátar = forr am bátar = for san bátar, "on which were." The n of san becomes m before the labial b.

XVI. Ech-dili ci adcuisi: "Horse-stock though [persons] explained them." In this phrase the subject to adcuisi is understood, a thing which frequently happens in Sanscrit, Latin, and Greek. Adcuisi. comp. ó adcuaid suim icce: "after he explained the mystery

of salvation, Z. 454. The impersonal form of this verb is frequent, as: Adcúar dam ní bádár in hEre. "It was told me there was not in Ere." (Leb. na hUidre). Is dam four madcour, "It is instruction to me if it has been related." (Brocan's Hymn). Similar formations are adcerr, "was seen:" focloir, "was heard," &c. Ech-dili is a compound of ech, a horse, and dil, stock: like the marb-dili, dead stock, and the beo-oili, live-stock, of the Brehon Laws. See O'Donovan's Supplement to O'Reilly under the word marb-dil. Now, as Cu Chulaind was the Achilles of ancient Eriu, being, as he was, "fortissimus heros Scotorum" (Tigernach), it would be interesting to see how far the mythological history of those two heroes correspond. On this point I shall make a few remarks.

Thetis gave her son Achilles to Chiron the Centaur to be educated in the island of Scyros, and to be taught all science there, and to remain there for the purpose of avoiding going to the Trojan war, as it was preordained, if he did do so, he should never return. While there he begat Pyrrhus of Deidamia, daughter of Lycomedes, king of the island. In the same manner Cu Chulaind was given to Scathach, queen of the Isle of Skye, to be brought up in the knowledge of all sorts of feats, and of arms especially. While there he begat Conlach of Aife, daughter of the queen. Again, in the same way, as it was destined for Achilles not to return from the siege of Troy, so was it destined for Cu Chulaind not to return from the Tain Bo Cuailngi. The latter expedition has always been regarded by the ancient Irish as correlative to the former; the siege of Troy lasting for ten years, and the Tain for seven, and according to others for ten. Again, as Achilles was placed under Chiron, the Centaur in the family of King Lycomedes, so Cu Chulaind saw at the fort of Dun Scaith, the residence of the queen, these frightful beings, which he says were called ech-dili, that is, Centaurs, the upper part human and the lower equine. These comparisons might be multiplied to any extent.

XVIII. Loég na tedram bó: "The calf of the three cows." The caldron is called the calf of the three cows, because the full of it used to be milked from them at each milking time. This appears from the following passage in H. 2, 16, col. 777; a MS. of Trinity College, Dublin. Cipi tucaid ar fomarbrad Ulaid Coin Roi, mac Dairi? Nim. Im blathnait ingen Mind, tucad a Forbair Fen Failgi, ocus im na teoir hErca luchna, ocus im na tri Fira Ochaine .i. eoin bega, nobitir for hoib nam bó .i. nan Earcn luchnai. Ocus tucad coiri lar na bu: ba he al loeg. Tricha aigi a luchlad in coiri. Ocus noblig-thea a lan cacha crathca uaibib, cen no bidir na heoin ic a foicheduil. Is de arbert Cu Chulaind ir inc Siabar Charpat:

Bui Coiri 'r in Dun,
Loeg na teorm bo:
Tricha aigi in a crir
Irr ed ba luchlachdo.

"What is the cause for which the Ulaid killed Cu Roi, son of Daire?" Not difficult. About Blathnat, daughter of Mind, who was brought from the siege of Fer Failge, and about the three Earc Luchnai, and about the three Fira Ochaine, that is, little birds that used to be on the ears of the cows, that is, the Earc Luchnai. And a caldron was brought with the cows:

it was their calf. And the full of it used to be milked each time from them, while the birds used to be singing for them. It is from it Cu Chulaind said :—

"There was a caldron in the *dun*,
The calf of the three cows :
Thirty joints in its girth—
It is that was a charge for it."

xxiii. Immórour-[r]a. "I went it," that is, the sea. The ó is the infixed pronoun. The verb is ra or ro : Imraired without the preterite ro is common in Leb. na hUidre. The verb rornaur-[r]a in the 24th quatrain following, is of the same class, that is vowel stems. Nonbur cécar mo dá lam : "Each of my two hands nine," that is, having nine in each of my two hands. This idiom is very common in Irish, and requires no remarks.

xxiv. Romleicar, "they stuck to me," contracted for romleicecar. See Ebel's Zeuss, p. 457.

xxvi. Luigni. This was *Lugaid, son of the three Cu's*, who killed Cu Chulaind. See O'Curry's Lectures, pp. 478, 479.

xxvii. Immárubairt-ra, "I played them." Here the infixed pronoun á is explained by the cleithe and the gai bolgae following. Comcert, concert, Lat. *concentus*. In one other passage only (in 23, N. 10, a MS. of the Royal Irish Academy) have I met this word :—

"In linm bir i comcert
For ranuigthe in rig,
Ir immalle pinnite
I tein thia bith fir."

"The number that be in concert
At contemning of the king,
It is together they are punished
In fire for ever and ever."

xxviii. In Demon con oen-méor. "The Devil with one finger." This may mean that the Devil had only *one* finger, that is, *one* claw ; and I believe he is sometimes so represented. It is more probable, however, that the meaning is—"The Devil with one of his fingers."

xxix. Cécc. The remainder of this half-line defaced.

xxxi. Cécc in rí Mac Nessa. "But the King Mac Nessa." See note on quatrain i.

xxxiv. This quatrain consists of the last line, col. 2, p. 114, with a defect, and *one* word in the line above it, with a defect. I shall attempt no restoration.

xxxix. Ocbalt-ra=ó acbalt-ra. "Since I died." This is one of those verbs which form their preterites in t ; it is written in full with ru, the sign of the past tense in quatrain xliii., following.

xlv. Robad mór in band. "Great would be the shot." The meaning of band will be understood from the following passage in the Tain. (Leb. na hUidre) :—

Ꝑoċerbeḃ a líaṫróiṫ ocur ꝑoċerbeḃ a loirg in a ḋíaiḃ, com benaḃ in líaṫroiṫ: Ní bo moo in banḃ olḋar a ċéle. "He used to shoot his ball, and he used to shoot his club; the shot was not greater than its fellow." In the Book of Leinster, 70, d., it is said that a person gave a banḃ ꝑeramail. "A manly julk" on his *curach*, and drove it to land.

Tar Loegaire. This is Loegaire the Druid, whom the writer confounds with "Loegaire the king," for it was the former who was swallowed up by the earth. In the tract, entitled "The Conversion of Loegaire," in Leb. na hUidre, it is stated that at "the prayer of Patric the earth swallowed Loegare Drui."

Noí cet bliaḋain. See Introduction.

THE IRISH CHARIOT.

It will be seen from the following descriptions that the broga of our text, p. 376, *supra*, must mean "a chariot," as it comes in exactly where carpat, the ordinary name, does in the others, and is followed by the same clauses. In the Tain, too, brogaḋ ind arad, "the charioteering of the charioteer" is spoken of. In the Feast of Bricriu (Leb. na hUidre), Loegaire Buadach's horses and chariot are thus described by Find-abair (Bright-beam) to her mother Medb, queen of the Connachta:—

(*a*). "Atċiu-ra ém," ol Find-abair, "na ḋá eċ filet fó'n ċarpat—ḋá eċ bruṫmara, brec-glarra: comḋaṫa, comċróṫa, commaṫi, combúaḋa: comlúaṫa, comléimneċa: biruiċ, aiḋ-ċind, aggenmáir, allmair, gablaiċ, guipċúil, ḋúalaiċ, tul-leṫain: forbreca, forenga, forleṫna, forránċa: carr-mongaig, carr-ċairċig. Carpat fiodgrind, féṫaiḋe. Dan droċ duba, taircir: dán alln áeḃḋa, imnairri: fertri crúaḋi, colg-díbgi: cret nóiṫeċ, nóiglinne. Cuing druimneċ, drond-arga: dán alln ḋúalċa, drond-buḋi. "I see indeed," says Find-abair, "the two horses which are under the chariot—two horses ardent, speckled-grey: of like colour, of like form, of like goodness, of like victory: co-swift, co-bounding: pointed, high-head, active, strange, forked, snout-slender, wrath-ful, forehead-broad: very-speckled, below-slender, above-broad, aggressive: curl-maned, curl-tailed. A wood-band, withe-y chariot. Two black, adjusted wheels: two beautiful, entwining reins: steel, sword-straight shafts: a splendid body of strong joinings. A ridgy, strong-bright yoke:

two wreath-y, strong-yellow reins." [Note, the reins are by mistake twice mentioned in this passage].

(*b*). The same lady, after describing the horses, as in the preceding case, describes Conall Cernach's chariot thus: Carpat fid-glind, fedaide. Dían droch finna, umaidi: ríthe find forgarglt: crec aurard, drégaccach. Cuing druimnech, dron-uallach: dían all dúalca, dron-budi. "A wood-band, withe-y chariot. Two bright, brazen wheels: a bright pole of much-silver: a very high, noisy body. A ridgy, strong-proud yoke: two wreath-y, strong-yellow reins."

(*c*). Again, after describing the horses, as before, Findabair describes Cu Chulaind's chariot thus:—Carpat fét-glind fedaine. Dian droch ernbudi, iarnda: ríthe co fétain find-ruine. Crec éda, chom-glinne. Cuing druimnech, dron-drdae: dán all dúalca, dron-budi. "A withe-band chariot of witheing. Two very yellow, iron wheels: a pole with a withing of *findruine*. A tin body of slope-joinings. A ridgy, strong-golden yoke: two wreath-y strong-yellow reins."

(*d*). In the Courtship of Emer (Ibid.) Cu Chulaind's chariot is thus described, and, as in all cases, immediately after the description of the horses: Carpat fid-glind, fedaide. Dian droch finna, umaide: ríthe find find-airglt co fedain find-ruine. Crec uarard, drégaccach, rí éda, chom-glinde. Cuing drumnech, dron-drda: dán all dúalca, dron-budi: fertri crúadi, colg-dírgi. "A wood-band withe-y chariot. Two bright, brazen wheels: a bright pole of bright-silver, with a witheing of *find-ruine*. A very high, noisy body, and it of tin, of slope-joininglets. A ridgy, strong-golden yoke, two wreath-y, strong-yellow reins: steel, sword-straight shafts."

(*e*). In the Tain Bo Cuailngi (Ibid.) we have some further information regarding Cu Chulaind's chariot. The writer says:—Iarr in fiartrad frin fiartarda im Choin Culaind, ir andrin dorneblaing ind errn gargid in a cét-carpat ferda, con ernaib iarnaidib, con a faebraib tanaidib, con a baccánaib 7 con a bir-crúadib, con a tairbirib níat con an glér aurrolcdi, con a tair-[n]gib gáide, bícir ar fertrib ocur íallaib ocur fidirib ocur folomnaib do'n carpat frin. Ir amlaid boí in carpat

ꝛın, con a ċꝛeıt ċꝛóeꝛ-tana, ċꝛóeꝛ-tıꝛım, ċleꝛ-aıꝛd, colg-dírig, cauꝛáta, aꝛ a taıllꝛıtíꝛ oċtn aıꝛm mnᵭꝛlaṫa, co lúaꝛ ꝛaınᵭle, no gáiṫe, no ċlíabaıg ᵭaꝛ ꝛoe maıge. "After that confounding which was confounded about Cu Chulaind, it is then the hind of championship jumped into his serrated battle-chariot, with iron spikes, with its thin edges, with its hooks, and with its point-steels, with its supplies of a champion, with their open trim, with its nails of sharpness, which used to be on shafts, and thongs, and passages, and sub-ropes for that chariot. It is how that chariot was with its body stomach-thin, stomach-dry, feat-high, sword-straight, heroic, on which would fit the eight arms of a noble prince, with the swiftness of a swallow, or of wind; or of a roe over the level of a plain."

Of the five extracts here given, the last only refers to the war-chariot; but with the exception of the equipments required for the battle-field, the war-chariot was the same as the travelling chariot: there was no difference in their structure.

That the three great stocks of the Celtic name—the Gaulish, British, and Irish—made use of chariots in war, admits of no doubt. With regard to the two first we have authentic evidence of the fact in contemporary Roman writers; and as to ourselves, our own ever-faithful and very ancient documents are equally clear on this matter. The Gaulish for "chariot" is *esseda* (so also *carpentum*—see below), as in Propertius, Eleg. II., i., 86:

"Esseda cælatis siste Britanna jugis."

and *essedum* (that is *essedon*), as in Cæsar. Vid. Zeuss, "Grammatica Celtica," pp. 11, 60, 753. The warrior in the *essedum* is called *essedarius* by Cæsar: the Gaulish form would be either *essedos*, or *essedios*, in analogy with the Irish cáꝛꝛᵭeċ: see below. There was another vehicle, called *petorritum* (= Ir. ceᵭaꝛ-ꝛíaᵭ, four-wheeled) in common use among the Gauls, but not for war purposes, for we find it drawn by mules. Thus Ausonius, Epist. VIII., v., 5:—

"Cornipedes raptant imposta petorrita mulæ."

The term for the Welch war chariot is *cygwein*, transliterated *covinus* by the Romans :—

> "Agmina falcifero circumvenit arcta covino."
> *Silius Ital.* 17, 422.

The two last syllables of co-*vinus* is the Ir. fén (Gl. *plaustrum*, Zeuss, p. 116). The Germanic *vagus* supplies the root *vag*, Lat. *veh*, Skrt. *vah*, to carry. See Zeuss, *ubi supra*.

The Irish war chariot is called cat-charpat catha, or ferda "battle-chariot of battle," or "serrated," or carpat ferda "serrated chariot," because, when fully furnished, every part of it available for attack or defence, being closely spiked, presented the *edge*-appearance of a *saw*. The Ir. for *saw* is ferr, Lat. *serra;* and the following explanation of the epithet ferda is given in the MS. classed 23, N. 10, p. 126, R. I. Academy :—Is air adbercha ferrda de .i. a na ferraib iarnaidib, bicis an inoill arr: no dan, is ó na ferraib frit a bunadar ar tus. "It is why it used to be called ferrda (saw-y) from the iron *saws*, which used to be in array out of it: or again, it is from the *saws* its origin was found at first." Would it be rash to presume that this Iberedonic carpat ferda may have been the origin of the Roman "carpentum sericum?" In a gloss in the Amra Choluimb Chille, Leb. na hUidre—amail téit carpat ferda tré cath, "as goes a serrated chariot through battle," the word carpat is *alitered* claideb, "sword," that is, claideb ferda, "serrated sword." Now, "gladium *sericum*" appears in Roman writers : comp. the "Damascus blade" of the Middle Ages. The form carpat = Lat. *carpentum;* but not borrowed from it, for *carpentum* is also Gaulish. Thus, L. Amoenus Florus, Lib. 1, cap. 18, makes the *carpentum* peculiar to the Gauls. "Pecora Volscorum, *carpenta Gallorum*, fracta Samnitum arma." It is possible that Florus may here use *carpentum* in a general sense, but as *-entum* is a normal Gaulish affix (comp. Argento-marus, Agrento-ratum, &c.), we may conclude that *carpentum* was a true Gaulish word. The Welch form is *cerbyd*, not representing *carpentum*, but the Ir. carpat, and borrowed from it, for otherwise the Welch

would be *carbant*, or *cerbynt*, as *aryant* = *argentum*, the *.t.* before *n* being retained in Welsh, but rejected in Irish. The Irish charioteer is called ara, gen. arad, *passim*: the warrior is called err (gen. errid), .i. laech, hero (H. 3, 17: T. C. D., p. 362), and so frequently in Leb. na hUidre, as in the "Courtship of Emer:" ar a dénu ocus ar a ánu in charpait ocus ind errid, arindrúaid and—"for the speed and for the splendour of the chariot and of the hero, who used to sit it." A general name, however, for the warrior is cairptech, "chariot-man," "charioter," a derivative from carpat, and corresponding to the *essedarius* of Cæsar. Thus in the "Tain Bo Cuailngi" we read of a certain river rising up against the forces of Queen Medb, and carrying off to the sea thirty of her *cairptechs*.

On comparing with each other the text description of the chariot and the five others quoted here, it will be seen that, besides being very brief, they are also very much alike. The former circumstance renders them obscure: the latter, however, invests them with the character of truthfulness. In attempting the translation and analysis of these descriptions I have to rely entirely on my own resources. I have no guide, living or dead, as up to this moment nothing whatever has been done either by way of translation or analysis in this department of Irish literature and antiquities. All my examples are taken from Leb. na hUidre, as the later transcripts are not to be depended on. Thus in the Book of Leinster (H. 2, 18: T. C. D.), the horses of Cu Chulaind are described somewhat as in the present tract, but the transcriber gives them two yokes: dá cuing arddai, forforda forailb—"two high, very golden yokes on them" (fol. 77, a): when, however, one of the horses runs away, he says that leth a cuing, "half of his yoke" was on him. In Leb. na hUidre one cuing (yoke) only is mentioned, and this cuing is exactly the same as mám, *jugum*, the term used in reference to the horses of St. Brigit's chariot in Brocan's Hymn: ni bu leith-ísel in mám, "the yoke was not side-low," that is, *uneven*. This cuing, it is stated (Leb. na hUidre, "Courtship of Etain") was first used on the neck in the reign of Eochaid Airem: is aicce doirech

tucad cuing for muinelaib dam do fernaib h-Erend—"It is at his hands was first given a yoke on necks of oxen from the men of Eriu." The material of the cuing was probably in most cases wood as the epithets, dron-órda (strong-golden), &c., applied to it, may mean simply its ornamentation, though at the same time these epithets may express the actual material. In the mythological tale of Brudin da Derga, Sídbe and Cuing are man and wife, and have three sons *Cul*, *Frecul*, and *Forcul*. Cul ocus Frecul ocus Forcul—trí frím-araid mo rig fin : tri comair, tri maic Siabe ocus Cuinge. "Back, Reback Backward—the king's three chief charioteers these : three equal-aged, three sons of Pole and Yoke." In section (*b*) of this note the epithet is merely dron-uallach "strong-proud." It was ridged in the back, and hence it is called druimnech, lit. "dorsal."

The following are the parts of the chariot mentioned in the passages before us : rídbe, or riasc, the pole ; droch, the wheel: roth, the rim or felloe ; fertri (nom. fertar), the shafts ; cret, the body ; rupall, the hood, while the chariot itself is styled fid-gruind fedaide (= ligneafascis vieta), that is, composed of "small timber withed together." This applies to the cret only, as the pole, shafts, wheels, &c., were of various materials. Sídbe means any long rod, or pole, and is frequently used to denote a *chief :* a chess-board *king*, &c. The Welsh equivalent is *cerbyd-lath* (chariot-rod) = Ir. carpat-slat. The word appears to be a compound of sídh, long, and be, a cut, s in to-be, decisio (Zeuss, Gramm. Celt. *passim*) : comp. Lat. (id.) from stem *tem-* (to cut) found in Gr. τέμνω, &c. In section (*b*), *supra*, the sídbe is styled find, forgaisc, "bright, of much silver." In section (*c*) it is co fedain find-ruine, "with a witheing of *findruine*," no material named. In section (*d*) it is styled find, find-argit co fedain *findruine*, "bright, of bright silver, with a witheing of findruine." In this last case the sídbe was actually made of *white silver*, and ornamented with *findruine*. In O'Clery's Glossary feda (*recte* fedha), the gen. of fedh, is explained flesca, no fedain [e], "of a line, or of a withe;" and in the "Courtship of Etain" Midir carries a spear co fedha[i]n óir imbi ó uslond co cro, "with a withe

of gold around it from heel to holdfast." The cró was the metal hoop which bound the head to the shaft.

Droc, roth. In O'Clery's Glossary, and in H. 3. 18: T. C. D., droc is explained by roth; but the present tract, the only one in which I have met the two words in the same passage, clearly proves that, when taken in their exact sense, there is a difference in meaning between these two forms. That droc, however, means a *wheel*, in a general manner—that is, the whole article which goes by that name—nave, spokes, and felloe, is, I think, quite certain. These two droc's cannot be the axle-trees: as there were only two wheels to the Irish chariot, there could be only one axle-tree. It cannot be the *nave*, for in that case it would be said to belong to the wheel, and not to the chariot; besides, the following passage in the Brudin da Derga, speaks of a person reconnoitering a large festive gathering, by aid of the light through the drocu of the chariot, hauled up at the door, con daderscaca tria drocu na carpat, "so that I viewed them through the wheels of the chariot;" that is, through the interstices of the spokes.

There is a passage in the Tain, Leb. na hUidre, which would seem, at first sight, to point to the nave; but when taken in connexion with other passages, as well as with its traditional gloss, it can be easily understood. Feotar iarom hi Cúil Sibrille. Ferair fnecta mor forru co fernnu fer ocus co drocu carpat. "They sat down afterwards at Cul Sibrille. Great snow pours on them to the *girdles* of men, and to the wheels of chariots." Here the height to the droc is made equal to the height to a man's girdle; but if the droc meant the *nave* or *axle*, the man, whose girdle was only of equal height with it, must indeed have been very small. There is every reason to believe that the Celtic chariot-wheel was very small, and indeed the one or two specimens dug up from ancient *tumuli* show a diameter of only about two feet eight inches. See below extract from "the Sculptured Stones of Scotland." The meaning then of this passage is, that the snow was as high as "the girdles of men," and "the wheels of chariots;" that is, the top of the wheel. The expression will then be equal to what is used in another passage in the Tain, where the wheels of Cu Chulaind's chariot flung up clods, stones, &c.,

airdd in airdd fri na roṫaib iarnduibib: "height to height with the iron wheels;" that is, as high as the top of the wheel. The material of the droch is not always stated; but in sections (*b*) and (*d*) it is said to be of brass, and in section (*c*) of iron. This last is the traditional, and must have been the usual metal, an induction which is confirmed by the fact that one of the specimens above referred to was of iron.

The word roṫ, when not accompanied with droch, means a *wheel*, but strictly the external metal band, called the *tire*. Cu Chulaind's charioteer, Loeg was once in a great fix in trying to get down from the chariot. The horses had become restive, and would not let him pass over them; a wild ox had been tied between the two shafts behind, filling up the whole space, and the two iron rims were so sharp that he could not easily step either on or over the edge of them. He says to his master, ní ecaim dan cécṫ rec necṫar in da roṫ iarndae in carpait ar a ráebraige. "I cannot, again, pass by either of the two iron rims (wheels) of the chariot on account of their edginess." Here, though the whole wheel may have been included, and may all have been of iron, yet the reference is specially to the rim. There are, however, other passages, as in the last quoted but one, and in the carpat da raṫ, "chariot of two wheels," of Brocan's Hymn, where the word roṫ means simply the wheel. The form raṫ for roṫ is the same as falṫ, hair, for folṫ, &c.

Fertair, fertri. The two fertri were two shafts projecting from the chariot behind. In the passage referred to about the roṫ in the preceding paragraph, Loeg says: ní dicim dan rec in dam, a[r] rolín a congna eter di fertair in carpat uile. "And I cannot come past the ox; for his horns have filled all between the two shafts of the chariot." And further on, when the manner in which Cu Chulaind drove back to Emain Macha is described, it is stated that he had a flock of swans tied above the chariot, and a dam allaid indiaid a charpait—"a wild ox *behind* his chariot." If, then, the ox had filled up with its horns the space between the two fertair, and was in this position dragged *behind* the chariot, it is evident the shafts must have been behind. These shafts were re-

moveable at pleasure, for in the Book of Leinster (H. 2. 18: T. C. D., fol. 71, d,) a certain person asks for the ꝑeꝛꞇaiꝛ of his chariot, to try the depths of the ford before the horses: Ꝺomꝺoceꝺ ꝑeꝛꞇaꝛ mo ċaꝛꝛꝑaiꞇ co ꝺoꝼꝼomuꝛ ın aꞇ ꝑıaꝛ ın eċꝑaıꝺ.—"Let the shaft of my carriage be reached me, that I may try the ford before the horses." The shaft was given him, and he sets about trying the ford.

Cꝛeꞇ. The word cꝛeꞇ means the *body*, the chariot proper. The material was always wood; that is, strong wicker-work on a strong timber frame. This idea is conveyed by the ꝑıꝺ-ꝯꝛınꝺ, ꝑeꞇaıꝺe. In sections (*c*) and (*d*), *supra*, the cꝛeꞇ is said to be cꝛéꝺa, a word which occurs in Leb. na hUidre in one other passage only—in "the Brudin da Derga"—where the king's cup-bearers have brooches of this material. This ċꝛeꝺa (recte cꝛeꝺꝺa), I take to be an adjective from the stem cꝛéꝺ, found in the compound cꝛéꝺ-úma, "tin-copper"—that is, *bronze*—and regard it as the native term for *tin*. That tin was extensively employed in ancient Irish art, is clear from the specimens remaining in our national Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. The splendid "Adare Cup," for exhibition there at present, is a compound of tin and silver. In saying that the cꝛeꞇ was cꝛéꝺa, the writer meant to say, not that it was of that material, but that it was "tinny," "adorned with tin." Now, decorating chariots with tin was a favourite practice among the ancient Celts. Thus Pliny, lib. 34, cap. 17, says that the Gauls were in the habit of adorning their vehicles with tin. "*Stanno* esseda, et vehicula, et petorrita exornare." This cꝛéꝺ, then, whether borrowed from the Lat. *creta* or not, I conceive to be the special Irish name for "tin:" the word ꝛꞇan, though considered by some to be of Celtic origin, is simply the Lat. *stannum*.

Ꝑupall. This word requires no explanation. It is the Lat. *papilio*, with a change of declension, and means an "over-head covering," as here in regard to the chariot; a tent on the battle-field, and so on.

From this short examination of the Irish chariot we can gather the following records:—That its framework was made of wood; that its body (or *crate*) was formed of wicker-work on a strong, sloping frame, and was very high;

that, like the Gaulish, this body was occasionally adorned with tin; that it had two projecting, quite straight, hind-shafts; that it had a pole, occasionally made of white silver, and adorned with *findruine*, to which a single yoke for the two horses was attached; that it had two wheels only, sometimes all of iron or of brass; that when of wood, which we presume to have been the case where the material is not specified, these wheels always had an iron tire; and that it had a regular "hood" and interior furniture. With this number of wheels correspond those of the chariots sculptured on the Cross at Kilclispeen, on the North Cross at Clonmacnois, and on the Cross in the churchyard at Kells. With it also, as well as with the material, agrees the following statement in the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland" (Spalding Club):—"Occasionally fragments of chariots have been found in British sepulchres. About 1815 a barrow near Market-Weighton, in Yorkshire, was opened, in which was a cist containing the skeleton of a man. Near the head were the heads of two wild beasts. Inclining from the skeleton on each side had been placed a chariot wheel, of which the iron tire and ornaments of the nave alone remained. The wheels had been about two feet eleven inches in diameter," &c. But, in addition to this, we shall learn from extracts, which will be given further on, that the chariot, when used in war, was covered along the edges, and in every available point, with hooks and nails and spikes, &c., both for defensive and offensive purposes. Here the wheel was of wood, but in another instance it was of iron. "A second barrow, in the same neighbourhood, also yielded the remains of a charioteer. The skeleton was found to have rested on the shield; on each side had been placed a chariot wheel, and a bridle-bit, *which was all of iron.*"—*Ib.* From the form of the expression, "which was all of iron," I cannot say exactly whether the writer meant that both the wheels and bridle-bit were of iron, or the bridle-bit only. The former, however, I take to be his meaning. I may observe on the last extract that the skeleton on the shield was, in my mind, not the charioteer, but the warrior himself, as I do not find the charioteer making use of a shield. As I have entered rather fully on this subject, I shall here add from the Tain (Læb. na hÜidre) the battle dress of Loeg

and Cu Chulaind, when setting off in their carpat ferda to wreak destruction on the camp of Ailell and Medb.

The Charioteer.—Is andso atraacht int ara ocus fogab a fían errid aradnaachta immi. Bá do'no fían-errid aradnaachta fin fogabartár fom immi a inar bláith, biannaide, is é étrom, aerda; is é ruátha, frebnaide; is é úaithe, orr-letar; con na gebethar ar lúamaidecht lám dó anechtair. Rogabartar fom forbrat fainn taris anechtair, dorighi Simón Druí do Dair, do rígh Rómán, con dadarat Dair do Chon-dobor, con dadarat Con-dobur do Coin Culaind, con darairbert Cu Culaind di á araid. Rogabartar int ara cétna fin dan a cath-barr círrach, clárach, cetrochair con ilur cach datha ocus cach delba dar a mid-guallib frechtair. Bá fomarri dorom fin, ocus ni f' bo thórtromad. Tarraill a lám leirr in girnin derg-budi, mar bad land derg-óir do bronn-óir brúth dar orn inneóin, fri étan dó, ind chomartha a aradnaachta fri a tigerna. Rogabartár idata ausrlaicthi a ech ocus a del intlarri in a derna: fogabartár érri artuda a ech in a thuarri .i. aradna a ech in a láim incli, re imcommus a aradnaachta. Is andso fochéird a lúrecha iarnaidi, intlarri immó' echaib, con gebethar doib o thul co ausdorn, do gaimb ocus bírímb ocus flesímb ocus bir-chúaidib; co f'bo birfocus cach fonnud is in carpat fin; co f'bo chonair letartha cach ulind, ocus cach ind, ocus cach aird, ocus cach aircind do'n charpat fin. Is and fin fochéird brichtt comga dar a echtaid ocus dar a chomalta, con ná f'bo léir do neoch is in dúnud, 7 co f'bo léir dóib freom cách irrin dúnud. Bá deithber ém cé fochérded fom in ní fin, dáig ár bith-bátár teóra búada aradnaachta for[f] innaraid in lá fin .i. léim dar boilg, ocus forcuin díriche, ocus imorchorn delind.

Trans.—"It is here the charioteer started up, and took his hunt dress of charioteering about him. Of that hunt-dress he took about him was his smooth tunic of hide, and it light, airy; and it polished down, membranaceous; and it stitched, ox-leather; so that there might be no restraint against guiding of hands for him externally. He took over it outside a gleaming over-cloak, which Simon Druid made for Darius, for the king of the Romans; so that Darius gave

it to Con-chobur, that Con-chobur gave it to Cu Chulaind, that Cu Chulaind bestowed it upon his charioteer. That same charioteer took also his crested, level, four-adjustment helmet, with a multitude of every colour and of every figure over his mid-shoulders externally. A great adornment for him was that, and it was not an overburdening. His hand turned with it [with the helmet] the frontlet red-yellow, as if it were a plate of red gold, of boiled stamp-gold over the edge of an anvil, to his face, in token of his charioteering beyond his lord. He took the ties of loosening of his horses, and his bright goad into his right hand; he took the reins of arresting of his horses in his left hand; that is, the reins of his horses in his left hand, for the great power of his charioteering. It is here he threw his iron, bright coats of mail, about his horses, so that they were covered from forehead to croup with dartlets, and lancelets, and spearlets and spike-steels; so that every rim in that chariot was spike-close; so that a route of tearing was every angle, and every end, and every point, and every corner of that chariot. It is then he threw a spell of concealment over his horses and over his co-fostered [Cu Chulaind], so that they were not visible to any one in the camp, and that every one in the camp was visible to them. It was reasonable, indeed, that he should throw that matter, because for the reason there were three victories of charioteering on the charioteer that day—that is, 'leap over gap,' and 'straight drive,' and 'carrying backwards.'"

The Warrior.—Ir anopo pogab in caur ocur in cat-milid ocur inc indell ċpó-bodba fer talman, Cu Chulaind, mac Sualdaim—pogab a ċat-erred cata ocur compaic ocur comlaind. Bá do'n cat-errad cata rin ocur ċompaic ocur ċomlaind pogab rom imbi fect cner-lerti ficet ciarta, clárta, comolúta, bitir bá téttaib ocur pocaib ocur perpedaib, hi cúrtul fri gelcner dó, ar nacandeccaid a ċond, nac a ċiall, o dopiced a lúc latair. Rogabartár a ċat-crirr cuaid tarir anecтair do ċoscc-letar cruaid, ċoirtċide do forbma fectn dam-fecedn dartada, con gabad dó o tana a táib co trig a ocraille. Robíd imbi ic díċur gai ocur ferd ocur errocur fleg ocur raigec: dáig ir cumma foiertiter de ocur mar bad do ċloic, no carpait, no congna nocíulai-

cír. Ir andsin rogabartára[ḟ] úathois fneb-naide fnoill con a cimais do ban-ór bricc fri a frimoét ictar a medóin. Rogabartár a dond[ḟ]-úathóicn dond-letairn, deg-rúata do formna cetrin dam-recedn dartada, con a cat-chir do colomnaib ferb fua dar a fúathóic fnebnaide fnoill fectair. Ir andso rogabartár in fíg-nia a cat-arm cata ocus·compaic ocus comlaind. Da do'n cat-arm cata fin fanom rogabartar a oct claidbini im a arm déin drec-folus. Rogabartár a oct flegími im a fleig cóic-find: rogabartár a octn gotnata 'm á got néit: rogabartár a oct cletími 'm a deil clifr: rogabartár a oct fíata clifr imm a chom-fíathn dub-derg, in a téged torc tairelbtha in a tul-tárla con a bil aitgein, ailt-nidi, imge-ir in a huirtimchull, con tercrad finna in aigid. fnota ar ati ocus ailtnidecht ocus imgéni. Inbaid fognít ind oclaig fáebor-clerr di, ir cumma imtercad d'á fíat ocus d'á fleg ocus d'á claideb.

Ir andso rogab a cír-catbarr cata ocus compaic ocus comlaind im a cend, ar an gaired gair céin oc-lac do fír-égem cecha cúli ocus cecha cerna de. Daig ir cumma congairtír de búnánaig ocus-boccánaig ocus geimici glinne ocus demna aeóir fíam ocus úaro ocus in a imtimchull cach ed notéged fe tertin fola nam míled ocus nan anangland fectair. Rocherr a celtar comga tarir do'n clacht-dillat Tíre Tairgire dobretha o aiti druidecta.

Ir andso cét-fíartarída im Choin Culaind, con derna úath-bárách, il-préctach, ingantach, anaichid de. Crithnaigret a caríni imbi imar crand fe fruth, no imar boc-frimin fri fruth, cácm ball ocus cach alt ocus cach ind ocus cach áge de, ó mulluch co talmain. Rolae faeb-glér diberge d'á curr im medón a chocind. Táncatár a traigthe ocus a lúirgne ocus a glune com batár d' á eis. Táncatár a rála ocus a orcni ocus a ercata com bátár fíam femi. Tancatar tul-fethi a orcan com bátár for tul a lurgan, com bá métithir mul-dor[n]d míled cech mecon déirmár díb ide. Srengtha toll-fethe a mullaich com bátár for coich a muaeóil, com bá métithir cend maic míl cach mul-chnoc, dímór, dírim, diriecra, dímerraigthe díb ide.

Trans.—"It is here the champion and the battle-soldier,

and the preparation of the death-fume of the men of earth, Cu Chulaind, son of Sualta, took—he took his battle-dress of battle, and of encounter, and of contest. Of that battle-dress of battle, and of encounter, and of contest, which he took about him were twenty-seven skin-hides combed, smoothed, conclosed, which used to be under cords, and wheels, and ropes around to white-skin for him, in order that neither his prudence nor his sense might be deranged, from the time his activity of trial would come. He took his battle-girdle of a champion over him outside of hard, tanned, smooth leather of the shoulder of seven ox-hides of *dartaids* [yearling calves], so that it went for him from the waist of his side to the pit of his arm. It was about him at repelling of lances, and sword-points, and spikes, and spears, and darts; because it is the same they used to fly off him, as if it were off a stone, or a rock, or a horn they used to shoot. It is then he took his membranaceous kilt of satin, with its fringe of speckled white gold to his chief-liver at the bottom of his middle. He took his brown kilt of well-smoothed brown leather of the shoulder of four ox-hides of *dartaids* [see preceeding paragraph], with his battle-girdle of the hides of kine beneath it over his membranaceous kilt of satin outside. It is now the king-hero took his battle-armour of battle, and of encounter, and of contest. It was of that battle-armour of battle he took his eight swordlets about his hue-bright *arm of teeth* [sword]; he took his eight spearlets about his sharp-point spear; he took his eight lancelets about his lance of wound; he took his eight short swordlets about his rod of feat; he took his eight shields of feat about his black-red slope-shield, into which would go a boar of exhibition in its projecting hollow, with its keen, sharp, razor-like, very sharp rim all round it, so that it would cut a hair against a stream for its keenness, and razor-likeness, and great sharpness. When in the case of the hero an edge-feat was done from it, it is alike he used to cut thoroughly from his shield, and from his spear, and from his sword.

"It is here he took his dusky battle-head of battle, and of encounter, and of contest, about his head, out of which [the helmet] used to cry the cry of a hundred warriors of the constant plaint of every corner and of every point of

it; because it is alike used to cry from it fawnlets and satyrlets, and gentiles of the valley, and demons of air before him, and above him, and quite around him, every space he used to go, before the shedding of the blood of the soldiers, and of the great criminals outside. He threw his cloak of concealment over him of the beauty-dress of the Land of Promise, which [dress] was given from his tutor of Druidism. It is here was the first confounding about Cu Chulaind, so that he made an awful, many-shaped, wonderful, unknown thing of himself. His flesh shook around him like a tree before a stream, or like a bulrush against a stream, every member, and every joint, and every end, and every point of him, from the top of his head to earth. He threw a false-trim of plunder from his body in the midst of his skin. His feet, and his shins, and his knees came till they were behind him. His heels and his calves, and his houghs came until they were before him. The front-sinews of his calves came until they were on the front of his shins, until larger than the mound-shape fist of a warrior was every very large root of them. The head-sinews [nerves] of his head-peak were strained until they were on the nape of his neck, until larger than the head of a child of a month was every very large, irrecountable, incomparable, immoderate, mound-shaped hill of them."

The foregoing description of the dress and equipment of the charioteer and warrior seems to me very instructive. And first as to the charioteer. His defensive armour is the primitive ox-hide well-stitched well-thonged tunic, close wrapped about him, but with his hands free for their respective occupations; and the *battle head-dress* (cat-barr), of the material of which I must omit speaking at present. His nether garments are not mentioned, simply because they formed no part of his visible contour. Over the tunic was thrown a light cloak, the history of which not only reminds one of Homer, but reminds one too of the attested literary character of the early Irish. Indeed, the coincidences in thought between our ancient writers and those of Greece and Rome are somewhat extraordinary. There is hardly a passage in ancient classics, mythical or historical, for which you would not find a parallel in our

ancient manuscripts. In the passage quoted above, p. 420, Cu Chulaind tells Loeg to jump off the horn (not the horns) of the wild ox bound behind the chariot. On reading this, it struck me that the writer probably had heard something of the constellation Auriga (Charioteer), who has his *foot* on the left *horn of Taurus*. The Greek for Auriga is Ηνίοχος (Rein-holder), an epithet given to Ericthonius, the inventor of chariots, and who was fabled to have been turned into the constellation here spoken of. Now, the name of Loeg's father, Rían-gabar, gen. Rían-gabra, and Rian-gabra, gen. Rían-gabrat, is either an actual representative of the Greek, the final dental -r being substituted for d, or is a corruption for the normal rían-gabaire (Rein-holder), or rian-gaba, gen. rian-gabat, (id.) a t-stem. The word rían = rrían (= Lat. *frænum*, English, *rein*, &c.), the initial r having dropped off, as is frequently the case in Irish, and universally so in Greek and Latin. It would seem, however, that the writer, or at least the transcriber, imagined the *-οχος* in *ηνί-οχος* to mean the Irish ech, a horse; and that, as rían-ech would not be so euphonious as rían-gabar, which means the same thing—that is, "Rein-horse," "Rein-mare"—he has adopted the latter. This Rían-gabar, too, illustrates the existence of *caste* in ancient Erin. By these laws the father was obliged to bring up his sons in his own profession. Thus Loeg had two brothers charioteers like himself—the one to Conall Cernach, and the other to Loegaire Buadach. Again, the dignity with which the charioteers at the Roman and Grecian games were treated, receives its illustration in the kindness and respect always shown to Loeg by his master, Cu Chulaind. And indeed, if Loeg possessed only a tenth of the professional abilities ascribed to him, no Greek or Roman charioteer could compete with him. The Romans came in contact with the Celtiberians, a branch of the ancient Gauls, and the direct ancestors of the Milesians; and there can hardly be a doubt but they borrowed from them some useful hints, both as regards the structure of their chariot and the celebration of their games. A development of one of these hints may, perhaps, be given in the hind-shafts, which are found on some Roman coins. The uses of these shafts may have been various. An obvious one would be, that the

chariot, like the common cart at present, could rest on them; and another, that a board, laid from one to the other might serve as a step for ascending and descending it. That the Irish chariot had attached to it behind a ꝑoꝑuꝛ, or rest, is quite certain, for in the Feast of Bricriu (Leb. na hUidre), we read, that a certain lady, running after Cu Chulaind's chariot, gave a bound to enter it, and in the attempt struck her head against the ꝑoꝑuꝛ, and perished.

As some of my readers may not have an opportunity of seeing Cæsar's description of the mode of fighting from the chariot, I shall here quote him, ("Gallic War," book iv. chapter xxxvi.):—"Genus hoc est ex essedis pugnæ: primo per omnes partes perequitant et tela conjiciunt, atque ipso terrore equorum et strepitu rotarum ordines plerumque perturbant; et quum se inter equitum turmas insinuaverint, ex essedis dissiliunt, et pedibus præliantur. Aurigæ interim paulatim ex prœliis excedunt, atque ita currus collocant, ut si illi a multitudine hostium premantur, expeditum ad suos receptum habeant. Ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in prœliis præstant: ac tantum usu quotidiano et exercitatione efficiunt, uti in declivi ac præcipiti loco excitatos equos sustinere, et brevi moderari ac flectere, et per temonem percurrere, et in jugo insistere, et inde se in currus citissime recipere consuerint."

Trans.—"This is the manner of fight from chariots: at first they drive through all parts, and hurl missiles; and by the very terror of the horses, and by the rattling of the wheels, they generally throw the ranks into confusion: and when they have insinuated themselves among the troops of cavalry, they leap down from the chariots, and fight on foot. The charioteers meantime gradually get out of the battles, and so arrange the chariots, that if they should be pressed by a multitude of the enemy, they might have a speedy retreat to their own body. Thus in battles they exhibit the mobility of cavalry, the stability of infantry: and so much do they accomplish by daily use and practice, that in a steep and precipitous place they have accustomed themselves to support the excited horses, and in a short time to restrain and turn them, and to run along the pole, and stand upon the yoke, and thence with the greatest quickness betake themselves into the chariots."

The following description of Cu Chulaind in his holiday attire will complete the preceding notices. It is taken from the Tain in Lebor na hUidre.

Dotáet Cú Chulaind arn a bárach do taidbriud int slóig ocus do tairbenad a sroda álgin, alaind do mnaib ocus bantroctaib ocus andrib ocus ingenaib ocus filedaib ocus áer dána, úair ní p' míad na marr leirr ind úabur-delb drúidecta tárrár dóib fair ind adaig sin seme: is aire sin tánic do tarelbad a sroda algin, alaind in lá sin. Alaind ém in mac tánic andsin do tarelbad a sroda do na slúagaib .i. Cú Chulaind, mac Soaldaim. Fairsi tri folt fair: dond sri toind cind: cró-dérg ar medón: mind or-bude ardatugetar. Cáin cocarsi ind fuilt sin: concusend teóra imsroda im clairr a cúlaid, com ba samalta ocus or-snát cach sinna fat-mainnech, forscáilte, fororda, dígrair, dual-frota, derscaigtech, dat-álaind dar a forsmna síar sell rechtair. Cet cáinchér corcor-glan do derg-or or-larrach imm a brágit. Cét snát-éicne do'n charrmocol cummarcda hi timtact sri á cend. Cetri tibri cechtar a da grúad .i. tibre buide ocus tibre úane ocus tibre gorm ocus tibre corcra. Sechtn gemma do rudin ruirc cechtar a dá rig-rorc, srecht meóir cechtar a dá chorr: srecht meóir cechtar a dá lám con gabáil ingni rebaic, co forgabáil ingne griúin ar cach ái foleit diib sin.

Gabaid reom dan a dillatn óenaigh imbi in láa sin. Bái d'á étgud immi .i. súan cáin, cóir, corcor-glan, cortorach, cóic-dísabuil. Delg sind sind-árgit arn a ecor d' ór intlarri úar a bán-bruinni gel imar bad lochand lán-solurta, nad cumgaicír suili dóini déicsin ar gleonaidecht ocus glainidecht. Clíab-inar srsóil Sirsda se cner congebetar dó co barr-úachtar a dond-súatroci, dond-dérgi, míleta do srsol rig. Dond-scíat dond-derg, dond-chorcra co coíc-sroch ósr com bil sind-druimi fair. Claideb ór-duird intlari co tor-celtaib ósr dé[i]rg in ard-gabáil gaili for a chir. Gai rota, ráebor-glar se saga réig, sobartach co semannaib óir or-larrach inn a farrad ir in carpat.

"Cu Chulaind goes after the morrow for appearance to the host and for the showing of his gentle, beautiful form to the wives and women, and maidens and daughters,

and poets and professors, for neither a dignity nor comely seemed to him the pride-figure of magic, which appeared to them on him that night before: it is on account of that he came for the exhibition of his gentle, beautiful form that day. Beautiful indeed was the youth, who came then for the exhibition of his form to the hosts, that is, Cu Chulaind, son of Soaldam. The sight of three hairs (heads of hair) on him; brown by skin of head: blood-red in the middle: a gold-yellow diadem covers these. Fair-twined were these hairs. There wreathe three circle-streams about the hollow of his ear, so that the same as gold-thread was every slender, very loose, very golden, delicate, fold-long, elegant, colour-beautiful hair over his shoulders back a distance outside. A hundred purple-bright twines of red gold of gold-flame around his throat. A hundred thread-webs of the mixed carbuncle in a circle to his head. Each of his two cheeks had four dimples, namely, a yellow dimple, and a green dimple, and a blue dimple, and a purple dimple. Each of his two king-eyes had seven gems of radiance of eye; each of his two feet had seven toes; each of his two hands had seven fingers with the catch of the talons of a hawk, with the detention of the talons of a crane on each of them separately of these.

He gets also his assembly raiment about him that day. Of his dress about him was, namely, a fair, fit, purple-bright, bordered, five-fold tunic. A white pin of white-silver, after being arrayed with flaming gold, above his bright white-breast, as if it were a full-bright lamp, which men's eyes would not be able to view for splendour and brightness. A chest-jacket of Syriac satin is held to skin by him to the top-border of his brown-red, martial brown-kilt of the satin of a king. A brown-red, brown-purple, brown-shield with a five-circle of gold with a rim of *find-druine* on it. A sword of bright gold-hilt with over hairs of red gold in high-take of valour on his girdle. A long, edge-grey javelin with a sharp aggressive dart with rivets of gold of gold-flame in his presence in the chariot."

THE FEATS OF CU CHULAIND.

The líam in ṙeċt cleṙ-líam ṗiċeṫ is obscure to me. Perhaps we should read hám, and render cleṙ-hám "feat-plays" (p. 379, *supra*). In a corresponding passage in the Book of Leinster (H. 2, 18, T. C. D., fol. 77), we have cliṙṙ ɡaṙcio, "of feats of championship;" co moṙṙaiḋe ḋo cleṙṙaiḃ cliṙṙ ɡaṙcio, "with a great number of feats of feat of championship." These "feats" are variously enumerated and named in our manuscripts, The following is the formal catalogue in the Lebor na hUidre copy of the Tain Bo Cuailngi.

Ṫuṙim na Cleṙṙ inṙo ṙíṙ.

1. Is e ubull-ċleṙṙ, ocuṙ ṙaeboṙ-cleṙṙ, ocuṙ ṙaén-cleṙṙ, ocuṙ cleṙṙ cleṫenaċ, ocuṙ ṫéṫ-cleṙṙ, ocuṙ coṙṙaṫ cleṙṙ, ocuṙ cleṙṙ Caiṫṫ, ocuṙ íċn eṙṙeḋ, ocuṙ coṙn ḋeleḋ, ocuṙ léim ḋaṙ néiḃ, ocuṙ ṗilliuḋ eṙṙeḋ naiṙ, ocuṙ ɡai bolɡa, ocuṙ báí bṙaṙṙe, ocuṙ ṙoṫ-ċleṙṙ, ocuṙ oṫaṙ [ċleṙṙ], ocuṙ ċleṙṙ ṙoṙ análaiḃ, ocuṙ bṙuuḋ ɡine, ocuṙ ṙian cauṙaḋ, ocuṙ béim co commuṙ (no co ṙomuṙ), ocuṙ ṫáiṫ-béim, ocuṙ ḋṙéim ṙṙi ṙoɡairṫ, con ḋiṙɡiuḋ cṙeṫṫe ṙoṙ a ṙinḋ, co ṙoṙnaḋmaim niaḋ náiṙ.

"The Number of the Feats this down.

"They are Apple-feat, and Edge-feat, and Slope-feat, and Dartletic-feat, and Rope-feat, and Chariot-feat, and Feat of Catt, and Hero's bound, and Throw of spear, and Leap over poison, and Folding of a brave champion, and Dart of belly, and Stroke of swiftness, and Wheel-feat, and Reward-[feat], and Feat on breaths, and Crushing of mouth, and Champion's scream, and Stroke with power, or with measure, and Return-stroke, and Ascent by rope, with Straightening of body on the spear-point, with Binding of a noble champion."

The following is the list in the fragmentary "Courtship of Emer," in the same manuscript. It begins imperfectly:—

2. — ocuṙ coṙn ḋeleḋ, ocuṙ léim ḋaṙ néim, ocuṙ ṗilliuḋ eṙṙeḋ naíṙ, ocuṙ ɡai bolca, ocuṙ baí bṙaṙṙe, ocuṙ ṙoṫ-ċleṙṙ, ocuṙ oṫaṙ-ċleṙṙ, ocuṙ cleṙṙ ṙoṙ analaiḃ, ocuṙ

bruden geme, ocus rían cúad, ocus beim co fomus, ocus táit-béim, ocus dénim fri fogairt, con diglud crete for a rind, ocus carrat ferda, ocus fonaidm níad for rindib fleg. "And Throw of spear, and Leap over Poison, Folding of a brave champion, and Reward-feat, and Feat on breaths, and Ardour of shout, and Champion's scream, and Stroke with measure, and Return-stroke, and Ascent by rope, with Straightening of body on the spear-point, and Serrated chariot, and Binding of a brave champion on points of spears."

In the Feast of Bricriu, same volume, Emer, the wife of Cu Chulaind, thus speaks of her husband's "feats:"—

3. Deithber damra a Senca, uair ir am ben-ra cuad cáin, cotngabtus cruth, ceill, o rodamnad a forcetul cen dícill, eter cles for análaib ocus ubull-cles, ocus riabur-cles, ocus cles Cúair, ocus cles Cait, ocus derg-fillud erred nair, ocus gai bolcai, ocus bai brair, ocus bruthin gene, ocus rían cuad, ocus roth-cles, ocus faebur-cles, ocus dreim fri fogairt, ocus dírgiud crettí, for cach á. "It is reasonable for me, O Sencha, since I am the wife of a fair champion, whom I have held by beauty, sense, from the time his instruction was admitted without grudge, between Feat on breaths, and Apple-feat, and Demoniac-feat, and Feat of Cuar, and Feat of Cat, and Red-folding of a brave champion, and Dart of belly, and Stroke of swiftness, and Ardour of mouth, and Champion's scream, and Wheel-feat, and Edge-feat, and Ascent by rope, and Straightening of body, against each of them" (that is, Conall Cernach and Loegaire Budach).

These are the feats which Cu Chulaind learned from his teacher, Scathach, and which he used to practise: the champions of Emain Macha, however, practised only three of these feats: Tri cless dogníther ind errid .i. cless cletenech, ocus ubull-cless, ocus fáebor-cless. Is é ind errid dogníther inna cleasa sin .i. Conall Cernach, macc Amorgeni: Fergus, macc Roich Rodáin: Lóegaire búadach, macc Connad: Celtchar, macc Utidir: Dubthach, macc Lugdach: Cu Chulaind, macc Soaldaim: Scél, macc Baithéni, dorrid Emna Macha. "Three feats the champions used to perform, namely, the Dartletic-feat, and the Apple-feat, and Edge-feat. The champions who used to

perform these feats are, namely, Conall Cernach, son of Amorgene; Fergus, son of Roch Rodane; Loegaire Buadach, son of Connad; Celtchar, son of Uthider; Dubthach, son of Lugaid; Cu Chulaind, son of Soaldam; Scel, son of Barnene, door-keeper of Emain Macha."

The Dartletic-feat will be understood from the following passage in the Tain, same manuscript: Ir iarum luid Redg, caincc Ailella a comairli cucai do cuingid in cletine .i. gai Con Culaind. "Tuc damra do gai," or in cáncc. "Acc óm," or Cú, "Acht dabeir reótu daic." "Nad géb-ra ón," ar in caincc. Tegna rom dan in cáincc, úair nad ráet úad a tairgid dó: ocus arbeirt in cancc na berad a enech, mani berad in cletíni. "It is then went Redg, the jester of Ailell, from consultation to him for asking the *cletine*, that is, Cu Chulaind's dart. 'Give me thy dart,' says the jester. 'Not truly,' says Cu, 'but I shall give them—precious things to thee.' 'I shall not accept these,' says the jester. He accordingly wounds the jester, since he accepted not what he offers him, and the jester said that he would not bring away his hospitality, unless he were to bring away the *cletine*."

The *Apple-feat* may be understood from the following passage in the Brudin da Derga, same manuscript: Nói claidib in a láim, ocus nói scéith airgdidi, ocus nóin ubla óir. Focheird cech ai dib in aidche, ocus ní tuit ní dib for lár, ocus ní bí acht oén dib for a boir: ocus ir cumma ocus timthireacht bech il ló ánli cach ae fri araile rúar. "Nine swords in his hand, and nine silver shields, and nine apples of gold. He shoots each of them on high, and nothing of them falls on the ground, and only one of them is on his palm: and the same as the playing of bees on a beautiful day is each of them by the other upwards."

The *Edge-feat*, as well as the *Slope-feat*, will be understood from the following: Dogní iarom ráen-chlar do'n sciath ocus raebar-chlar do'n claidib imm a chenn, ocus tobeirt forbaitm bidbad forro, ocus dorurcet sé chét leis in a chét chumachtu, ocus teit iar slicht cét tri á buidin fechtair: "He then makes a Slope-feat of the shield and an Edge-feat of the sword about his head, and he gave a hostile attack on them, and six hundred fall by him in his first dash, and he goes after the slaying of a hundred

through his company outside" (Brudin da Derga, Leb. na hUidre). Here the warrior holds his shield in an oblique position in his left hand, and this is the Slope-feat, and whirls his sword about his head in his right hand, and this is the Edge-feat.

It will be seen that the list of *feats* in our text, as well as in the other three extracts above given, the number order, name, and orthography are different. In regard to the latter points, though I believe these varieties of spelling have arisen in the course of transcription, yet it is probable that, *ex animo loquentis*, these varieties of the copies had a corresponding variety of meaning. For example bpuċn ɡéme of the text is different from bpuċn ɡéme of the third extract, and of bpuuo ɡne of the first, though there can hardly be a doubt of the three forms having been originally one. I have, therefore, tried to express these differences in my translations. But now comes my difficulty. I know of no writer, ancient or modern, who has attempted an explanation of the mode of performing these feats. Some of them, however, and perhaps all, are, as we have just seen, referred to here and there in our manuscripts, and from these references, so far as I have them by me, I shall endeavour to supply the desired explanation. The word ecarbuar means "aloft in the air;" and these "feats" were figured above the chariot of Cu Chulaind. I shall take these feats in the order in which they occur in the text, and then supplement from the other extracts.

The first feat is caipm-ċleṫ nonbaiṛ, "the Noise-feat of Nine." The caipm-ċleṫ was the same as corand-ċleṫṛ, and may be understood from the following reference:— Aiobliṫiṛ leó bio corano-ċleṫ cri ċet a cluiċe oc roṛlaim a ɡaiṛciu. "Greater in their imagination than the 'noise-feat' of three hundred, his play at handling of his arms" (Brud. Da Derga, Leb. na hUidre).

The next three feats I have not met with; but I take, as in translation, *Cat*, *Cuur* and *Daire* to be three proper names. These feats might be thus named from Scathach's having taught these three a special feat each, which she communicated to none other except to Cu Chulaind: or these three may have become so famous for these feats that though the great teacher did instruct others in them, yet

they took their new name from these heroes. This, however, is a mere conjecture; but a conjecture, when put forth as such, does no harm: it is only when a pure conjecture is put forward as a pure truth, that pure truth is endangered.

Blind Feat of Bird. This refers to the peculiar character of Cu Chulaind's eyes, their defective vision, and the extraordinary transformation he could effect on them. The nature of this feat will be understood from the character which his wife Emer gives of it in the Feast of Bricriu:— Ailell cleth dall-clethrin eóin, immelig loa urci:— "Blind-feat of bird, which a flake of water round-licks." Here Cu Chulaind's sight is compared with that of a bird in the midst of the foaming tide. In the Serg-Lige, Lebor na hUidre, he is said to have been purblind, and to have produced the same complaint in any lady who threw her regards on him. In the Scottish Gaelic "*dalluidh eun*," "blindness of birds," is the ordinary term for *purblindness*. Of the *feats* which Cu used to perform with his eyes, one of them was, that, when taking an aim with his spear he would open one eye until it was larger than the rim of a large drinking cup, and close the other until it was not the size of the eye of a needle (Tain Bo Cuailgni, Lebor na hUidre).

Leap over Poison. This is the leap which Cu used to give over the point of a spear, which is frequently represented as poisoned among the ancient Irish. In the first extract, however, above given we have Léim dar néib, "Leap over champions," mundane or spiritual. An example of this will be found in the following passage from the "Feast of Bricriu," Leb. na hUidre. Fcraidmenedar fom la fodain aforam-cliss, ocus lingid in airdi co s'bo luaidiu fecht fuinnema im ón feirt immacuairb. "At this he calls to mind his thrust-feat, and he leaps on high until he was swifter than a rush of whirlwind about the monster all round." This was a monster serpent which leaped into the air from the ocean at Cu Roi's city in Kerry on a night that Cu Chulaind kept watch in that city. Cu leaped into the air after it, and slew it.

The declension of nia here is vocalic. Compare: Trí nía dorónrat gói i Síuib. "Three champions who made darts among the *Side*" (Brudin da Derga, Lebor na hUidre). In the margin nia is a o-stem, which is the more usual

declension. See my remarks on this subject in the Number for April, 1869, of this Journal, page 305. The marginal note is: Imda na tri niad a Sidib: "The Chamber of the three champions from the *sidé*."

The *Red-folding of a brave Champion.* Of this feat I can say nothing satisfactory at present.

The Dart of Belly. Of all the feats of Cu Chulaind this is the most celebrated, and of all the disciples of Scathach he alone had learned it. Agus fóbí aig gach fear diob oirdead a fáilti ag Cu Chulainn do chleasaib acht cleas an gai bulga ámám:—"And each man of them had as much of feats as Cu Chulaind, save the feat of the *dart of belly* alone" (23 N. 10: R. I. A.). When Cu was about to leave his teacher she requested him to remain with her another year and that she would teach him three feats which he had never seen, and which she had never taught any of her pupils before. "What are these feats?" asked Cu. Cleas cleitim, cromac-cleas agus cles an gai bulga. "Dartlet-feat, bending-feat, and the feat of the *dart of belly*" *ubi supra*). In another passage in the same tale these feats are called cleas Cuair, cleas Cait (*recte* caith) cleas fuasnus. "The feat of Cuar, the feat of Catt, feat of preparation." From this it would appear that "Bending-feat" was the same as "The Feat of Catt," and Dartlet-feat" the same as "The Feat of Cuar," and "Feat of Preparation," the same as "Dart of belly," or "Feat of Daire."

I have hinted above that the Feat of Catt, Cuar, and Daire might have derived their name from distinguished performers of these feats; but yet it is more in harmony with the statement that Cu Chulaind alone learned these feats, to suppose that these names were given by Scathach herself, after those of her three sons. That this lady had one son named Cuar is stated in all our romances, and that she might have two more named Catt and Daire—true Irish names—is also conceivable. The mode of using the dart was this: At a single combat in a ford, a friend floated the dart mid-water to his favourite, who, receiving it between his toes, struck it into the belly of his opponent. It is said to have been a barbed dart, which, entering the body, threw out a number of blades, and inflicted a deadly

wound. The form bulga is gen. fem. of bolg = Lat. bulga, sometimes applied to the womb. "Ut quisque nostrum de *bulga* est *matris* in lucem editus." (Lucilius.)

Stroke of quickness. Of this feat I have no special notice, but in the enumeration of the feats in the manuscript above quoted (23 N. 10; R. I. A.) occurs a feat called cleaf ór óga ib air brair-béim—"feat above warriors on *quick-stroke*." This must be the feat called bai barri.

Ardour of shout. In the three extracts above given, this feat is in orthography different from that of our text, and different among themselves, though, as I have said above, these differences may have sprung up among the hands of the copyists. In the first extract we have bruud gine, "crushing of mouth;" in the second, bruon geme, which is the same as that of our text, the o of bruo being equal the ch. of bruch; and in the third, bruén gene, "ardour of mouth." Of this feat, or feats, which I have tried to render literally, nothing has come under my notice in the manuscripts.

Champion's Scream. This is that terrible shout which Cu Chulaind used to give when about to encounter a multitude of his enemies. It is the same as the rrém caurad in the following passage of the Tain in Leb. na hUidre. Crothir a rcíath ocus cretharáigir a rlega ocus bertnaigir a claidem, ocus dobert a rrém caurad ar a brágit, &c. "He shook his shield, and he bent his spears, and he brandished his sword, and he gave his champion's scream from his throat," &c.

The Wheel-feat. This feat was played inside a house fitted out for the purpose, and consisted of shooting a wheel or quoit from the floor towards the roof-tree. Whoever shot it highest was, of course, the winner. The following extract, from the Feast of Bricriu, Lebor na hUidre gives a full idea of this play. Loegaire Buadach, Conall Cernach, and Cu Chulaind, were the competitors. Others played also, but these were the three great champions of the Ulaid. They often contested a prize among themselves, but none of the other champions ever ventured to compete with either of them. Atraigat iarom mataim muic, iarn a barad, ocus tíagat 'r in tech im bátar

in macrad oc .cur in rot clerra. Gebti Loegaire iarom in rot, ocus norcuir in arda co ramic mid-lir in tig. Tibit in macrad im rodain, ocus dobertat gair dó. Bá do ċuitbiud Loégairi ón: indar ra Loegaire, immorro, bá gair búada. Gebti Conall dan in rot, ocus bá do lár. Foċeird iarom in rot co octaig in rig-tig. Foċerdat in macrad gair roa. Indar la Conall bá gair ċommaidmi ocus búada: gair ċuitbiuda, immorro, lar in macraid aní rin. Gebti dan Cu Culaind in rot ocus ba hetarbuar tarrad hé. Foċeird dan in rot in ard co rolái a octaig ó'n tig, con decaid in rot fer-ċubat hi talmain fri ler aneċtair. Tibit in macrad gair commaidmi ocus búada im Choin Culaind: indar la Coin Culaind, immorro, bá gair ċuitbiuda ocus ronamait foċerdat in macrad im rodain. "They arise afterwards at early morn after the morrow, and they go into the house in which the youths were at throwing of the wheel of feat. Loegaire afterwards takes the wheel, and throws it on high, until it reached the mid-hips of the house. The youths laugh about this, and give a shout to him. It was for mockery of Loegaire this; it seemed to Loegaire, however, it was a shout of victory. Conall, again, takes the wheel, and it was from the floor. He then shoots the wheel to the ridge-pole of the king-house. The youths pour forth a shout at him. It seemed to Conall it was a shout of co-boast and of victory; a shout of mockery, however, with the youths was that. Cu Chulaind, again, takes the wheel, and it was in the air it met him. He shoots also the wheel on high, until he sent it from ridge-pole from the house, so that the wheel went a man-cubit into earth by *Les* outside. The youths laugh a shout of co-boast and of victory about Cu Chulaind; it seemed, however, to Cu Chulaind it was a shout of mockery and of jesting the youths pour forth about this."

Ascent by Rope. Of this feat I have no example, and the translation is conjectural. It might be contest against a forgart. In Zeuss, gortce is a gloss on "suspendium," and it has the same meaning in a gloss in the Amra Choluimb Chille, by Dallan Forgaill, Leb. na hUidre. This gortce could be an abstract from

ɡoirc, or ɡairc, "suspensus." I must, however, omit the discussion of it at present.

Straightening of body on his Spear-point. The following complete example of dirgiud creicc, "straightening of body," occurs in "The Sailing of the Curach of Mael Duin," in H. 2. 16, a manuscript of Trinity College, Dublin. An dolotar a comfocus di, atraig anmanda mor ir ind indri, ocus correitiz im on indri immacuairc. Da luaid la Mael Duin oldas ɡaeth; ocus luid iarom in ard na hinnri, ocus dirgir creic and .i. a cend fir ocus a cora fuar: ocus ir amlaid nobid—imroad in a crocend: an feoil ocus na cnama do impod, in crocund, immorro, dianecdair cen feibud: no, an croicend fecdn aile dan dianecdair do impud amuil muilend do impud, na cnami ocus an feoil in a tairirium. O fobai co cian in cruth fin, atraacc fuar dorigi ocus feitiz timcell na hindri immacuairc, amail dorigne ar cus. Luid dan dorindiri ir an inad cetna, ocus an fecc fin an leaṫ di a crocund nobid fír cen feibud, ocus an leaṫn aill nobid fuar imrecid imacuairc amail lícc muilind. Da hí fin tra a abair an tan bíd ic timcell na hindri. "When they had come near it (the island) a large animal sprung up in the island, and it runs around the island all round. It was swifter, in Mael Duin's opinion, than wind: and it went afterwards to the height of the island, and it *straightens body*, that is, *its head down and its feet up:* and it is how it used to be—it used to turn in its skin: the flesh and the bones used to turn, but the skin outside without moving: or, the skin on another occasion again used to turn, as a mill turns, the bones and the flesh at rest. After he had been for a long time in that manner, he sprang up again and he runs round the island all round, as he did at first. He went again back to the same spot, and that time—the half of his skin which was down was without moving, and the other half which was up used to whirl all round, like the flag of a mill. Now that was his play the time he used to be going around the island."

According to the explanation here given of dirgiud creitte—"the head down and the feet up"—Cu Chulaind's feat should be—erecting his body with his head resting on the point of his spear. This, however, I have never found

Cu to do, though he is frequently seen stepping along the points of spears with great agility. It strikes me, therefore, that Cu's "straightening of body" was different from that mentioned in the above extract: and I may add too that in the subjoined poem, which gives a *resumè* of the prose, the feat is called ſíniuḋ cheiṫe, "stretching of body:"—

Sínuḋ cheiṫe, impuḋ aiḋeṅ
Croicinḋ gerr-gairg:
Im feol na cnam, ba mar an gair
Or cloiḋ fer-airḋ.

"Stretching of body, keen turning
Sharp-rough skin:
About the flesh of the bones—great was the cry—
Above a man-high stone."

It is probable that while writing the poetry the "straightening of body on a spear-point" came into the author's head, and this would very well be expressed by "stretching of body." This feat was one of the most celebrated of Cu Chulaind's: he learned it from Ducreann, daughter of Domnalls soft-smoth, king of Alba. This lady performed the feat before Cu Chulaind, who picked it up at once, and went through it with great eclàt after her. This was the mode of performing the feat:—

Tug ri fleag finn-géur, coig-feannaḋ cúice, agus fadar ceann na fléige 'r an talam agus a finn ailtnime fuar gaḋ an diteaḋ, agar dorid-lingaḋ an bangairgdeaḋ go headtrom, aorda, gu r'leig anuar í fein ar finn na fleige fin, go tarla a huḋt agar a húrbruinne uirḋe, agar ni tug tolg na éirge na éidiugaḋ uirḋe, agar dobí a brad ionn a comnuid an airde, an áirde ar finn na fleige fin.

"She brought a point-sharp, acute-pointed spear to her and she sticks the end of the spear into the earth, and its point of joint-poison up quite straight, and the championess used to run-leap lightly and airily, until she let herself down on the point of that spear, so that she dropped her chest and her fore-breast on it, and she gave neither hollow, nor rising, nor stretching upon it, and she

was a long time at rest on high, on high on the point of that spear." This feat Cu Chulaind without further instruction performed afterwards at the house of Scathach; and this is what I conceive to be "straightening of body on a spear-point."

Chariot-feat. This is the same as carpat ferda mentioned in the second extract, and means the peculiar feat by which Cu Chulaind used to slaughter his enemies with and from his chariot. The following is an example in the Tain. Ocus dotáet is in cat innond armedón, ocus failgis falbaigi móra do collaib a biudad mórtimcell int slóig ammaig anechtair fótai; ocus dobert fobairt biudad fo biudadaib forro, co torchratár bond fri bond ocus méde fri méde, bá sí tigect ind árbaig. Dorimcell aridiri fatai in cruc sin co fancaib corrgair feisis impu fa mór-timcell .i. bond trí fri méde trí fócuaird timcill im ón dúnad: comid Serrech Breslige a ainm is in Tain. "And he goes into the battle over in the middle, and he strews large files of the bodies of his enemies all round the host outside externally three times: and he gave an attack of enemies under enemies on them, until they fell sole to sole, and neck to neck, such was the thickness of the slaughter. He went round them again three times in that way, until he left a litter of six around them all round, that is, the sole of three to the neck of three around about the camp: so that the 'Hexad of Confusion' is its name in 'The Spoil.'"

Here Cu drives his armed chariot with its wheel-felloes sharp as the edge of a sword three times around Medb's camp, and each time strews a line of the enemy, the first with the feet, the second with the head, and the third again with the feet towards the camp. Thus we have the two first lines, "sole to sole," and the second and third line "neck to neck." He repeats the process, and thus in the sixth line we have "the soles of three" against the necks of three. I may remark, *en passant*, that the last words of the preceding extract give us the original meaning of the word ferrech, which means a combination of *six*, an "hexad." This word has nothing to do with ech, a "horse," though some have thought it to be a combination of feisr and ech, and to mean a team of "six

horses," as for example in ploughing. But the ancient Irish never employed the horse in ploughing: this was the work of the ox. And so, in the Life of St. Maedoc of Ferns, 23, O. 41: Royal Irish Academy, we read that the saint gave one of the two oxen he had under the plough, to a poor woman, at which the ploughmen became angry. Maedoc bade them wait a while, and as they did—"They saw after that an ox coming from the sea towards them. He came to the reirrech, and put his head meekly under the yoke, in the place where the *other ox* was, and he was in the reirrech in that way during the spring," &c. Here we see that even when one of the oxen was given away, the remainder was still called reirrech, and from the expression "the other ox," that there were but two oxen under the plough. It would seem that the term was originally applied to the *two* leaders, the *two* oxen, the *plough* and the *ploughman*. The formation itself is like trirech and cetharech, certain kinds of poetry, or music set to such poetry. The former occurs in Zeuss, p. 929. Fomchain trirech innan én.—"The tripling of the birds sings about me." In the Book of Ballymote—Irish Metres—trirech and cetharech are discussed. The trirech consists of *three* parts, and the cetharech of *four*. When the singer or player had gone through the triple or quadruple piece, he began anew. The singing of birds was thought to be a trirech, and hence their music was so called. Compare the explanation of the Latin *tricinium* by Servius.

This is, I think, both general and special. Cu Chulaind took great delight in bringing to Emain Macha live animals of all kinds tied to his chariot behind. In the Feast of Bricriu, Lebor na hUidre, Loegaire Buadach, Conall Cernach, and himself were contending for the Champion's share at the court of Conchobur. The decision is left to Ercol, a valiant hero, and former tutor to Queen Medb of Cruachu. The method he adopted was, to challenge each of them in turn to a single combat on horseback, intending to adjudge the *share* to whichever of them was the most accomplished, but never dreaming that either would prove superior to himself. In this, however, he was disappointed: Loegaire is the first to meet Ercol. The latter is victorious himself, and his horse kills that of Loegaire, who runs off in

flight to Emain. In this encounter, as also in the two following, we see that the horse fought as well as the rider; and I have thought it worth while to notice this, as in the mediæval tournaments there were certain regulations which forbade this practice. Conall Cernach comes on next; the result is similar. He also runs off to Emain, and in crossing the Shannon at Snam Rathaind, his servant Rathand is drowned there, and hence the name. Is ed dolluid Conall dar Snám Ratáind do gaidid Emna. Robáided dan Ratánd, gilla Conaill anosin is mo abaind, comid atá Snám Ratáind o sin ille.—"It is it Conall went across Snam Rathaind. Rathand again, Conall's servant, was drowned there in the river, so that it is from it Snam Rathaind is from that to this." This ancient record gives us the *rationale* of Irish names of places, formed by a combination of one or more words with the word snám, "a swimming," "a floating." All such names indicate that the person or animal, after whom the place is called, was drowned there, not, as is commonly understood, was in the habit of swimming there. Cu Chulaind comes next. His horse, the Liath Macha, kills Ercol's, whom he ties to his chariot and brings to Emain. Marbais in Liath Macha, immoro, eo Erccoil, occus norcengland Cu Culaind Ercoil feisin idáid a carpait lais, co ránic Emain Macha. "The Liath Macha, however, kills Erchol's horse, and Cu Chulaind ties Ercol himself after the chariot with him, until he reached Emain Macha."

This is an example of "binding of a noble champion," but I think that our feat is perhaps something more special. In the second catalogue of the "feats given above, we have the fuller designation—sonaidm nía sos sor sindib sleg; "the binding of a champion on the points of spears;" and it strikes me that we have here the name of a certain initiation, which Cu Chulaind himself was obliged to submit to on joining the disciples of Scathach. After going through a certain performance on droicid an éalta (Bridge of the Trial?), he is sent by his teacher to the residence of her pupils. On arriving there he is addressed as follows: "Trí náonmair atámoid annso, acus trí náoim beasanna imreaisna aig gach fer aguinn, acus gach neach roicear Droicead an éalta is aguinne bíos an oidce sin." "Cred dogníder agaib leis?" ar Cú

Chuluinn. "Doġnídċeaṙ," aṙ ṙiaḃ, "a ċeanġal a bṙéiġ aġúṙ a bṙíoṙ-mullaċ an tíġe, aġuṙ na tṙí náoim beaṙ a ṙan d' inneall aiṙ a ċṙóiḃe ġo ṙia a ċoṙṙ-láṙ íompu, ġo náċ biaḃ ionnaḃ beaṙa ionn a ċoṙṙ ṙlan ġan teaṙġaḃ, aġuṙ ġan ḟuil a ċuiṙṙ aġuṙ a ċṙuaiḃ-ċneiṙ do ṫṙéiġion. "Cṙeḃ an ṙáṫ ṙ'án ḃéanṫaṙ ṙin aġuiḃ?" aṙ Cu Chuluinn, "Doġníḃṫeaṙ," aṙ ṙiaḃ, "ġiḃ beḃ lán do ċuiṙṙ do ṙleaġaiḃ tṙíaṫ, náċ ġoíllṙeaḃ oṙṫ ahaiṫle na hóiḃce annoċt. "Three enneads we are here, and three enneads of very thick darts with each man of us, and every one who reaches the Bridge of Trial [?] remains with us that night. 'What is done among you with him?' says Cu Chulaind. 'There is done,' they say, 'the tieing of him in the ridge, and in the exact summit of the house, and the three enneads of darts to set (them) against his heart, until body-base reaches around them, so that there be not the place of a dart in his body whole without cutting, and without the blood of his body and of his hard skin to leave it.' 'What is the reason on account of which that is done with you?' says Cu Chulaind. 'It is done,' they say, 'though the full of thy body of spears be through it, that it would not affect thee after the night to-night.'"

To this Cu Chulaind replied, that there was not on earth the man who could tie him; whereupon the youth who stood next him took him at once single-handed, and by some supernatural contrivance tied him to the roof-tree. And then it is stated of Cu: laṙ ṙin táimiġ Cú Chuluinn anuaṙ ġo ḟoill aġuṙ ġo héaḃṙom, aġuṙ ḃoṙinn-ṙoṙa aṙ ċeann an ḃeaṙa ṙá neaṙa ḋo: aġuṙ ḃoṙiaċt ġaṙ anm biṙ táṁiṙṫe, aġuṙ ḃoċaġuill ṫaiṙ an ṫṙeaṙm biṙ, aġuṙ miṙ'ḃeaṙmaiḃ an ceaṫṙáṁáḃ biṙ, aġuṙ ḃoléim ṫaṙ an ṫúiġeḃ biṙ, aġaṙ ṙáiniġ an ṙeaċṫṁáḃ biṙ, aġaṙ níṙ ḃeaṙmaiḃ aṅṫ oċṫmaḃ biṙ, aġaṙ ṙóṙ-ṙaiġ aiṙ an naoṁaḃ biṙ: aġaṙ ḃoḃí aṙ na ċómṅúiġe an ṙaiḃ ḃoḃáḃaṙ na tṙí náoim beaṙanna aiṙ inneall. "After that Cu Chuluinn came down slowly and lightly, and he spear-point stood on the head of the dart which was next him, and he reached to the second dart, and he sprang over the third dart, and he forgot not the fourth dart, and he leaped over the fifth dart, and he reached the seventh dart, and he forgot not the eighth dart, and he rested on the ninth dart, and he was at rest while the three enneads

of darts were being got ready." The "three nines" treated Cu to three rounds of this feat, but after descending the third time he felt so indignant, that he cut off the heads of the whole of them. This I regard as the *binding* or *tieing* of our text, a feat which we are to suppose Cu himself practised afterwards on others.

Return-stroke. This ṫáiṫ-béim has been interpreted *vertical* stroke, but this can hardly be. I have just now only two cases of this feat before me, and both in reference to birds. In the Tain: Láṫraiḋ Cú ſaṛom cloiċm bic ṛoṛ na heónu, com bí oċtn éonu ḋíb. Inláa aṛṛiṫiṛi cloiċ móiṛ com bí ḋá én ḋéc ḋíb: ṫṛia ṫáiṫ-beimenḋ ṫṛa inṛin uli. "Cu flings a small stone at the birds, until he kills eight birds of them. He shoots again a large stone, until he kills twelve birds of them: now through horizontal strokes all that." In the "Serg-lige": Inḋell ḋún in caṛṛac, a láiċ," ol cu Cu Chulainḋ. Inḋliṛ Lóeg ſaṛom iṛ caṛṛac, ocuṛ ṫéiṫ Cu Chulainḋ 'ṛ in caṛṛac, ocuṛ aṫaiġ ṫáiṫ-beim ḋi a claḋiuḃ ḋóiḃ, co ṛuilḋeṫaṛ am boṛṛa ocuṛ an eṫi ḋ'inḋ uṛciu. "Get ready the chariot for us, O hero," says Cu Chulaind. "Loeg then gets the chariot ready, and Cu Chulaind goes into the chariot, and he dashes a *taith-beim* from his sword on them, so that their feet and their wings cleave to the water." From the first example we see that one stone, falling vertically, would hardly kill twelve birds; if shot horizontally along the surface of the water, the thing might be done. So in the second example the stroke of a sword is given out of the chariot, and the birds are disabled, and apparently this was not a *vertical* stroke. In my opinion it was a stroke from the hand first drawn back and then shot forward: that is, a *return*-stroke. I shall, however, watch for a decided case on the use of ṫáiṫ-béim.

Stroke with measure. Of this I have no example at present. In the first of the three list of the feats given above we have béim co commuṛ, "stroke with guarding, or with power." This is the last feat in our tract. We shall now turn to the additional feats named in the three extracts just referred to.

Rope feat. I have no special account of the mode of performing this feat, but in the "Courtship of Emer," Leb. na hUidre, it is stated that the three feats, quoted above,

as the only ones performed by the Ulaid, were performed on *ropes*. Nocha·tíar erred Uloth for ruánemnaib tarrnu ó'n dorus di araile ir in tig in Emain. "The champions of the Ulaid used to play on ropes across from the door to the other in the house in Emain."

Hero's bound. This was a straight-forward jump over the *raths* which surrounded a royal or chieftain's residence, and will be understood from the following passage about Cu Chulaind. Rainic rium tra Rata Forgaill, ocus fosceirt ichn errech de tar na tri lirru, com bói for lar in dunaid. "He reached the Raths of Forgaill (his wife Emer's father) and he darts a *hero's bound* from him over the three lesses, until he was on the floor of the dun."

Throw of spear. From the following passage in Leb. na hUidre, I think I have translated this correctly:—Ondar dorrom in del-ċlir di a mescad:—"Here for him is the *spear-feat* for the confounding of him." This Cu Chulaind says of his antagonist, and then it is stated: rescius fair iarom in slig—"he shoots the spear at him afterwards." Here the shooting of the *spear* is called a del-ċles, and deled I take to be the gen. of del. We may also render del ċlir, "dart of feats," making ċlir the gen. plural, which, however, would be properly cles. In enumerating the arms of Cu Chulain (see above), the dél ċlir is a large clesséne, and bearing the same relation to it that the slegine, "little spear," bears to the sleg, "spear."

Reward feat. This feat I do not know. The words ocar-ċles may also be rendered "Sick-feat": and thus we might take it to refer to the extraordinary fits of sickness to which Cu Chulain was subject. Some of these fits are recorded in The Sick-bed of Cu Chulaind and in the Tain Bo Cualgni, in Lebor na hUidre.

Feat on breaths. This feat consisted in keeping in mid-air a number of *apples of gold* by puffing them upwards with the breath in rapid succession. The following lines from the "Serg-lige" refer to this performance:—

Imber cóic deich ubull óir—
Or cleriss for a anóil.

"He plays five decades of apples of gold—
Above they feat upon his breath."

Demoniac feat. This feat expresses the development

of the ordinary Cu Chulaind into the *Riastarthe*, as seen above. The proper verb for expressing this development is ṙíaṙcṙaim, but frequently we have ṙíabṙaim, and ṙíaṙaim, to mean the same thing.

I have now done with the "feats." My illustrations are not so satisfactory as I could wish, though at the same time I have succeeded in placing before my readers some curious extracts in explanation of the plays of Cu. There are several other feats to be met with in Leb. na hUidhre but I have adverted to those only which have reference to our text. Meantime I have pointed out the course of exposition which with enough of materials could alone prove successful, and that is, the citation of original illustrative extracts, and these as much as possible from the volume in which our Tract is found.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

The first two half sheets of the preceding tract happened to be printed off inadvertently before receiving my final revision. Some textual errors have accordingly remained, which, however, I shall here correct:—

For cṙeciub, line 5, p. 374, read ċṙeciub: for ȝaiċn, line 23, same page, read ȝáiċn: for iaṙn oṙlucuḃ, same page, line 27, read iaṙn a oṙlucuḃ: for maiṙ, line 28, read máiṙ: for báċaṙ, line 2, p. 376, read baċaṙ: for ṙiċḃe, same page, read ṙíċḃe: for ḃoṙsaḃáċ, same page, read ḃoṙsaḃaċ: for conacoa·ṙa, same page, line 7, read conacoa-[ṙ]a: for ḃenmeḋa, same page, line 9, read ḃénmeca: for ṙemenḃa, same page, line 13, read ṙémenḃa: for caini, same page, line 14, read cáim: for ṙoṙ ṙuil, same page, line 15, read ṙoṙṙuil: for cṙuaḃi, line 15, same page, read cṙúaḃi: for ṙinḃṙuine, same page, line 18, read ṙinḃṙuine: for leċan, ȝlaṙ, line 26, same page, read leċan-ȝlaṙ: for ṙoḃoi, line 9, p. 378, read ṙoḃoṙ: for anḃṙin, same page, line 23, read anḃṙin: for miḃiṙiu, last line but one, same page, read miḃi-ṙiu: for cia, line 1, p. 380, read cía: for luaċa, line 17, p. 380, read lúaċa: for bḋ-ṙa, line 1, p. 382, read baṙa: for áiṙȝne, 4th quatrain, read aiṙȝne: for ḃoṙoċṙaċaṙ, 8th quatrain, read ḃoṙoċṙaċáṙ: for óṙ, 13th quatrain, read oṙ.

As the Royal Irish Academy has most worthily co-operated with my effort to place Lebor na hUidre, the most ancient of our Irish manuscripts, in the hands of scholars at home and abroad, I shall here give a resumé of my labours in connexion with this Book. In 1865, I printed, text and translation, "The Treatise on the Resurrection;" in 1870, I printed in this Journal, text and translation, "The Death of Eochaid Mac Mairedo;" on the present occasion I print, text and translation, "The Demoniac Chariot of Cu Chulaind." Besides these I have given from the same manuscript to the Archæological Society "The Vision of Adamnan," text and translation, which I hope they will soon publish: to the same Society I have given the "Cause of the Battle of Cnucha," and the "Sailing of the Curach of Mael Duin," and the "Three stones of Mongan." To individuals, I have given, first, to Dr. Moran, "The Treatise on the Day of Judgment," and the "Two Sorrows of Heaven." To the late Mr. Haliday, I gave "The Feast of Bricriu," text and translation, and this gentleman having, unfortunately for me, died rather suddenly, I lost both my manuscript and its value—that is to say—one hundred pounds. The Amra of Columb Cille is in the press, and will soon be out, with a literal translation and notes. This will complete the half of Lebor na hUidre.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT a GENERAL MEETING, held at the Apartments of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, April the 5th, 1870;

PATRICK WATTERS, ESQ., in the Chair.

The following Members of the Association were admitted to Fellowships:—

The Hon. B. E. B. Fitzpatrick; Lieut.-Colonel Edward Cooper; Captain H. M. F. Langton, High-Sheriff of Kilkenny County; Albert Courtenay; the Rev. J. L. Darby; Eugene Shine; R. R. Brash, Architect; Thomas Watson; Nicholas Ennis; Joseph Digges; F. E. Currey, J. P.; John Hill, C. E.; J. Ennis Mayler; and W. R. Molloy.

The following new Members were elected:—

Robert O'Brien, Old Church, Limerick: proposed by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Limerick.

The Rev. Frederick Charles Hamilton, St. John's Vicarage, Limerick; Richard W. Banks, Ridgebourne, Kington, Herefordshire; and W. Forbes Skene, 20, Inverleith Row, Edinburgh: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

John H. Browne, Kylmore Castle, Galway: proposed by G. H. Kinehan, M. R. I. A.

John Cramsie, Lisavon, Strandtown, Belfast: proposed by W. H. Patterson.

William Charles Bonaparte Wyse, Woolly Hill House, Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts; and James Martin, M. D., F. R. C. S. I., Portlaw: proposed by Maurice Lenihan, J. P.

Thomas C. Atkinson, Beaureau Veritas, Halifax, Nova Scotia: proposed by R. R. Brash, Architect.

John O'Neill, Sarsfield Court, Riverstown, Cork: proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

"The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London," Vol. I., Nos. 2, 3 and 4, and Vol. II., Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4: presented by the Society.

"The Archæological Journal, published under the direction of the Central Committee of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," No. 107: presented by the Institute.

"The Journal of the British Archæological Association," for December 1870: presented by the Association.

"The Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine," Nos. 24, 25 and 26; also "Some account of the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury," Part II.: presented by the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

"Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire," new series, Vol. X.: presented by the Society.

"The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal," Part 4: presented by the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Society.

"Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society," for the years 1868–9: presented by the Society.

"Proceedings of the Natural History Society of Dublin," Vol. V., Parts 1 and 2: presented by the Society.

"Archæologia Cambrensis," fourth series, No. 6: presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

"Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London," second series, Vol. IV., No. 9: presented by the Society.

"The First Annual Report of the Natural History and Philosophical Society of Derry:" presented by the Society.

"Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland," Vol. V., Part 39: presented by the Society.

"The Reliquary," Nos. 43 and 44: presented by Llewellynn Jewitt, F. S. A.

A circular perforated stone, about two inches in diameter and one and a half inch thick, found during excavations in the interior of the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny, probably a destaff weight: presented by the Dean of Ossory.

An application was made by Mr. Justin M'Carthy Brown, of Hobart Town, Tasmania, that the Journal of the Association might be granted to the Tasmanian Public Library, Hobart Town.

On the motion of Mr. Bracken, C. I., seconded by Dr. James, it was resolved to comply with this request, commencing with the beginning of the present Series of the "Journal."

The Rev. James Graves announced that the work of opening the windows of St. Francis' Abbey, Kilkenny, which had been so long closed up for the purpose of fitting the choir for use as a racket-court, had been now begun. This work had been deferred over the previous year from various reasons which it was not necessary to enter into. Mr. Middleton, who had done them such good service in the previous operations at the Abbey, was again kindly acting as superintendent and director of these works. He was sorry to say that the amount of subscriptions yet obtained or promised would not suffice for all that was required—if they were to properly secure the haunches of the tower arch; but he hoped that the vast improvement in the appearance of this ancient and picturesque structure, which would be effected by the opening of the choir windows, would generate such an interest in the proceedings amongst the townspeople, that additional subscriptions would come in. It would be a disgrace to Kilkenny if the beautiful old tower were suffered to fall from want of sufficient subscriptions to make it perfectly secure.

Mr. Graves went on to say that, under the auspices of their Association, a very hopeful movement was being made, with respect to the reparation and preservation of the remains at Monasterboice, County of Louth. He proceeded to lay before the meeting some very beautiful photographs of the Round Tower and crosses at Monasterboice, together with drawings and plans made by Mr. J. Bell, jun., Architect, Malahide, who had inspected the ruins at his (Mr. Graves's) request; and read the following statement drawn up by that gentleman :—

"The accompanying elevations, plans, &c., will give a fair idea of the existing state of the ruins at Monasterboice. The two churches, which are

of an early date, have fallen into great dilapidation, and I would only suggest making good the present masonry as to prevent it from further decay. There is little of the fallen stonework left; it appears to have been removed away from the ground. The principal crosses adjoining the churches are in very good preservation, and I would merely propose to have the joints repointed to preserve them from the weather, and also to have the ground cleared away from the base stones, as much of the beautiful carving is covered with grass and weeds. The bottom of the shaft of the cross next the tower is much worn or cut away about 3 feet high from the base, as will appear in the photograph. I cannot account for this, unless it may have been chipped and pieces taken away from time to time. I think it would be advisable to have a railing on a base stone-course set round so as to prevent any further injury. The design and carving of these crosses is very beautiful, I therefore forward photographs to form records of this rare work. The upper portion of the third cross, which I send in detail, is in very good preservation, and as it now exists is set in the original base, and the shaft, which is broken in three pieces, is lying close to the cross. I propose to have the shaft dowelled together and restored on its original base to carry the cross. The upper portion of the Round Tower has fallen, and what is still left appears to have a lean over towards the South; it will, in my opinion, be necessary to take down some ten or fifteen feet of the existing work previous to restoring the top to its original height, which I understand was 110 feet from the base—and although the present outline is very picturesque still for the future permanence of the tower it ought to have a cap similar to other structures of the kind. The remainder of the tower is built with a good description of flat-bedded stone, the joints of which are very close, and in many places great care has been taken to work the beds close. I would suggest, however, that the whole of the tower should be pointed with cement. The South face is particularly open where the mortar has fallen out. The boundary wall is very much broken down in places. It will be rebuilt by the Board of Guardians, enclosing a larger space so as to allow of a walk round the churchyard."

"James Bell, Jun., C. E., F. R. I. A. I."

Some correspondence on the subject with Mr. Graham, Monasterboice, was then read, showing how warm was the feeling in the district in favour of carrying out such a work as would preserve these time-honoured monuments without modernizing their appearance. The subscription list had just been opened with the following names and sums:—

	£	s.	d.
The Rev. Sir Cavendish Foster, Bart., Glyde Court, .	10	0	0
Drumond Dunlop, Esq., Monasterboice House, . . .	10	0	0
Richard Montesquieu Bellew, Esq., Barmeath, . . .	10	0	0
Right Hon. Chichester Fortescue, M. P., President Board of Trade, ...	10	0	0
Matthew O'Reilly Dease, Esq., M. P., Charleville, . .	10	0	0
Michael Branagan, Esq., Monasterboice Tower, . .	5	0	0

It was stated that the Rev. S. C. Harpur, proprietor of the land round the churchyard, the Rev. Mr. Campbell, P.P., and several others, had offered not only to subscribe themselves but to collect subscriptions; and that a long list of donations in aid of the works was expected to be soon forthcoming. Mr. Graves said he had, already, on the part of the Association, given every encouragement to persevere in so good a work, and had offered such suggestions as occurred to him. The great thing was to preserve the Tower and Crosses, and the ruins generally, as effectually as possible without interfering with their ancient appearance.

The Rev. Dr. Martin asked if Mr. Graves had expressed approval of the proposition for rebuilding and new capping the upper portion of the Round Tower, or had he counselled their endeavouring to preserve it in its present condition.

Mr. Graves said that he had counselled the preserving of the Tower in its present state, if it was possible. But if the upper portion of the masonry was found, after careful inspection, to be in the state which Mr. Bell apprehended it was—so shaken and loose that it was liable to be blown down in any severe gale of wind—then the absolute necessity would arise for rebuilding this shaken and loose portion; and if thus the rebuilding of the upper portion could not be avoided, it would then be quite proper to place the cap upon it, such having been the original finish of all those structures, as it would serve to protect it from going to ruin again. However, he would much prefer that the Tower could be preserved exactly as it stands at present.

The Chairman said, at the instance of the Secretaries, he had brought a few more of the records of the Corporation of Kilkenny, at present in his custody as Town Clerk, to exhibit to the Association. The first document which he would read was dated in September 1622, and was an order of the Lord Lieutenant and Council, adjourning the Michaelmas Term to a later day, viz., "Crastino Animarum" (which was the return day of writs in that Term, known as "The Morrow of All Souls") on account of the unseasonableness of the weather and backwardness of the

harvest. This would be considered a very strange proceeding at the present day; but of course the business at that time was trifling, and the postponement caused but little inconvenience; the great difficulty of travelling to Dublin in those days, must have made the numbers attending Term from the country very few. Michaelmas Term then began 23rd October. The Morrow of All Souls would postpone it to the 3rd November. This document bears the signatures of the Lord Deputy Falkland, with those of Lord Chancellor Loftus, the Lord Powerscourt, Sir Charles Coote, and other members of the Privy Council :—

"After o^r hartie commendac̃ons, where wee have resolved, as well in regard of the unseasonableness of the wether and backwardnes of the harvest, as for other reasons us thereunto moving, to adiourne the next Michm^s Tearme to cr̃ino āimarū next following, wee therfore require yo^u to cause the same to bee presentlie published (for the more ease of his Ma^ties subjects) throughout that countie, and so wee bid yo^u hartely farewell from his Ma^ties Castell of Dublin the xxi^st of Septem̃ 1622,

"Yo^ur loving Friends,

"FALKLAND.

"A: LOFTUS CAN^R
TO: CAULFIELD
WILL: JONES
J: BLENRHAYSETT
CHA^S: COOTE
R: POWERSCOURT
HEN^RY DOCWRA
FR BLUNDELL
DA NORTON
AD: LOFTUS
FR: AUNGIER
GE: SHEIRLEY
FRA: ANNESLEY"

The next documents were of the years 1627 and 1628; they were not original, like all the others, but were each marked as "Copia Vera;" and were orders of the Lord Lieutenant and Council concerning the raising moneys for the maintenance of the army, to be levied on the towns of Callan, Thomastown, Gowran and Innistioge:—

"After our harty cōmendac̃ons, Although wee have dayelye expected Direcciōnes from his Mat^ie for a settled course to be established for the Soldiers maintenance, yett for asmuch as noe such Direcciōn hath hethirto come (which wee suppose would have comen by this tyme if the Agentes had departed according theere moc̃ōn) and for that the present three monethes (wherein a parte of the army weare assigned to be mentained at the charge of the Countie) are well neere run out, wee are necessarilye inforced, according his Ma^ties cōmandm^t in that behalfe, to renew o^ur Direciōnes

for ther mentenance by the Countrye for the next three monethes, being hopefull within that tyme to receve his highne's Direccion concerning them. And therefore wee have resolved that xviii of the foote Company, comanded by S^r George fflower, Kn^t, including an Ensigne at xiii^d o^b Eng. p diem and a Chirurgeant at ix^d p diem, and xvi footemen at viii^d Eng. p diem, shall (for the next three monethes, beginning the xxx^th day of this instant and ending the xxx^th day of March next, including the first and last daies), bee maintained at the charge of those Townes, w^ch Townes, for this time, are to be exempted from bearing w^th the Countie, wheeroff wee require all persones to whome it may concerne to take notice. And wee require yo^rs to take care that monyes be equally levied in those Townes, according the rates formerly mentained for the said Officers and Soldierers, to mentaine them during that time in their Garrisson; and forasmuch as wee have lately observed some frauds in charging some Counties w^th paym^te for the whole companie, when, in trueth, they have been defective in their number, for prevention whereof hereafter wee have caused Comissions to be issued to divers of the principall Inhabitants in every Countie to view and muster the Companies in the severall Counties where they are garrissoned, and have nowe written to the Com^rs of every Countye to execut that point of their Comission forthwith to the einde the Countrye may be noe further charged than of necessitie they must be, and that soe the Solderers may be paid by the poll in their garrissones. And so not doubteing of y^r care in this important affaire, wee bid you hartely farewell, from his Ma^te Castell of Dublin, xx° Decembr, 1627.

"Yo^r loving Freindes,

"FALKLAND.

"R: DILLON. W^M CAULFEILD.
W^M PARSONSS. ROGER JONES.
DNIL: NOPAYE. AD: LOFTUS."

"Villa Gauran, Villa Inistiock, Thomastown, Callan."

Addressed.—"To o^r loving Frends, the Cheef Officers of the Severall Townes of Gawrā, Inistiock, Callan, and Thomastown, and every of them."

Endorsed.—"Lord Deputy's Letter, 1627."

"After our harty comendations, although by our former ltrs of the 26^th of June last for raising monies for the maintenance of the new Levies and Supplies of his Ma^tes army for the last 3 monthes be signified unto you that it was then intended that that should be the last time that their meanes should be raised in the same forme w^h hetherto it hath bin, purposing in the future to have pceeded there in a nother way in conformity to his Ma^tes directions, yet afterwards uppon conference had w^th divers of the agents who were employed by this Kingdom into England to negotiate and conclude in the affairs then in treaty w^th his Ma^tie it was reasoned by theire advises that untill the Parliam^t, wherein matters might be setled for redusing those things to more certainty, the best way was to pceed in the former course of Levie; so no^w in pursuit of that resolution then so advisedly and neccssarily taken, we are again to renew our directions for theire maintenance in the former course for the p'sent three monthes beginning the first of this instant & ending the last of December following

including the first and last daies, and although the charge be nowe somewhat encreased by reason of the late supplies added to the Army by the comming of the Irish Regiment, yett cannot it be any p'judice to the Subiects considering that all the monies to be thus paid to the companies are to be allowed in p'te of paymen^{t} of the 3 Subsidies to be payed to his Ma^{tie}, wc^{h} we require you to notice and publish to the inhabitants of those Townes, and having assigned those Townes for the said 3 monthes to pay xxxv^{l} vi^{s} english towards the paym^{t} of Captaine Richard Butler and the foote companie under his cõmand we require you to take notice thereof and accordingly to take care that monies be equally levied in those Townes & the said some payed unto S^{r} Peirs Crosby, Knight, Collonel of that Regiment, or whom he shall authorise thereunto under his hand and wilbe answerable for, who is to give his acquittance for the same to the end the defalcation to be made in the 3 Subsidies may be the more certaine. w^{h} Sum the said S^{r} Peirs will cause to be payed to those for whom the same is designed; in w^{h} Levies to be nowe made all impriatiõns are to be charged for the present 3 monthes in such manner as by our lres of the 20th of March last is directed, and so we bidd you hartily farewell from his Ma^{ties} Castle of Dublin Ult^{o} October 1628.

"Your very loving Freinds,
"FALKLAND,
"ADAM LOFTUS,
JN^{o} ARDMACANUS,
MAT: CASHELL,
MOORE,
"CLANEBOY."

Addressed—"To our very loving Friends the Cheefe Officers of the Seᵛrall Townes of Callan, Thomastowne, Gowran & Instteege, or to evrie or any of them to be imparted to the rest.
"Copia Vera."

The next document was dated in 1639, and showed that absenteeism existed then to a great extent, as it states that a number of persons having estates in Ireland had withdrawn themselves to Scotland—probably planters in Ulster from that country; and this is a letter from Lord Wentworth, the Lord Lieutenant, and the Privy Council, addressed to the Mayor and Sheriffs of Kilkenny, directing the posting of a proclamation commanding all such persons to repair to this kingdom to their estates. It appeared from it that Whitehaven was then the principal port to which corn and other provisions were exported from this country. Liverpool was then a very inconsiderable place:—

"After our harty comendacõns, wee have caused a Proclamacõn to bee lately imprinted comaunding all psons of his Ma^{ties} Subjects w^{ch} have estates in Ireland and have heretofore wthdrawne themselves into Scotland or doe nowe make theire abode there, that they repaire into this Kingdome unto theire Estates before the first of August next and there reside as loyall

Subjecte ought to doe. And by the s[d] Proclamac̃on wee have declared that it shalbe lawfull to all his Ma[ties] Subjects to exporte out of this Kingdome anie Corne, Cattle or other provisions whatsoever into any parte of England to make sale thereof and more especially to the Porte of Whitehaven, where they may have redy Sale and Currant Payement, of w[ch] Proclamac̃on wee have herew[th] sent yo[r] a certayne number, requiring yo[r] to cause the same to bee proclaymed and fixed upp publiquely in the Marketts and other publique places & throughout that County, that soe all Persons concerned therein may take notice thereof, and soe wee bid yo[r] heartily farewell, from his Ma[ties] Castle of Dublin.

"19 Junij 1639.

"yo[r] very lovinge freinds,

"WENTWORTH.

"J: DILLON, A[D] LOFTUS, W[M] PARSONS.

"GERRARD LOWTHER,

"GEO: RADCLIFFE, ROB: MEREDYTH.

"For C: Civit. Kilkenny.

"PAUL DAVYS."

Addressed.—"To our very Loving freinds
The Mayor and Sheriffs of the
Cittye of Kilkenny."

The last document which he would lay before them on this occasion was perhaps the most interesting of all. It was a letter dated in 1643, from the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics, at the time sitting in Cashel, to the Mayor of Kilkenny. People might suppose that because this body had usually sat in Kilkenny, that the municipal archives of this city ought to throw much light on the acts of the Confederates; but on reflection they would see that the very fact of their sitting in Kilkenny would be a reason why very little about them was on record there, their own official records having been destroyed or having disappeared in some way since the Cromwellians had seized them and used them in the prosecution of members of the Council, in their "High Court of Justice." However, there fortunately was existing amongst the municipal muniments this letter written to the Mayor from Cashel, where the Supreme Council sat then; and it was particularly interesting from the signatures appended to it of the most prominent men, not merely of the Confederation but in the history of the period. The document (of which the plate facing next page is a facsimile taken by the photo-lithographic process) ran thus :—

"S^r

"Our Com^rs for y^e treaty of Cessac̃on vpon the conclusion of it haue by o^r consents graunted a Sũme of money amounting to thirty thousand pounds to his Ma^ty as an expression of y^e desires wee haue to serue him when god wilbe pleased to remoue y^e distempers of y^e p'sent tymes, and haue p'fixed a certaine day now neere at hand for making the first paym^t of y^e three payments: the p'sent payment being 10000^li ster. is applotted vpon the seu̯all counties & the Cities of the seu̯al provinces, But wee find the day of payment soe neere, and the welfare & honn^r of the Kingdome so farr ingaged that wee are much afraid if y^e money cannot be levyed by the said day that wee shall loose the app'ant hopes of a happie peace. Wee therefore haue propounded to borrow some considerable sõme from such of the Lords & Gentry of the Kingdome as wee conceaue are best able and more willing to spare the same for a short tyme, And thought to lett yo^rs knowe wee doe (for the reasons aforesaid) pray and desire yo^rs to deliu̯^r to such trustie pson or psons as yo^rs shall please to appointe, to be brought to us by way of Loane, the Sũme of three hundred pounds Currant. And wee doe hereby promise & vndertake and w^th all engage the publick faith of this Kingdome to repay the said Sũme upon demaunde: as yo^rs expect the continuance of this Cessac̃on, a happy succeeding peace and the welfare of the Kingdome, wee desire yo^r p'sent pformance herein it being of such necessity as admitts no delay w^th out eminent and appant danger. Doubting not of yo^r care wee remaine,

"Cashell, the 22^th of September, 1643.

"Yo^r loveing ffreinds
"HUGO ARDMACH.,
"T: CASHEL.,
"MUSKERRY,
"JOANNES CLONFERTENSIS,
"EMER DUN. CONOR.,
"DONALL OBRYAN."

"LUCAS DILLON,
"N: PLUNKETT,
"R: BELLING,
"TORL: O NEILL,
"GERALD FENELL,

"To y^e Citty of Kilkenny."

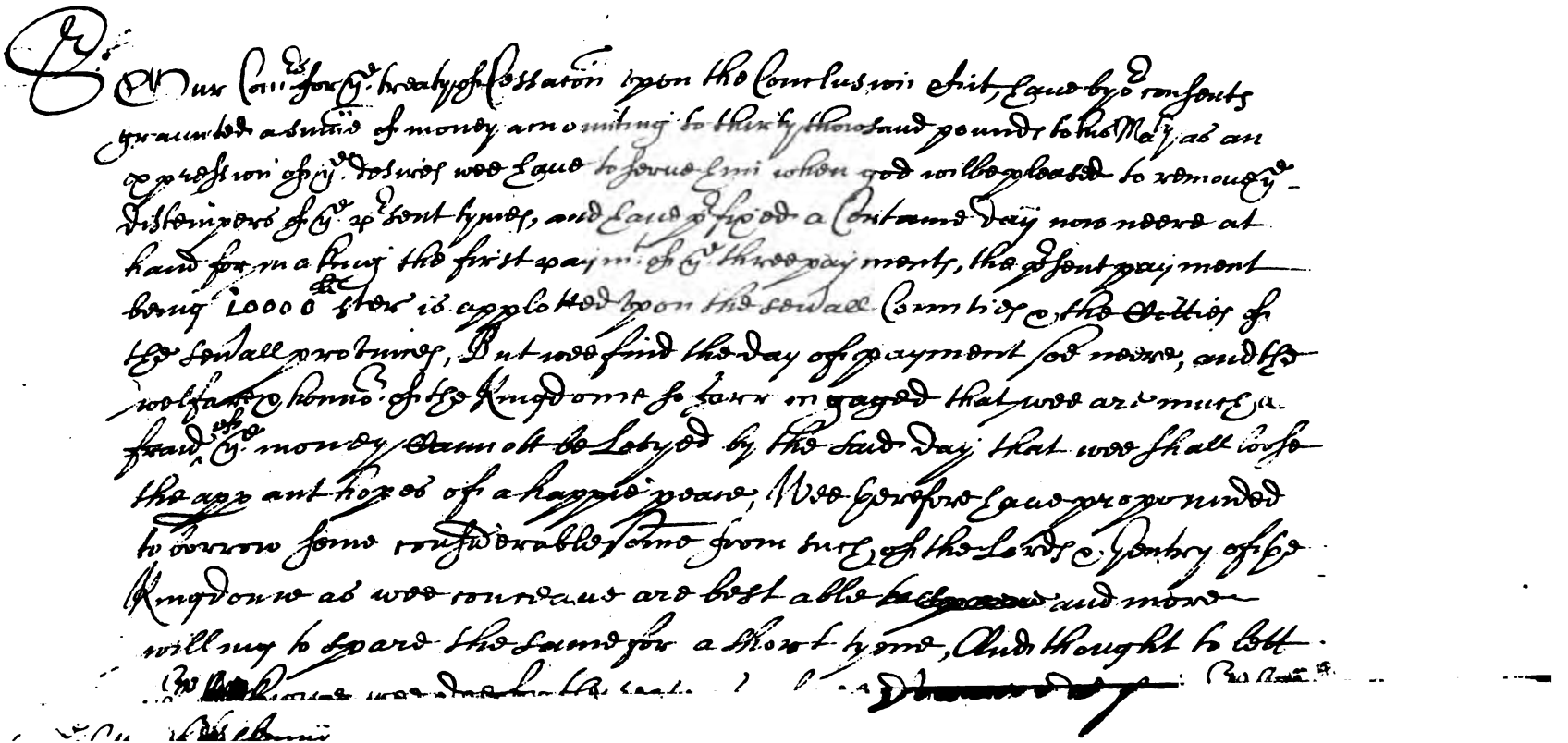
Addressed on the back.—"For our lovinge frend the Maior of Kilkenny."

Endorsed.—"Received this lre the 28° Septr: 1643, at 10 of the Clock.

"The Supreme Councells letter for to borrow money y^e third paym^t. 1643."

Mr. Graves said it was unfortunate that in the opening of the letter the wafer which had fastened it had been so torn that the impression of the seal upon it was sadly defaced. No other impression of a seal of the Confederate Catholics, he believed, was known: the original of the Treaty of Peace, preserved in the Muniment Room, Kilkenny Castle, having lost the seal which was appended to it. The device was described by Harold, in his Life of Luke Wadding, as being a cross in the centre, with a

LETTER OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE CONFEDERATE CATHOLICS TO THE MAYOR OF KILKENNY.



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crown on the one side, and a harp on the other; above a dove, and below a flaming heart; with the legend *Pro Deo, Rege, et Patria Hibernia unanimi.* The cross in the centre was still clear enough on the seal before them, with the crown at the dexter side, and a portion of the harp visible at the other side of the cross; a part of a glory which, no doubt, surrounded the dove extended downwards to the cross; and a few letters of the legend, reading—PRO. DEO. REGE.—in Roman capitals, were visible, but the rest was obliterated. The seal was oval, measuring one and a quarter by one inch. From its small size it was probable that this was the seal of the Supreme Council, analogous to the Royal Privy Seal, and not the Great Seal of the Confederation; but, if so, the same device served for both. They should feel deeply indebted to Mr. Watters for bringing under their cognizance such valuable original documents.

G. H. Kinahan, M.R.I.A., Hon. Provincial Secretary for Connaught, sent the following observations on the exploration of Crannogs:—

"The valuable researches of Wilde, Wakeman, and others, have given us a great insight into the implements, works of art, &c., used by the inhabitants of the crannogs, but still there is not much known as to the mode or style of those buildings. It occurs to me that explorers of crannogs overlook essential points in their construction, as indicated by their present position; thereby our knowledge of their structure is scarcely increased, and the papers read on newly-discovered crannogs from time to time, not only in this country, but also those of the "finds," in Scotland and Wales, are scarcely more than a record of the discovery.

"As I have only excavated crannogs in four localities, namely, Lough Rea, County of Galway, Ballinlough near Marble Hill, County of Galway, Lough Nahinch on the borders of Tipperary and King's County, and Lough Naneevin, West Galway, it may be presumptuous in me to make these remarks; however, as I have noted features in their structure, which seem to have escaped the observation of other explorers, perhaps I may be excused; but more especially when I state that these remarks are not made in a spirit of censure, but rather that they may call attention to what has been observed, and thereby excite others to make careful exploration, whereby our knowledge of these interesting structures may be increased.

"In all the localities I have examined, floors of wicker or basket-work were found, and I should not be surprised if they existed in most crannogs, for, after examining the debris thrown out from other crannogs that had been excavated (such as those near Moate, Strokestown, &c.), I observed the remains of basket-work, which must either have been floors or partitions. These floors may easily be passed over, without being observed, as the rods forming them are so soft and rotten, that they give

no resistance to the spade, and it was quite by accident the first was discovered in the large crannog in Lough Rea, whilst tracing out and clearing a pavement (for sketch of wicker floor, see "Dublin Quarterly Journal of Science," Vol. IV., page 119). After this discovery they have always been found, when looked for, in any crannog I explored.

"Partition walls occurred in all the crannogs I have explored, and the heads of the piles forming them may be seen in an unexcavated crannog near Strokestown, County of Roscommon. They are either made of wicker-work, or built of sods, or both combined; and whatever way they are constructed, there are piles at intervals in them; therefore it is probable, all piles in the interior of these structures were portions of partition walls, or walls of habitations.

"In all cases, I also found that the level of the water of the lakes had been lower when these islands were first built, and often that there were two or more series of habitations built on the one site. In the large crannog in Lough Rea a bed of marl was met, and at first supposed to be part of the bottom of the lake; however, on digging through it, artificial work was found underneath. Some crannogs are stated in the 'Annals of the Four Masters' to have sunk, as that in Lough Cimbe, now Lough Hackett, near Headford, County of Galway; but those in Lough Rea, however, could scarcely have sunk, as the oldest floor in all is nearly on one level. Moreover the smaller ones seem to have been deserted long prior to the large ones, as they are seldom above water at the present day, while the large ones are always high and dry, as if, as the water rose, they were added to and heightened. As none of those particulars seem to be generally observed, I would now put forward the following suggestions for the guidance of future explorers, in the hopes that they may be the means of adding to our present meagre knowledge.

"1. The wicker or basket floors should be carefully looked for. They generally exist on or near cross beams, and if cut through, a cross section of them may be seen in each spadefull of stuff thrown out of the excavation. I did not find them except in the lowest or oldest part of the crannog, the primary habitation.

"2. Search should be made to ascertain if two or more series of habitations were built one above the other, on the ruins of those that were oldest; also if the island was submerged between two or more periods of its being inhabited; this will be known by layers or beds of marl intervening between two or more series of ruins.

"3. Careful note should be made of the piles in the interior of the structure, to see if they have any connxtion with one another, if they were originally in sod or wicker walls, and if these were partitions or the outside walls of habitations. The shape of the building or structure ought to be carefully worked out, for as yet little or nothing is known about them.

"4. It should be noted if the building were round the margin of the crannog, or occupied the whole structure. If the former, search should be made to find out if the interior was void of buildings. In large crannogs it appears to me, that a number of families occupied them, living in separate huts or apartments; while some of the small crannogs seem to have been covered by one habitation.

"5. In large crannogs it would be well to look for the principal fireplace and ash-heap, as in the latter will be found many relics. The site of

the heap can generally be known by the place being greener, and a little higher than the rest of the island. In the vicinity of the fire-place, both inside and outside the sheet piling, will be found the kitchen-midden, and in it relics. They also often occur in the corners of a hut where two walls or partitions meet.

"6. A map or sketch-map should be given of all crannogs, and on it all circles or rows of piles marked, and descriptions of them given; also all horizontal beams, so that hereafter the structure of the different crannogs may be compared together.

"7. On some crannogs the last structures built seem to have been of stone.[1] On first sight these stones seem to be irregularly thrown on to the crannog, but as they are being removed the foundation of the ancient structures will appear. The shape, size, &c., of these ought to be noted, and if possible a plan of them made.

"It is remarkable how often pieces of querns occur on crannogs, some being of very ancient type. At the present day querns, many of which are of ancient form, are extensively used for grinding malt for illicit distillation; therefore it is not improbable that many of the querns found had been so brought there, more especially as it is well known that many of these islands up to recent times, were the sites of stills; on some the old still houses, malt floors and kiln are still existing, or their ruins."

Mr. W. F. Wakeman submitted the following observations on some iron tools, and other antiquities lately discovered in the crannog of Cornagall, County Cavan :—

"Up to a period of about thirty years ago it was scarcely supposed, even by well-informed archæologists, that objects of iron found in our bogs, river beds, or loughs, or indeed under any circumstances which implied an exposure to the corroding influence of damp, could, as antiquities, claim serious attention. Weapons, ornaments, and implements of stone, of the precious metals, of bronze, and copper, of glass or clay, and even of wood, were to be seen in abundance in the cabinets of collectors of antiquities, and only such articles were allowed to be truly worthy of consideration. Iron was forbidden to make an appearance, except occasionally, when portions of mediæval armour, ponderous two-handed swords, pike heads, spurs of formidable proportions (and at least of doubtful origin), &c., were introduced as *curiosities*. It was then very generally believed that the inhabitants of Erin, of the prehistoric period, having for countless generations flourished and decayed as the manufacturers of flint weapons and stone hatchets, gradually, through invasions or otherwise, became acquainted with gold, silver, copper, and bronze, and that the last-named metal, down to the time of the arrival of St. Patrick and his missionaries, was used almost exclusively in the manufacture of weapons of war, minor personal ornaments, and articles of ordinary domestic requirement, such as pots, pans, &c., &c.

[1] Some of these stone structures may be quite recent, as these islands have been the refuge of the illicit distillers, and also in troubled times of persons seeking to avoid arrest, sheep stealers, &c.; therefore it is well to find out if there is any tradition as to the time they were last inhabited.

"Petrie, I believe, was the first to claim for a large class of iron remains, found beneath our soil, the interesting position which they are now allowed to hold as a connecting link between the bronze manufacture of a remote and apparently semi-civilized age, and the industrial achievements of our armourers, work-shops, and foundrys, of comparatively modern days.

"The great historical crannog of Lagore, near Dunshaughlin, in the County of Meath, accidentally discovered by labourers engaged in turf-cutting, presented the first, and I believe, the most important 'find' of earliest Irish implements composed of iron, hitherto recorded. Lagore was more than once sacked and levelled by the Danes. We read that in A. D. 848, 'Cinaedh, son of Conaing, lord of Cianachta-Breagh, in Meath, went with a strong force of foreigners, and plundered the Ui-Neill from the Sionainn to the sea; and he plundered the island of Loch Gabhor, and afterwards burned it, so that it was level with the ground.' In A. D. 933, the place seems to have suffered a similar fate at the hands of Anliav O'Hivair, after which time we hear no more concerning this once coveted stronghold until about the year 1840, the period of its disinterment, and identification by Petrie. The latest period, therefore, to which the majority of the antiquities so plentifully found within and around 'the island' may be referred to is somewhere between the ninth, and the earlier half of the tenth century. This approximate date I believe nears the historic limit to which, in Ireland, the so-called 'iron age' may be allowed to have reached back. How long it had previously existed must be a matter of hopeless conjecture. We know that Cæsar found the Britons well acquainted with the use of iron. It is hard to believe that the natives of this country were behind their neighbours in the art of metallurgy, or in any of the arts, the intercourse between the two islands having been of the closest kind. Indeed it would appear that our *Insula Sacra* was the more civilized and learned. However that may be (and it is irrelevant here to enter upon the question), there is abundant evidence that the natives of Erin, even in pagan times, were accustomed to the use of iron, and whether in this country there was ever an *exclusively* bronze age may remain a debateable subject. At any rate, at some period lost in the mist of antiquity, bronze, as the prevailing material, must have given place to iron. The transition probably occupied time to be counted by centuries; and, though in its details at present involved in mystery, may yet (by the comparison of objects of bronze with others of the same class composed of iron, found under circumstances which would indicate a high degree of antiquity), be open to research of a not unhopeful kind.

"It would appear that it has been too generally assumed that 'single piece' canoes rudely fashioned, and apparently hollowed by the action of fire, or by the aid of rude cutting or punching instruments, must *invariably* be assigned to the earliest, or at least to an extremely early period of society: boats, or canoes of oak formed of one tree, have been discovered under circumstances which would imply that they had been used contemporaneously with stone hatchets—on the other hand, in crannog 'finds' of a comparatively late date, canoes, apparently of the oldest type known, were ascertained to contain relics of iron which there is reason to believe belong to an age long subsequent to the conversion of the people of Ireland to Christianity. It is recorded in the 'Archæologia' that in one instance at least a structure of wood, dug out of a bog in the County of Donegal,

contained the stone axe by which its timbers had been fashioned. Here was also found a sword of oak, a portion of which is preserved amongst the antiques of the Petrie collection, deposited in the Museum of the Royal Dublin Academy. Of the immense age of the Donegal log house there can be no question; and yet, within and around the remains of what appears to have been a perfectly similar work (see my notice of the Ballydoolough crannog) were turned up knives and other articles composed of iron, besides innumerable pieces of pottery, and miscellaneous articles, in the construction of which considerable advancement in several of the mechanical arts was evinced. It would be very difficult to believe that the boats referred to, and these wooden edifices, were all respectively of about the same date. The style of naval (if I may use the term), and of domestic architecture appears to have remained unchanged during many ages. As in the instance of boats, and houses, the ancient people of Ireland, in the construction of their weapons and tools, seem to have been loth to depart from olden ideas of form. In the plate which accompanies this Paper will be found illustrations of what probably constituted the entire stock of tools, used in the exercise of his profession, by a crannog builder who lived at a period not long subsequent to the time when bronze had given place to iron as the material generally used for common purposes. There is no necessity to present a scale; as all the articles are represented one-third of their real size. It may be interesting here to mention the circumstances under which these very curious remains were brought to light. About six miles from Cavan, at a place called Cornagall, occurs a small lough which contains an artificial island almost perfectly circular in form, and measuring about thirty yards in diameter. The work is thickly planted with timber, the roots of which defy exploration of the interior; but the crannog character of the spot is sufficiently attested by the presence of rows of oaken stakes by which its summer margin is strongly fenced. One day in the month of August, last year, when the water had become particularly low, the islet was casually visited by Henry King Leslie, Esq., of Drung, in the same County. Beyond the lines of piles already referred to there was little at hand to interest a visitor, but while pacing the shore Mr. Leslie had his attention attracted by the appearance, slightly elevated above the surface of the water, of what seemed to be a log of unusual character, and which showed some indications of having been fashioned by art. Upon examination the timber proved to be the stern, or bow of a boat (a regular 'dug out'), and it occurred to the finder to have the relic exhumed from its peaty bed, and submitted to the inspection of the curious in antiquarian matters. This was an undertaking more easy to plan than to accomplish, as the bog on each side was of the softest pulpy matter, and quite unequal to bear the weight of any one venturesome enough to brave the danger of its unknown depths. Assistance, at the time, could not be readily obtained, as every man and boy about the place, the season being propitious, were busily engaged in turf-saving. Mr. Leslie, therefore, had nothing for it but to help himself, so, after procuring a shovel, and stripping to the work, he boldly stepped on board, and began to clear out the *spodach* and stuff with which the interior of the craft was filled. It was no light task, as the water continued to flow in as the shovels-full were thrown out, but at length the lower termination of the boat was reached, and Mr. Leslie was disappointed at finding that he stood upon what was only a piece of a canoe,

the missing portion having apparently been destroyed by fire, as evinced by the charred appearance of the remainder. The 'find' was then abandoned, as unworthy of further trouble, but I trust next summer, under the able guidance of its discoverer, to procure this interesting remain for presentation to our Museum, where, in the Crannog Room, it would doubtlessly constitute an important feature. From the mould cast out the objects figured in the accompanying plate were rescued. They were found in the matter last disturbed and must have been laid close together upon the floor of the boat. A considerable quantity of chips, and small pieces of oak, many of which were partially burned, were also found, but of these unfortunately no specimens were retained. It might have been interesting to compare the cuttings upon them with the edges of some of the tools under notice. Mr. Leslie remarks that in the great amount of charcoal and half burnt sticks and chips to be seen upon the shore of this crannog, there would appear indication of the island having been destroyed by fire. In the state of the boat, more than one-half consumed, and retaining in the remaining portion the tools, evidently a set, of some ancient craftsman, as well as in the burnt timbers which strew the shore, there is evidence of a sudden calamity, probably of an onslaught which eventuated in some unrecorded scene of battle, murder, and sudden death. The very name of the place Cor-na-gall, 'The hollow of the Dane, or foreigner,' is suggestive of strife.

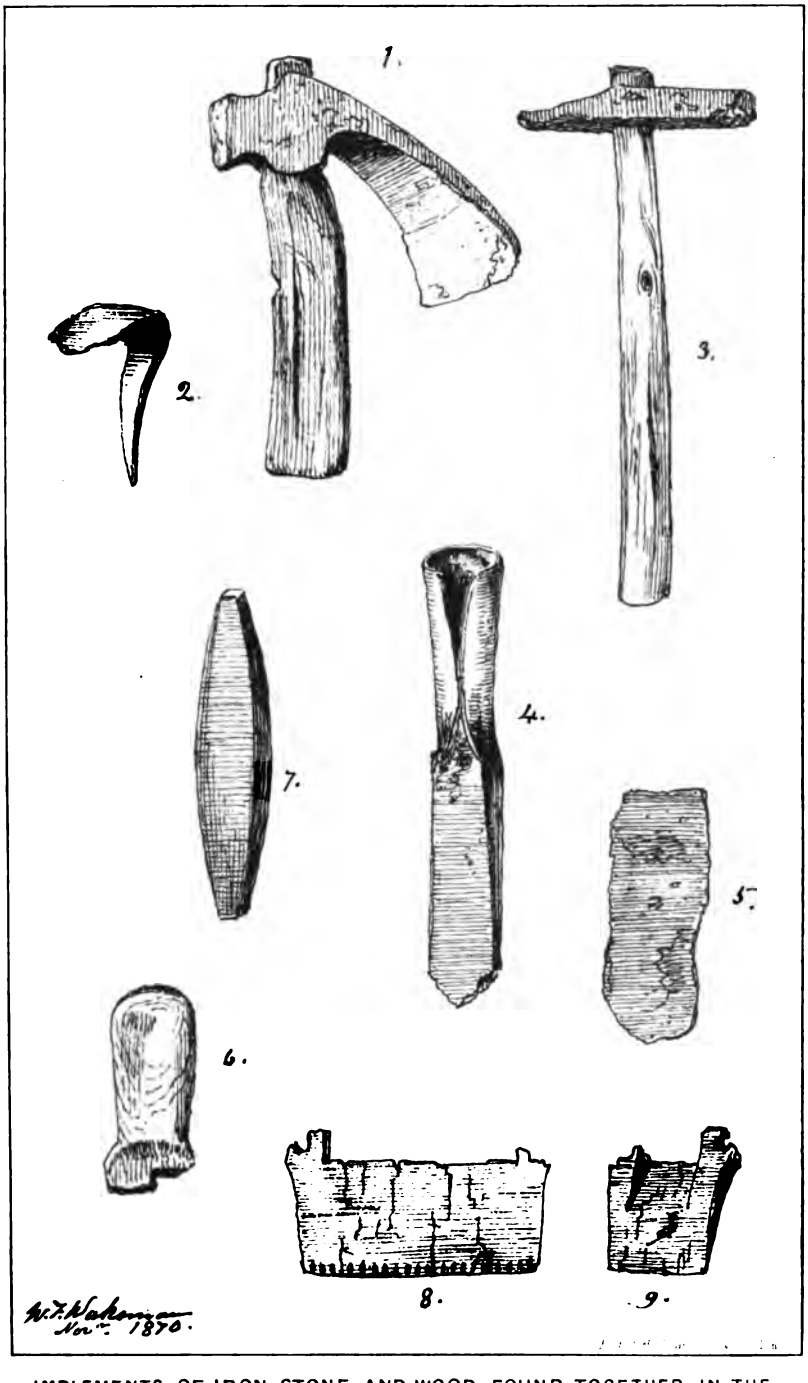
"I shall now briefly describe the antiquities referred to, which I may say were most kindly presented to me by Mr. Leslie:—

"No. 1, on the plate, is a very perfect adze, the metallic portion of which consists of a soft kind of iron, well steeled to a considerable distance from its cutting edge. The end, through which an oaken handle passes, is designed in exactly the same manner as those of our early axe-heads. As far as I am aware this tool is extremely rare, if not unique; but *axe-heads* similarly steeled, and fitted for a shaft or handle, have been frequently discovered in Ireland, as well as in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon graves and tumuli.

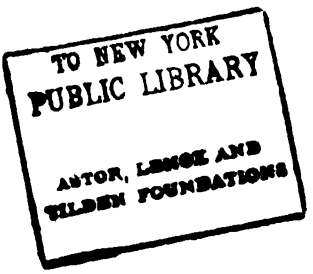
"No. 2 is also an adze, or scraper, or implement of the same class, but differs from the former as it shows no perforation, its narrow pointed end having evidently been intended for insertion in a wooden handle. The edge is unfortunately broken, so that it is impossible to determine whether it had been steeled or not.

"No. 3 represents a hammer, the head of which is of iron, the handle being apparently of oak, and split at its upper extremity for the insertion of a wedge which still remains *in situ*. The form of the head is of great interest, as it recalls the idea of one class of hammer of the so-called 'stone age.' Of hammers composed of bronze we possess, I believe, not a single example. Perhaps through a long course of ages that golden coloured metal, and gold itself, were worked by the force of stone hammers in the hands of skilful artists. It is a curious, but well ascertained, fact that at the ancient copper mines near Killarney stone hammers were used in the manipulation of the ore. During a visit to Killarney, some years ago, I was able to collect, upon the spot, at least half a dozen specimens of these curious implements, the greater number of which I subsequently presented to the late Dr. Petrie, amongst whose collection, now deposited in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, they may still be seen.

"No. 4 is undoubtedly the most remarkable of the antiquities from



IMPLEMENTS OF IRON, STONE, AND WOOD, FOUND TOGETHER IN THE BOTTOM OF A "SINGLE TREE" BOAT, AT THE CRANNOG OF CORNAGALL, Co. CAVAN.


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Cornagall. It is a veritable celt or chisel, and if found in bronze would be considered only as an interesting variety of the slender socketed celt of a prehistoric age. There is no side loop by which the handle might be fastened, but such provision for security is not unfrequently absent even in bronze specimens of its class. This instrument I believe presents a most important link, connecting the older semi-civilization of the so-called 'age of bronze' with the production of times far remote indeed, but still probably within the historic period. It retains a portion of its handle, and exhibits a rust of sulphate of iron, as bright in appearance as the purest ultramarine. A somewhat similar object, but considerably broader in its proportions, is preserved in the Petrie collection already alluded to. It was procured by myself at Lagore, shortly after the opening of the great crannog at that place, and was much valued by our late accomplished archæologist, Dr. Petrie, to whom I presented it.

"Nos. 5 and 6 represent, respectively, a thin knife-like piece of iron, and a wooden handle, which are very likely portions of one implement. The wood is hollowed for the reception of the blade, and is perforated for the insertion of a rivet which no longer remains. The manner of hafting seems to have been every way similar to that adopted by the makers of some dagger-like thin blades of bronze, examples of which must be familiar to the antiquary. It is much to be regretted that these interesting fragments have been so imperfectly preserved, as no doubt in better condition they would have served to illustrate the transition, to which I have already referred, from the very general use of bronze to that of iron in the manufacture of such articles.

That a hewer of wood was careless of a means by which his edged tools might be kept in proper order is not likely, and the Cornagall "find" presents two most beautiful specimens of the ancient whet-stone, one of which is shown in fig. 7. The material of which they are composed is of a dark greenish grey colour, almost black, extremely hard and close-grained, probably Lydian stone. They are perfectly symmetrical in form, and partake greatly of the character of the so-called 'touchstone,' an implement most commonly found in connexion with carns and lisses of an early period. I am unfortunately unable at present to lay these interesting specimens before the meeting, Mr. Leslie having parted with them to a friend in England, but I hope on a future occasion to have an opportunity of so doing. The illustration was made from one of them, which was kindly lent to me in order that it might be drawn.

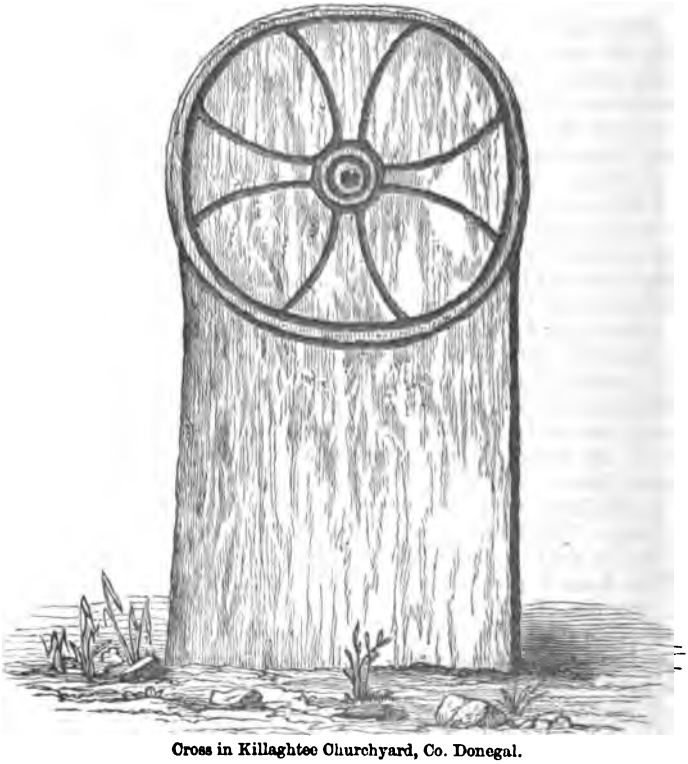
"Figs. 8 and 9 give two views of a very remarkable object composed of oak, the use of which I do not understand. It is curiously notched upon one of its sides near the edge, as shown in the sketch. It was found with the tools, and is therefore represented in company with them.

"I have done with Cornagall for a time, but I trust next season to visit the place, and (with the assistance kindly promised by Mr. Leslie) to be able to recover the remains of the boat, and perhaps to secure some other relics of a crannog which has already proved so fruitful in objects which serve, in no slight degree, to illustrate a progressive change (extremely interesting in its bearings) in the art of metallurgy as practised by our remote ancestors."

Mr. W. H. Patterson, Belfast, sent the following communication :—

"In a secluded spot, with wild and rugged surroundings, on the northern shore of Donegal Bay, the stream known both as the Oily river and the Corker river falls into the head of a rocky inlet, called M'Swyne's Bay.

"The little settlement here, scarcely a village, is named Bruckless ("fort of the badgers," from *broc*, pronounced bruck, a badger, and *lis*, i. e. *lios*, an earthen fort); it is about two miles east of Killybegs, and is in the parish of Killaghtee, and barony of Banagh, Co. Donegal. The modern parish church of Killaghtee is situated close to the village of Dunkineely; the cemetery, which contains the ruins of the old church, with its east gable almost entire, is about half a mile distant, near the shore of M'Swyne's Bay (sheet 31, one-inch Ordnance Maps). The name Killaghtee is said to be derived from



Cross in Killaghtee Churchyard, Co. Donegal.

kill, "a church," *leacht*, a "sepulchral monument," and *oidhche*, "the night"—the church of the night monumental stone;[1] the story being that

[1] Following Dr. Joyce, in his "Irish Names of Places," it might be said that "tee" is *tigh*, the dative of *teach*, "a house," or, in its restricted sense, "a church," while *kill* may mean "wood" as well as "church."

the original founder of the church had the site indicated to him by a stone cross which was miraculously placed in a certain spot during the night. I was accompanied to the old graveyard by a friend well versed in the legendary lore of the district, and was pointed out the *leacht*—the sepulchral stone—which gives the name to the parish. This massive old slab, grey and weather-beaten, stands near the centre of the graveyard; it is five feet ten inches high, and two feet eight inches broad. On the side facing the west, a cross within a circle of very early type is sculptured; the lines are all incised; the reverse of the slab is rough, and bears no sculpture. The accompanying cut is a representation of the west side of the stone.

"During a hurried visit to this district in August, 1870, I was told by the Rev. Mr. Stephens, of Killybegs, of a curious cross-inscribed stone, at a place called 'The Relig,' near Bruckless, close to St. Conall's Well. The lady in whose house I was staying undertook to guide me to the place, where I made drawings of the stones, and collected then, and afterwards, some particulars which I thought might be of sufficient interest to put before the Members of our Association.

"The well and Relig are situated in a lonely part of the rather wide glen through which the Corker river flows; they are on the left of the stream, and less than a mile from the place where it falls into the sea; they are approached by a narrow lane, leading off the main road from Donegal to Killybegs. This lane is laid down in the Ordnance Maps, in sheet 98, county Donegal, of the Townland Survey, where the well is indicated by a very minute circle, and in sheet 23 of the one-inch maps.

"The well is surrounded by a low wall of uncemented stones. It is now small and shallow; but the spring is copious, and the overflow forms a small rill, which flows down the sloping ground to the bottom of the glen. No thorn tree overshadows the little basin, but the brambles,[1] which grow over and around it, have their branches decorated with rags and shreds of various colours, fragments of clothing, &c.—some fresh, as if placed there but yesterday; others bleached and faded by the sun and rain. These shreds are votive offerings, left to propitiate the genius of the well, here personified as Saint Conall, by those who visit this place to 'do stations,' and to pray for relief from bodily or mental ills. I learned that here, as in other parts of Ireland, the Roman Catholic clergy discourage as much as possible this resorting to holy wells, and that the persons who come here are careful to hide the fact from their clergymen.

"This practice is no doubt the continuation of a Pagan observance, and one which has been made the subject of repressive laws at various times in these countries. Thus the sixteenth canon, concluded under King Edgar, A.D., 967, forbids among other heathen practices 'Well worshipings.' And one of the laws of King Cnut forbids men to worship idols. 'the sun or the moon, fire or rivers, water-wells or stones, or forest trees.'[2] Many years ago Dr. Charles O'Conor, the Irish historian, wrote an essay[3] against

[1] A mode of divination practised by young girls in West Cornwall was by floating bramble leaves on the surface of the holy well—bramble leaves were always used. "Was the bramble a sacred plant used in any ancient religious rites?" See "Traditions, &c., of West Cornwall," by William Bottrell: Penzance, 1870.

[2] See "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. ii., p. xxxvii.

[3] See "Columbanus ad Hibernos," third letter.

'Well Worship,' which he found had once been universal throughout Europe, but had died out in every country except Ireland.

"I was not able to ascertain if this well is considered efficacious for any special class of ailments, or if the water itself is used or applied in any way with regard to the cure. It is, however, believed in the neighbourhood that St. Conall, who was one of the earliest Christian missionaries in Tyrconnell, in the fifth or beginning of the sixth century (probably finding this well an object of veneration among the Pagan inhabitants) blessed it, and endowed it with healing powers, erected a stone cross near it, and established a church or oratory; of the cross some fragments still remain; of the church, not a trace, except in the significant name, 'The Relig,' still applied to a little patch of rugged ground about fifty yards distant from the well. As an additional proof that an early church existed here, I may mention that a 'bullaun' or primitive font, which was brought from the Relig within the memory of persons now living, is built into the corner of a fence in an adjoining field; the man who removed it 'did no good ever after.' An old woman living near called it 'the font.' It is a massive block of stone, about 4½ feet long, and 2 feet wide, having a bowl-shaped hollow of about twelve inches diameter, sunk in one face of the stone near the end.

"The word Relig is the Irish *Reilig*, a cemetery: thus we have *Reilig-na-riogh*, 'the burial place of the Kings,' in Connaught; *Reilig-na-mbeann*, 'the woman's cemetery,' in Co. Tyrone; and the principal burying place in Iona is *Reilig Odhrain*,[1] 'St. Oran's cemetery.'

"On entering the little enclosure known simply as 'the Relig,' the

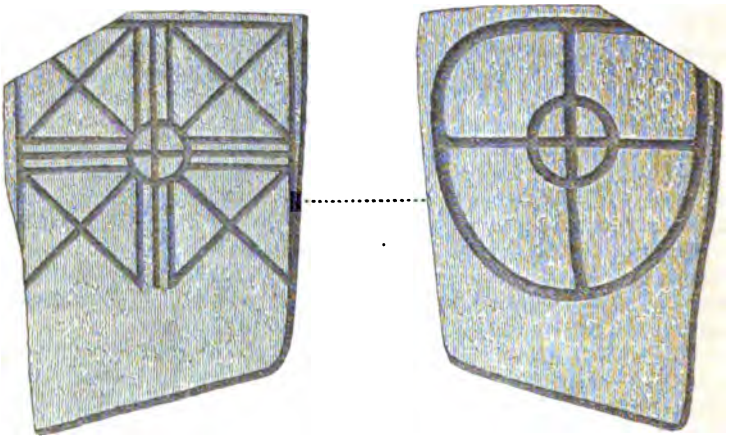


Fig. 1. Fig. 2.

Cross-slab in the Relig near St. Conall's well, County Donegal.

most noticeable objects are four or five low cairns, of lichen-covered stones, rising above the rocky surface of the ground. The largest of these cairns measures about four feet high, and is about six feet in diameter: on the top, partly supported by the stones being heaped around it, is a fragment

[1] So called from St. Odhrain, who was the first person buried there. He was a relative and contemporary of St. Columba; and it is related that he voluntarily died at St. Columba's request, in order that by his interment the ground might be consecrated. See Reeves' "Adamnan's Life of St. Columba," p. 204.

of a stone cross, in a cleft or mortise of which is usually kept the healing or miraculous stone which I shall afterwards mention. The country people call this cairn an altar; and on the occasion of my first visit to the place, a poor woman was kneeling in front of it, absorbed in prayer; she had been first at St. Conall's well, and was now praying at his altar; she told us afterwards, with much difficulty—for the paralysis which she suffered from affected the organs of speech—that she hoped, and believed that, with God's help, her health would be better for her visit to 'the station.'

"Leaning against one side of this cairn is a portion of a monumental slab, having an incised cross sculptured on both sides, evidence of a Christian interment at the place. The slab measures 23 inches long and 17 inches broad; the accompanying woodcut shows both sides of the stone. It will be seen that the character of the design is totally different on the two sides, so very different, that I think they would indicate the work of different periods. On the side shown in Fig. 1 the design is of a clear and well-defined character, and the execution decided and workmanlike; while on the reverse side, Fig. 2, the design is poor and undecided, and the incised lines are wide and shallow, as if made with an inferior tool to that used in the execution of the other. Which was the earlier, and which the later sculpture—whether we should look for a development or a retrogression in the art of the district—I cannot say. The 'Relig' has long since ceased to be used as a burying place except in the case of unbaptized children.

"The most interesting object in connexion with the Relig, however, is the healing, or medicinal, or magic stone. This is a dark brown-coloured stone, measuring 5 inches long, and 3 inches thick, in shape and size somewhat like an ordinary 'dumb-bell.' Although very artificial-looking, I am disposed to think that the stone owes its present form to the action of water or the atmosphere, and also that the three small hollows which it exhibits are weather-pitted. This stone is regarded in the neighbourhood with the highest reverence, and is considered to have a most powerful effect in curing all kinds of diseases. The sick person desiring to make use of the stone has it brought to his house, where it is retained till it is no longer required, in which case it is returned to the Relig, or till a more urgent case arises in the neighbourhood, when the stone is transferred from the one patient to the other.



The Healing Stone of St. Conall.

"When not in use, the stone is kept in a hollow or mortise of the broken cross, on the top of the cairn at the Relig, of course exposed to all weathers: it has no custodian, but any person on going to borrow it gives notice to some of the families living near, so that it is always known where the stone is; and to return it is a matter of duty. When I visited 'the Relig,' the stone was away with some sick person; but my friend, having found out where it was, sent for it, so that the next morning I had an opportunity of seeing and making a drawing of it: the stone was then returned to the patient. A letter written from Bruckless, Sept. 16, 1870, tells me that the stone is at present 'out' with a different invalid from the one who allowed me to see it.[1] I was not able to learn in what way the stone is

[1] The *Cloch Ruadh*, or "Red stone of St. Columba," was probably a healing stone. The family of O'Nahon, who were the hereditary herenachs of the parish of

used, as the people seemed rather unwilling to speak on this subject, and they carefully conceal from their clergy all about the taking of the stone or 'going through the station.'[1]

"The Saint Conall whose name is connected with the holy well and Relig at Bruckless is probably the one mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal, at May 22, his festival day—'St. Conall, Abbot of Inis Caoil,[2] in Cinel Conaill, and he is himself of the Cinel Conaill.' At May 22, Alban Butler writes: 'St. Conall, Abbot of Ennis-Chaoil, in the county of Tyrconnell, in Ireland. In this province he is the most celebrated patron and titular saint of a most extensive parish, where he is honoured with extraordinary devotion; his feast is most famous, and the church and well, which bear his name, are visited by pilgrims.' Mr. M'Devitt, in his book, entitled 'The Donegal Highlands,' after describing the position of Iniskeel, says: 'A monastery was founded on this island at a very remote period, by St. Connell.' 'The saint's paternal name was Caoil, and hence the name Inis-Caoil, pronounced Iniskeel. It is a great resort for pilgrims, who come here in large numbers during the summer months to beg the intercession of St. Connell.' Archdall also mentions the ancient church of Iniskeel, of which he says St. Conald Coel was Abbot, and gives May 12 as his festival. 'St. Dallan wrote a work in his praise; he was killed by pirates about the year 590, and was interred with his friend.'[3] The tradition at present in the west of Donegal is that St. Conall was a disciple of St. Patrick, and received from him the Liturgy, and with it one of the five bells which he brought into Ireland. This curious relic, called the Bearnan Chonaill, or Gapped Bell of St. Conall, was preserved in a beautiful cover or shrine, of much later date than the bell itself, and was in the possession of Major Nesbitt, of Woodhill, from the year 1835 till his death, in 1844, since which it has disappeared. A friend, who remembers well the appearance of this bell, has described it to me as being so decayed and rust-eaten that it was perforated with holes in almost every part, and therefore was called Bearnan, i. e. Gapped Bell. The bell and cover had been sold to Major Nesbitt by Connell MacMichael O'Breslen, then living at Glengesh, in the parish of Inver. This poor man was the representative of O'Breslen, who, as appears from an Inquisition, 7 Jac. I., was one of the Erenachs of Inishkeel."[4]

The following Paper was read :—

Gartan (St. Columba's birthplace) in Co. Donegal, had also the privilege of carrying "Collumkille's read stoane." O'Donnell in his life of the saint, records a curious legend as to the origin of this stone, which he says was "red, roundish, and of the size of a golden apple." In the Laud MSS. there is a poem ascribed to St. Columba, on the virtues of the *red stone*, wherewith he banished the demons from Sengleann (pronounced Shan Glen, i. e. old glen, now Glencolumbkille, a parish in the extreme south-west of Donegal). O'Donnell calls the latter a *blue stone*, and speaks of it as preserved in Glencolumbkill. See Reeves' "Adamnan's St. Columba," p. 330.

[1] For a notice of stones of this class preserved at penitential altars, holy wells, &c., in the West of Ireland, see Wilde's "Catalogue of Antiquities, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy," p. 131.

[2] Now Iniskeel, an island near the mouth of Gwobarra Bay, county Donegal.

[3] "Monasticon Hibernicum."

[4] "Ann. Four Masters," A. D. 1616. Note by O'Donovan.

ON A BRONZE OBJECT BEARING A RUNIC INSCRIPTION FOUND AT GREENMOUNT, CASTLE-BELLINGHAM, CO. LOUTH.[1]

BY MAJOR-GENERAL J. H. LEFROY, R. A., C. B., F. R. S.

THE tumulus in which the object to be presently described was found, is known as Greenmount, in the ancient parish of Kilsaran, Barony of Ferrard, Co. Louth, now united to Gernonstown. It is a neighbourhood very early mentioned in Irish history and rich in remains of antiquity. As Ard Cianachta, "The hill of the tribe of Cian," it commorates a victory, in A. D. 226, of the sons of Cian over the forces of Ulster; and the Feara-Arda-Cianachta, "The people of the Height of Cian," have bequeathed their name to the modern territorial designation, Ferrard.[2] Within a dozen miles of the spot, to the north, is the gigantic mound of Dun Dealgan, now Castleton near Dundalk, which remounts, according to the Annals, to the first century of our era; about as far south is "the Cave of the Grave of Boden," that is, "The shepherd of Elcmar," which was "broken and plundered by the foreigners," A.D. 861, and is still so well known as the Tumulus of Dowthe.[3] A rath at Dromin, a mound at Drumleek, another at Moy Laighaire (Moylary), another at Dunleer, and yet another on a very large scale, and little known, at Drumcashel, are still nearer. The parochial name Kilsaran, *Cill-Saran*, recalls S. Saran, Abbot of Beannchair (Co. Down), whose death

[1] The Association is indebted to the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland for the use of the woodcuts illustrating this Paper, which was communicated to the Annual General Meeting in January last, by General Lefroy, subsequently to its having been read before the Institute, in whose "Journal," No. 108, it has been printed. The importance of the discovery will render its appearence in this "Journal," also, easily understood.—ED.

[2] See a note, p. iii. in Reeves' "Life of S. Columba," by Adamnan, and "The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places," by P. W. Joyce, LL. D., 1870, p. 129.

[3] See "Annals of the Four Masters." This remarkable tumulus, and those of Newgrange and Knowth, in its immediate neighbourhood, are referred to by Dr. Petrie, as examples of the sepulchral monuments of the Tuatha De race. (Round Towers, p. 103.) Dr. Todd asserts, without qualification, that the Tuatha De, People of the Gods, were British Druids driven to the west by the advance of the Roman arms in the first century—a view which assigns at once a definite antiquity to these venerable and mysterious monuments. "Irish Nennius," p. xcix.

is recorded by the "Four Masters," A. D. 742. Indeed most of these spots have their place in the Annals. Dromin (Druim h'Ing) was plundered by the foreigners in A. D. 834. The Irish under Domhnall plundered Mainister Buithe (Four Masters) "against the foreigners" in A. D. 968; and if the ecclesiastical establishment is meant, it must yet be certain that the Rath of Moylary, in the same parish, and only a mile or two distant, did not escape. The researches of Dr. W. Reeves have fixed the famous Lann Leire, or Church of Austerity, at Dunleer, anciently Lann Leer, the nearest country town to our mound.

The author of "Louthiana"[1] gives a view of Greenmount as it was a century ago, which still represents it fairly well. He gives also a plan of it, which shows an entrenchment surrounding the mound; there are still some traces of this to the N. W., but elsewhere it has disappeared. His description, being very short, may be copied:—

"*Greenmount* near *Castle Bellingham* (known also by the name of *Gernand's Town*), appears to have been formerly a very strong Camp, in the shape of an Heart; 'tis situated on the Top of a fine green Hill, and overlooks all that part of the Country. The People that live near it have a tradition that here was held the first Parliament in *Ireland*, but there are other Accounts, and not without as good Foundation, that make the first Meeting of an *Irish* Parliament in the adjacent County of *Meath*. There is a *Tumulus* or Barrow, in this Camp, which probably is the Sepulchre of some eminent Warrior, such being commonly found in or near most Forts and Camps of any consequence, and known to be a Practice of the *Danes*."

The enclosure and cultivation of the ground, and the growth of trees to the south, have altered the character of the "fine green hill," which, perhaps, was more conspicuous when the country was open. At present it would not be described as on the top of a hill. The actual summit is only about 150 feet above the sea, but it commands an extensive and beautiful view.

The Irish language is still understood by a few of the older peasantry in the neighbourhood, by one of whom I was told that in Irish the name was Drum Ha, but in English Drum Chah. The difficulty to an English ear of

[1] "Louthiana; Or an Introduction to the Antiquities of Ireland." By Thomas Wright. London, MDCCLVIII., Book I., p. 9, and Plates X. and XI.

catching an Irish sound is extreme; and I have been favoured by Professor J. O'Beirne Crowe with a note which shows the latter to be the proper designation. He says :—

"The place of the tumulus is in Irish, Druim Catha; in Roman letters, Druim Catha; and means in English, Ridge of Battle; *Dorsum pugnæ*. The combination could also mean Ridge of Battles, as the irr. dep. gen. Catha may be either singular or plural. The mound itself is specially called in Irish Mota Dromma Catha, Mota Dromma Catha, that is, the Moat of the Ridge of Battle or Battles; *Agger dorsi pugnæ* or *pugnarum*."

To the same effect the learned Irish scholar and topographer, already quoted, Dr. William Reeves, who says :—

"Drum Ha is clearly Druimm Catha; *Dorsum prælii*. I have a townland in Tynan parish, called Derryhaw, which I have no doubt is Doire Catha; *Roboretum prælii*."

The tumulus proper is about 210 feet in circumference, and twelve feet high above the level of the ridge, or *dorsum*, to the east and south. But on the west side, where it terminates the ridge, it is about twice as high; and on the north side again, there is a much greater declivity, by estimation as much as seventy feet to the present boundary. It is difficult to say confidently how much of the slope, as seen from the north, is natural; but, upon a general consideration of the features, I am disposed to think that the original level of the ground was about the top of the Passage to be presently described; this, though not general, is to be paralleled in Danish interments. Thus, speaking of the great sepulchre of Mammen, M. Worsaae says:—

"Il est en effet hors de doute que le fond du sépulchre était à 1·55 m. au-dessous du sol environnant, au lieu d'être au niveau du sol, comme c'est l'ordinaire pour les tertres du Danemark."[1]

The ridge runs about thirty-five yards eastward, and still exhibits marks of old foundations. In fact, the tradition alluded to by the author of "Louthiana," still survives among the peasantry, one of whom informed me that "in ould ancient history 't was a Parliament House."

This old man, M'Cullagh by name, had himself taken

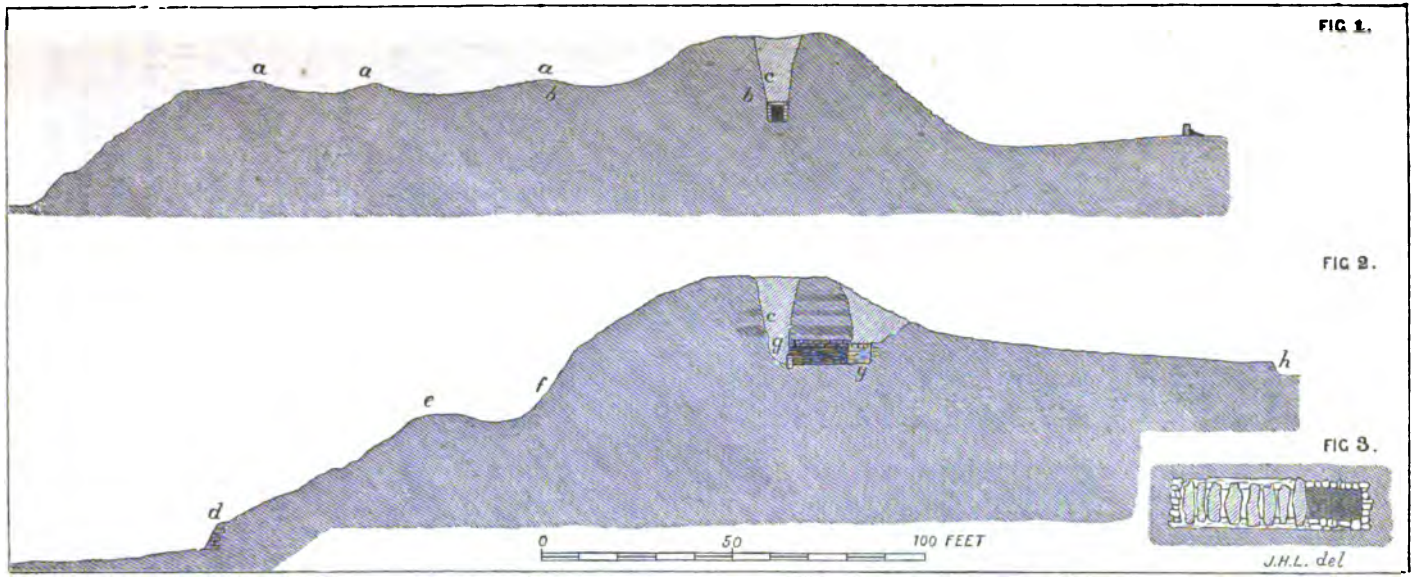
[1] "Mémoires de la Societé Royale des Antiquaires du Nord," p. 230, 1869.

part in an attempt to discover treasure in the mound some thirty or forty years ago; and his testimony is important, that it had never been opened before, that the passage was filled up with rough gravel, containing quantities of bones, which he and his companions threw out, and that they never found any chamber. "It was the same width all the way." Unfortunately it cannot be determined whether the bones then found were human. This party seems to have reached the end, and doubtless left behind them a farthing candle which we found. But on going early to their work one morning, full of eagerness to realize their discoveries, they found that something had given way, the end had fallen down, and they desisted. In fact, there has ever since been a cavity, the contents of which I estimated at from three to four cubic yards, at the summit of the mound.

Although very accurately described as a Druimm, *dorsum*, this spot cannot itself be a "ridge of battle," being of much too limited extent; nor is there any feature of the ground in the immediate neighbourhood, which would at present suggest the word. I conceive, therefore, that the term may be equivalent to Ridge of the Slain in Battle; and that very possibly the further researches that my noble relative, Lord Rathdonnell, intends to make when the season is more favourable,[1] may bring to light other burial-places under the ridge—in fact, that it may prove to be a sort of long barrow; but this is only conjecture.

My brother, the Rev. A. C. Lefroy, interested like myself in the neighbourhood, some ten years ago made a second attempt, found the passage as before, and entered

[1] The adjoining demesne of Lord Rathdonnell, Drumcar, furnishes one of the innumerable instances of the great antiquity of local names in Ireland. It is Druimm Caradh, the Ridge of the Weir, from a salmon weir formerly on the little river Nith, now called the Dee, which flows through the grounds, and it is mentioned under that name in the "Annals of the Four Masters" as early as A. D. 811. It was the site of a religious house, burnt in 910. See Dr. Joyce on Irish Names. "Very striking," says J. M. Kemble, "is the way in which the names originally given to little hills and brooks yet survive: often unknown to the owners of estates themselves, but sacred in the memory of the surrounding peasantry or of the labourer that tills the soil. I have more than once walked, ridden, or rowed, as land and stream required, round the bounds of Anglo-Saxon estates, and have learnt with astonishment, that the names recorded in my charter were those still in use by the wood cutter or the shepherd of the neighbourhood."—"Horæ Ferales." Nowhere is this remark more true than in Ireland.



SECTIONS THROUGH THE GREENMOUNT TUMULUS, AND PLAN OF CHAMBER.

Fig. 1.—Section E. to W.
a a a. Ridges, apparently traces of foundations.
b b. Sea sand found here in cutting sections.
c. Hereabouts the Runic plate.

Fig. 2.—Section N. to S.
d. Boundary of the position

Fig. 2.—(*continued.*)
e. Slight remains of a vallum traceable towards the west end.
f. A hollow, apparently artificial; possibly another entrance.
g g. Teeth and bones of animals found. Traces of fire.
h. Boundary on the south. A hollow road.

Fig. 3.—Plan of the chamber from above, showing the eight roofing stones (twice the scale).

it, but was deterred by the same difficulty at the north end, and gave it up.

The present operations were commenced on the 18th of October, 1870, by sinking down in the face of the mound to where the south end of the passage was known to run out. It was found without any difficulty, about 12 feet below the starting point, and was soon cleared of the natural *talus* of soil which filled it. We, found it to be 3 feet 3 inches wide, and 5 feet high in the centre, but contracted in width at the top by a single course of stones running about 8 inches in thickness, which projected forward 15 or 16 inches on either side, and gave support to the roofing stones. Of these there were eight, occupying, with small intervals, a distance or width of 15 feet 6 inches. It was apparent, in the spaces between them, that there is a second layer of large stones above them, breaking joint. Finding the same difficulty as our predecessors had done at the north end, where the gravel forced in from the top filled, at the natural slope, a considerable space, we suspended operations below, and commenced sinking down from the top. This resulted in finding, on the 28th of October, the top stone at the north end of the passage, at a depth of 16 feet. At this stage my engagements obliged me to leave Drumcar; but Mr. T. A. Hulme, a gentleman staying in the neighbourhood, entered most zealously into the inquiry, and undertook to direct the further operations. They have resulted in the singular discovery which, however, is, I think, beyond a doubt, that this tumulus never had a sepulchral chamber, and that the passage stopped short of the central axis of the mound. The builders apparently constructed two parallel walls, 5 feet high, and 3 feet 3 inches apart, closed at both ends; they covered it over with large flat stones, some of them 2½ to 3 feet wide, and 5 feet long, leaving, however, a space of 6 feet 6 inches at the south end open: at the south extremity of this we found a little charcoal, mixed with unctuous clay, more



Fig. 1. Section of Passage, Greenmount.

perhaps here than anywhere else. This substance was met with in spots throughout the excavations, but no where in quantity. It was mixed here with teeth of oxen and swine. The charcoal was in a fragmentary state, and appeared to be wood charcoal. I saw no appearance of

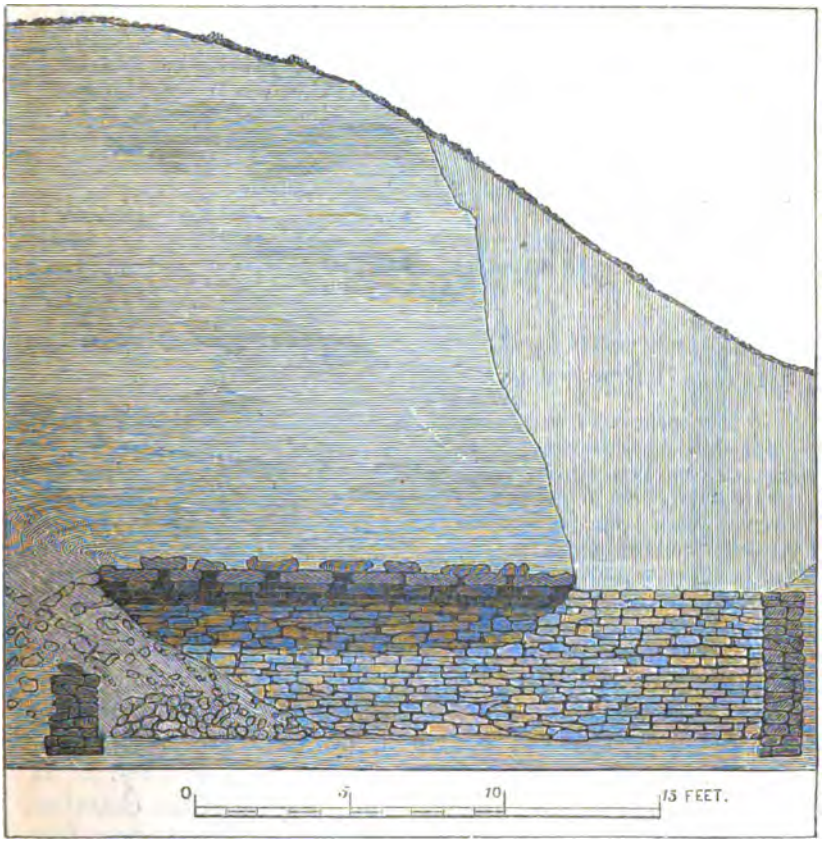


Fig. 2. Section from north to south through the Greenmount Tumulus and long chamber, showing the terminal walls, and the way it appears to have caved in when first cleared out 1830-1840.

burnt bones. The spot where the walls closed, being six feet behind the entrance, as already remarked, I think had not been disturbed or reached before.

Mr. Hulme reported his proceedings in a communication, from which I make the following extract :—

"The side of the passage gave way after you left, to some extent, so that it seemed highly dangerous to remove the lower stones which filled up the north end. We therefore commenced carefully to secure the stones, which formed the roof of the passage, with wooden supports, and the side walls at the north end with stout battens. That this precaution was not unnecessary was shown by this: that the wedges which were put in loosely one evening were found quite tight in the morning, and bent. We came upon the end of the passage directly under the last of the eight roofing stones. The passage had been built up with loose (dry) stones to the shape of the flagstone at the end. The stones at the top had given way, and fallen into the passage; but the foundation and about two feet of wall was perfect, and unmistakeably a continuation of the side walls, on the west almost at right angles, and rounded off at the east. The wall is 3 feet 4 inches across, and 5 feet 10 inches from the foundation to roofing stone No. 8. It is 23 feet from the foundation to the top of the tumulus. We explored carefully on both sides of the end wall, but found nothing of consequence. Distinct traces of fire were found all the way down to the north-east corner of the passage. We found foundations of a building in one of the small ridges to the west. The other ridges I apprehend are similar."

In answer to further inquiry respecting the traces of fire, Mr. Hulme wrote:—

"The burnt earth, soot-flakes, bones, and burnt stones extended in a circle of about a foot diameter, from the middle of the north side of the opening from the top, in a sloping direction to the north-west end of the passage, where there must have been, I think, a place for burning the bodies, the circular patch being the remains of a chimney. The earth is red; and, as Hearne (the labourer) says, 'like snuff.' We found flakes of soot, charcoal, and burnt bones. The burnt earth may yet be seen at the top of the opening."

These evidences of the practice of cremation are highly important, and I believe quite new.

It was in sinking down from the top, and at nine or ten feet below it, that the workmen, on the 27th of October, threw out a small bronze plate, see Fig. 6, p. 484, *infra*. It was not found in the passage, or at the level of the chamber (supposing there to have been one), but six or seven feet above it, and incorporated with the materials of the mound, as were numerous bones and teeth of ox, horse, sheep, goat, and swine. I cannot doubt, therefore, that, when the mound was formed, it was lying on the surface, and was swept in unintentionally. A few days later a bronze axe (fig. 3) was found at the surface. It is of the type of Sir W. Wilde's (fig. 247) *bipennis*, sharpened at both ends, and perfectly devoid of ornament: weapons

of this type can hardly be called celts (from *celtis*, chisel), for they bear no resemblance to that implement, and are more correctly described as axes. They appear to be pecu-



Fig. 3. Bronze Axe found at Greenmount.

liarly Irish, for the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy contained in 1860 one hundred and thirty-two of them; and the collection of the late Mr. Bell, of Dungannon, recently acquired by the Museum of the Royal Society of Scottish Antiquaries, contained forty or fifty; whereas they very rarely occur on the Continent, and but one is figured in the "Nordiske Oldsager." Although generally regarded as the oldest form of celt (see Kemble in "Horæ Ferales," and Wilde, in "Catalogue," p. 361), partly because of their

simplicity and occasional resemblance of form to stone weapons, and partly because in this class only we find weapons of unalloyed copper, there appears to me some reason to question this classification. A complete series of palstafs could be formed, passing by the gradual suppression of the side wings, the elongation of the body, and the broadening of the edge, into this type of axe, and this seems a natural progression, where the weapon continued long in use, as, from its remote and insular position, almost cut off from Roman civilization, was probably the case in Ireland; but the converse change, *diminuendo*, into the narrow, and as a weapon, inefficient palstaf, appears highly unlikely to have occurred anywhere, unless attended by a physical decline, of which we have no proof, in the race wielding them. In the case of the present axe, a boy playing on the spot, one Sunday morning, ten days after the discovery of the inscription, saw something which attracted his attention, in or under a sod; and, kicking it out, it proved to be this axe. The evidence as to the place it came from is not quite satisfactory, owing to the difficulty in arriving at facts in such a case. It had either been drawn up in the bucket from the bottom, towards dusk the previous working day, and so escaped notice, or it had been included in one of the thick sods cut from the surface at the commencement. As Mr. Hulme was present and saw the contents of every bucket sifted, the former supposition may be confidently excluded. In either case, it appears, like a similar Scandinavian bronze plate, to have been incorporated with the mound, and to date, *as to its interment*, from the same period. The question of its antiquity will be examined below.

The only other object found, besides a considerable quantity of bones and teeth of animals, was a bone or



Fig. 4. A Harp peg found at Groenmount.

ivory harp peg (fig. 4), resembling one engraved by Sir W. Wilde ("Cat.," p. 340), from the Stokestown Crannoge.

I am indebted to Mr. Franks for pointing out to me the real nature of this interesting relic, which still bears the marks of the friction of the harp string. Some visitor had also dropped on the surface an apothecary's two-dram weight, the cabalistic character on which served for a moment's amusement.

The bronze object to be now described is a narrow plate 3·8 inches long, nearly 0·6 inch wide towards the ends, but narrowing to 0·5 inch in the middle, and nearly 0.05 inch thick; it weighs nearly half an oz. One end has been countersunk for riveting to something, and there are two rivets in it, besides a third hole, looking like a repair. The workmen described it as having some mouldy substance attached which they threw away, doubtless the remains of a strap. The face is covered with somewhat peculiar ornamentation of seven loops, deeply incised, with interlaced ends, as will be best understood from the woodcut (see p. 484, *infra*), and has been inlaid with silver, mechanichally attached by beating in. The same sort of work appeared on a spear-head found near Müncheberg, in 1865, which bore a Runic inscription, interpreted by Professor Stephens, UÆNING Æ, "Uning owns me." The workmanship of this, it is said, exhibited the peculiarity that

> "The letters, and some curious symbolic figures are formed by a species of niello, or inlaid work, by silver bar rods driven into grooves previously cut for them."[1]

Unlike that example, it exhibited no traces of the action of fire; it has, however, lain in contact with some object of iron, the oxide of which adheres to it in spots at the back. A lump of oxide of iron, possibly the remains of an axe, but of which the form could not be distinguished, and some smaller traces of the same substance, were met with in the excavations. The ornamentation, which bears a certain family resemblance to the so-called chain-cable work on the crosses erected by GAUT, the Norwegian, in the Isle of Man,[2] is in a ribbon of three parallel cuts or channels,

[1] Dr. W. Bell, in "Journal of British Archæological Association," 1867, p. 385.

[2] See "Runic and other Monumental Remains of the Isle of Man," by Rev. J. G. Cumming, 1847, and also Professor Stephens' Work.

about 0·02 inch wide, and nearly as deep, varied only by a chevron-like deviation from the curve on each outside line. Five spots stain the silver, to an aggregate length of 0·8 inch, and there are plain traces of gilding, visible on inspection under a microscope. The cuts on either side of the silver line have been filled with a white paste; from its presence in two places where the silver should be, this may possibly be only a repair. On this point Professor Abel writes :—

"There is no doubt as to the existence of enamel in the channels, but it is only white enamel, which contains in the interior of its mass brown veins and patches, due, I consider, to suboxide of copper, and probably formed from the metal itself during the fusion of the enamel. Wherever the enamel is fractured or worn away, these brown veins and patches are shown. The bluish and green colorations exist only where the enamel has been entirely removed, and are most likely due to carbonate of copper, the natural result of the exposed partially oxidised surfaces. Gold beaten in was distinctly visible on several parts of the bronze on my microscopic examination of it."

Whether, therefore, the ground of the pattern were gilded, or only bronze, we have the graceful relief of bright silver and white enamel bands to form the pattern, now lifeless and colourless, exhibited on the face of this ornament.

With regard to its original purpose, I think that little hesitation would be felt in describing it as part of a sword handle or a belt fitting, but for the presence of runes on the reverse, where they would have been concealed. This is not conclusive evidence against such a use, for in the celebrated Nydam moss-find of 1863, many of the arrows were found marked with Runic characters where the feathers would have been bound over them.[1] The inscription was intended for identification, or possibly only for a charm, and is in characters so fine that very good eyes only could read them unassisted; it may have been so attached as to be detachable. There is no precisely similar example given among the illustrations of the Danish Bronze age in

[1] See Engelhardt's "Denmark in the Early Iron Age;" and Professor Stephens also observes—"Arrows were in plenty, both of fir and ash; curiously enough, under the corded end, most of these weapons bear certain marks, three parallel marks or zigzags between two strokes, or a scoring something like the Runic letter L. "Gentlemen's Magazine" for the year 1863, p. 683.

Worsaae's "Nordiske Oldsager" (Edit. 1859), and none in the less numerous illustrations of the Iron age; but "the open worked plate, decorated with gold or niello" (Wilde, p. 453), was a familiar Danish form of sword handle; and we read of sword handles inlaid with silver in the Irish Annals:—

"The sword of Murchadh at that time [the battle of Clontarf] was inlaid with ornament, and the inlaying that was in it melted with the excessive heat of the striking, and the burning sword left his hand tearing the fork of his fist." ("Wars of the G. G.," 197.)

This hyperbolical description Dr. Todd paraphrases by saying—

"Murchadh's sword having become red-hot, the hilt or handle, inlaid with silver, melted, and so wounded his hand that he was forced to cast the sword away." (Id. clxxxv.)

The inlaying, whether with silver or a softer metal, is the point to be observed. An object almost precisely similar, wanting only the richness of decoration, was found near Maglekilde, in Seeland, in 1866, and is described by Professor Stephens, whose engraving we here copy, as a small bronze slip to hang at the belt, perhaps an amulet.

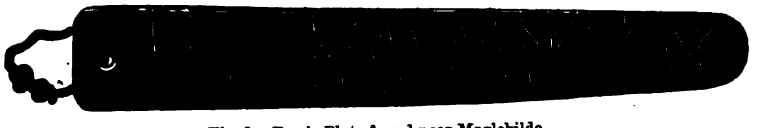


Fig. 5. Runic Plate found near Maglekilde.

This inscription, so far as decipherable, is simply the owner's name, SIUARTh, followed by some unintelligible characters. The name OLUFR, and other equally mystical markings occur on the other side (Stephens, p. 864). These markings seem to give support to an opinion expressed by Mr. Albert Way, that after all the value of a Runic inscription in very early times, at least in some cases, resided chiefly in certain magical virtues attributed to it, not in its sense or meaning—the singularly empty character of many Runic texts being almost unaccountable, if they are regarded as inscriptions proper. (ROUN= secret writing, magical character, charm.)

The reverse of the plate found at Greenmount appears

at first sight to be smooth, save for slight corrosion. It was only on applying a little white powder to clean it, that the Runic character * (H) which happens to be nearly central, caught the eye, and closer observation detected a line of

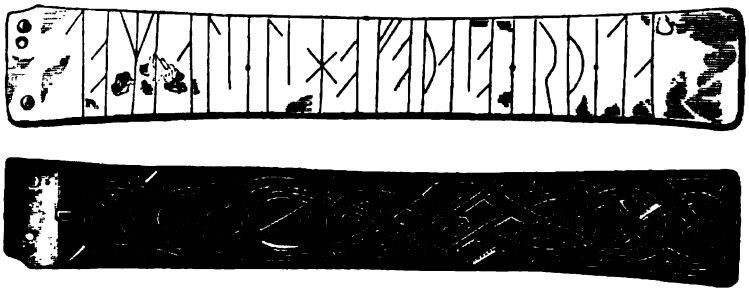


Fig. 6. Runic Plate (both sides) found at Greenmount.

twenty-four runes, very faintly inscribed, extending the whole length. "Not a single Danish inscription," said Dr. Petrie, in 1845, "has ever been found in Ireland."[1] "No Runic stones or Runic coins have ever been found in Normandy or Ireland," writes Professor Stephens twenty years later, "although this latter country had coins struck by Scandinavian princes earlier than Scandinavia itself." The ground being now broken, it is not too much to expect that many future discoveries of a similar character are in store for the students of national antiquities, with whom Ireland abounds.

We have here twelve characters out of the nineteen which compose the later Scandinavian *Futhorc*, of which one is repeated four times, two three times, and three twice, giving great certainty as to their reading; they are of remarkable distinctness and elegance, and present some peculiarities, which, if not to be described as rare, are exceptional, and narrow the field for comparison. The reading is in Roman letters.

DOMNALSELSHOFOThASOERThETA.

The penultimate T is the same character as the initial D, those two letters having but one Runic equivalent. In

[1] "Round Towers," p. 222.

every copy circulated to Runic scholars, on the first discovery of this relic, the fourth rune was written ᛁ (I) and the three other runes, now read E, were also read I. It was Mr. Franks who, by calling attention to the regular recurrence of a central dot in each I, making it E, led to this latter correction. These dots are scarcely distinguishable in character from numerous other minute holes caused by corrosion in the bronze. With regard to the I for N, it was so read by every one, including the engraver in his first proofs. A query, however, of the Rev. Daniel H. Haigh (6 Dec.), "Can the first word be ᚨᚾᛉᚦᚨᚱ? a faint side stroke might easily be overlooked," induced me to scrutinize it more narrowly, and I also borrowed for the purpose the practised eyes of my friend Professor Abel. The result is the certain establishment of the side stroke, exactly coinciding at its junction with the stem, with the spot of rust which the engraver has shown, but traceable, under sufficient magnifying power, beyond it. The rectification removes so many difficulties that it will be welcomed by every student of Irish history. *Domhnall* (Donnell) is one of the commonest regal names in the Annals: the individual and his era will be the subject of discussion below. The report of Professor Abel, which my own observation fully confirms, may be best given in his own words: "I entertain no doubt of the side stroke to the letter ᚦ. The portion nearest the vertical line is obliterated by corrosion of the metal, but a great part of the incision exists, beyond any doubt in my mind, extending at the angle indicated by you to some distance beyond the corroded surface." It is indeed possible, when its existence is known, to recognize it on a photograph, and the space between this letter and the following ᚨ requires the side stroke to explain it. The peculiarity to which, under correction of Runic scholars, I have ventured to allude, is the *concurrent* employment of the sign ᚾ for A, ᚨ for O, ᚦ for N, ᛁ for S, and for T, each of these letters having other and more usual forms, viz., ᚠ, ᚦ, ᚹ, ᛋ and ᛏ respectively. They agree exactly with the characters on the slabs numbered by Mr Farrer 6 and 7, at Maeshowe in Orkney. Mr. Haigh has also favoured me with an inscription of the eleventh century, from Fenni Foss,

Norway, which employs them all; but the Maeshowe *Futhorc* is the only one of 16 alphabets which exactly coincides with *Futhorcs* collected by Professor Stephens.[1] The inscription, for example, on the Hunterston Runic brooch found in 1830, near Largs, fails in one point, the side strokes of the O are to the right.[2] The same is the case in the alphabet inscribed, apparently by an after hand, on a fly leaf of the famous Anglo-Saxon MS. called the *Ormulum*, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The same is the case in the inscriptions on the earlier Runic crosses in the Isle of Man, the date of which is about the commencement, or certainly the first half of the tenth century,[3] and which in other respects so closely resemble the Greenmount runes.

Examples of diversity might be multiplied to any extent. Mr. Haigh has furnished me with two inscriptions; one from Landeryd, Sweden, the other from Vasby, Sweden, both strictly contemporaneous with the one at Fenni Foss, but employing several characters differently; and a good example, of English historical interest, is afforded by the inscription to a certain SYTRIK, who has been identified by Professor Rafn with the Danish Chieftain SYDROC or SIDRIC (remark the interchange of T and D), who was slain in a battle near Reading towards the end of the ninth century. In this, four letters out of our nine have a different form —namely, O, T, S, and M,[4] the N is in both forms. The inscription found in 1852, in St. Paul's Churchyard,[5] has the same O, but a different A, S, and T. I conceive that the evidence of the writing points, therefore, to some probable connexion of the owner of the ornament, by nationality and epoch, with the authors of the Maeshowe inscriptions.

There is no substantial difference between the interpre-

[1] "Old Northern Runic Monuments," 1866, p. 99, *et seq.*

[2] See frontispiece to Dr. D. Wilson's "Prehistoric Antiquities of Scotland," and Stephens, p. 591.

[3] The Norwegian occupation of this Island dates from A. D. 888. Dr. Cumming remarks—"Although Professor Munch has conjectured some of the Runic crosses to be of the ninth century, I hardly feel disposed to allow them an earlier date than the middle of the tenth century, or about the reign of Guttred, the founder of Castle Rushen, at which time we find, from the Chronicles of Rushen, Rolwer, or Rolf (an evident Norwegian), Bishop of the Isle. "Cumming," p. 4; and see Munch's "Chronicon Mannise."

[4] "Inscriptions Runiques du Slesvig Méridional par C. C. Rafn," 1861.

[5] Figured in "Archæological Journal," vol. x., p. 82.

tations of the inscription, arrived at independently by different Runic scholars. In all of them, the first word is the proper name of the owner, the last a demonstrative pronoun, following the noun ; the verb is the same, and there remain but two words which are slightly differently read. Professor Stephens, of Copenhagen, to whose unfailing kindness and patient attention I beg here to acknowledge the greatest obligation, remarks :—

"From the style of the whole piece, I judge this lave to date from about the ninth century.

"The staves are sharply and elegantly cut, and belong to the usual Scandinavian or later alphabet, not to the Old Northern or later English stave row.

"As so often happens in such old ristings, there are no dividing marks between the words, which, consequently, may be differently interpreted, as they are differently divided; but I conceive the whole to be in good Scandinavian, and to offer no difficulty whatever, only we must remember that the later alphabet had laid aside the old rune for w (now usually pronounced v in Scandinavia, but not in old times)—viz., ƿ, and therefore used instead commonly the stave for u, sometimes the stave for f, sometimes the stave for o; here the stave for o is employed.

"Also, we must bear in mind the common Runic usage, to save space and work, not to cut a letter twice when it ends one word and begins another. Thus here SOERTHETA is certainly SOERTh THETA."

The twenty-four runes, then, I would divide and translate as follows :—

ᚱᚾᛉᚦᚾᚦ ᛁᚾᚦᛁᛋᚾᛏᚱᚦ ᚾ ᛁᚾᚾᚱᚦ ᚦᚾᚾᚾ

DOMNAL SELSHOFOTh A SOERTh ThETA.

It is curious that the writer should have used the strung letter for E, and not the strung letter for D.

A, the old English AH, third pers. sing. present of the verb AGA[N], to owe, own.

SOERTh for SWERTH sword, a form which this word has also in old English.

ThETA, acc. sing. neuter., is the old north English ThÆT ; the old south English THIS.

We have many pieces, both Runic and non-Runic, bearing the formula

N. N. OWNS THIS.

Mr. Guldbrand Vigfussen, before the discovery that the

fourth rune is ᚦ and not ᛁ, pointed out the probable identity of DOMIAL, as then read, with the DUFNIALL of the sagas, a well-known Scandinavian form of the Irish name DOMHNAL. The Orkneyinga Saga, he informs me, mentions a captain of this name, a kinsman of the Earl of Orkney, who slew him about A. D. 1090, and he observes that many Norsemen in the second and third generations, after settlement in the west, assumed Gaelic names from intermarriage. We have abundant proof of similar connexions in the Irish annals. Brian Borumha and his cotemporary Malachy (Maelseachlainn), who succeeded Domhnall, son of Muircertach Mc Neill, as king of the northern part of Ireland, were both nearly related to the Danish royal families, although the latter inflicted on the Danes one of their greatest defeats at the battle of Tara, A. D. 979 : and we are told at an earlier period that "the Lochlanns, then Pagans, had many a Gadelian foster son." "Book of Rights," p. 41, A. D. 909. The Irish name, therefore, does not necessarily involve Irish ownership. Mr. Vigfusson first suggested the reading SEALS HEAD, but his opinion is that the inscription is not older than the eleventh century, based principally on the employment of the form HOFOTh instead of HAFOTh : besides, he remarks, "were it very old we should have a diphthong HAUFOTh." The nickname SELSEISTA (seal's testicle) is found in the Sagas, and others not unlike it, as karls-hofud, *carles-head ;* arn-hofdi, *eagle-head ;* svins-hofdi, *swines-head.*

Dr. Edward Charlton, who at first regarded the second SELSHOF word as a proper name of place, now concurs also in the reading

DOMHNAL SEALSHEAD SELSHOF OWNS THIS SWORD.

He remarks :—

"I believe that many of the Norsemen settled in Ireland may have retained the old Runic writing ; and besides, DOMHNAL may have had this engraved on his sword ornament when on a visit to the Western Isles, or to the Isle of Man, where runes of a very pure character were employed to a tolerably late period."

The Rev. Daniel H. Haigh, to whose valuable suggestion we owe the correct reading of the name, reads the line

DOMNAL	SELSHOFOTh	A	SOER	ThETA.
DOMNAL	SEALSHEAD	OWNS	THIS	TRAPPING.

He observes :—

"SOER seems to correspond to our old English SEARO, 'ornament,' 'equipment,' 'weapon.' THETA is common Norse for '*this*.'

Thus on all hands we have the owner's name, and so, as on the magic sword of Beowulph, "*was on the surface of the bright gold with runic letters rightly marked, set and said, for whom first was wrought the sword, the costliest of irons, with twisted hilt, and variegated like a snake.*" (J. M. Kemble :—*wreothen-hylt and wyrm-fah*, hilt-wreathed and snake-rich, *line* 3394, Ed. Thorpe).[1]

"Determiner l'age des inscriptions runiques," says Professor C. C. Rafn, "est le plus souvent un probleme dont la solution présente de grandes difficultés, attendu qu'il n'y a que très peu ou l'on nomme des personnes qui nous sont connus par l'histoire." Domhnall is as common a name in Irish history as Amlaf or Sitric among the Northmen. There are more than thirty persons of this name mentioned in the ninth and tenth centuries, chiefly in the latter; some of them are clerics; of many of them nothing but their decease is recorded. The circumstances of this discovery do not warrant any confidence that the tumulus was erected over the remains of the owner of our ornament, or even that he lost his life on the Ridge of Battles; they only require his contemporary existence. Nor is it very probable that he was an Irish patriot. The adoption of the runic character and the Scandinavian language, no less than the Scandinavian nickname Sealshead, appears to me to preclude such a supposition. On the other hand, not only were the Norwegians and Danes in the constant practice of carrying off Irish captives of both sexes, some of whose names are to be found in the Sagas, but we also know that in the middle of the ninth century—

"'Many Irish forsook their Christian baptism, and joined the Lochlanns, and they plundered Ard-Macha, and carried away all its riches; but some of them,' it is added, 'did penance, and came to make satisfaction.'"[2]

On some occasions we have the Irish invoking the aid

[1] This poem is attributed by Kemble to the fifth century. "Beowulph," I., p. xix.

[2] "Three Fragments of Irish Annals," O'Donovan, 1860, p. 127, A.D. 854.

of the Danes against the Lochlanns (Norwegians), as in A. D. 852, when the men of Munster sent messages to Cearbhall, son of Dunlaing, to request that he would come, bringing the Danes with him, which resulted in a great defeat of the Lochlanns in Co. Tipperary.

There is one historical Domhnal, No. 8, of the subjoined selection who answers the condition of being an ally of the Danes; but, in my opinion, the tumulus is of earlier date than his time. He died peaceably, A. D. 976. We have then among the Domhnals of the ninth or tenth century.

1. A. D. 832. Domhnall, son of Ui Cennfaedladh, king of Ui Cairbre, gives battle to the Danes. (Book of Leinster.)
2. A. D. 910. Domhnall, son of Gairbhith, lord of Conaille (Louth), slain in Upper Kells, Meath, in battle with Flann, son of Maeleachlainn.
3. A. D. 917. Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, slain by the Danes in Munster. (Wars of the G. G.)
4. A. D. 919. Domhnall, son of Flann, son of Maeleachlainn, Rigdamna of Temhair (Tara), defeated the fleet of Mumhan (Munster), on Loch Derg, A. D. 910, and was slain by his brother Donnchadh, at Bruighean da choga (Bryanmore, Westmeath, "Joyce," p. 279), A. D. 921.
5. A. D. 923. Domhnall, son of Cathal, heir apparent of Connaught, slain by his brother Tadhg.
6. A. D. 951. Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, kills Aedh the Rigdamna of Temhair, son of Maeilmonaidh.
7. A. D. 961. Domhnall, king of Ireland, plunders Mainister Buithe with great butchery. Three hundred foreigners burnt by him in one house. Another Domhnall 9. burns Lann Leire.
8. A. D. 978. Domhnall, son of Congalach, king of Cnoghbha (Knowth, Meath), and Amblaeibh (Amlaf), a Northman by his name, defeat Domhnall, son of Muircertach, at Cill-mona (Kilmorne, Meath).
9. A. D. 980. Domhnall, son of Muircertach, king of Temhair, died in penitence. He made an expe-

dition to Loch Erne, A. D. 951 ; another, to Dal Araibhe, in Down and Antrim, in 959 ; transported vessels from the Blackwater to Loch Aininn (Ennel, Westmeath), 962 ; burned the refectory of Lann Leire, when 400 persons were destroyed, 970 (or 968, "Four Masters") ; expelled from the sovereignty of Meath, but invaded Meath again, 981 ; burned and plundered Cluain Eraird (Clonard, Meath, "Joyce," 224) ; Fobhar, Disart, Tola (Fore and Dysart, in Westmeath) ; and Llann Ela (Lynally, King's County), 972. Plundered shrine of Columcille (Kells), 976.

10. A. D. 990. Domhnall, son of Lorcan, killed at Carn Fordroma, "The cairn or sepulchral heap of the long ridge,"—where a battle was fought by Maelseachlainn with the people of Thomond, and therefore, not to be confused with our Ridge of Battle.

I see no good reason for supposing any of these individuals to have been the Domnal of the inscription. It may be presumed from the richness of the ornament that he was a person of rank and consideration, but I believe that he was, as M. Vigfusson has suggested, a Norwegian with an Irish name.

Professor Stephens refers the inscription on internal evidence to the ninth century ; M. Vigfusson, on philological grounds, to the eleventh ; and its correspondence of type with those of Maeshowe, would point to a still later date, if the theory of Professor Munch be adopted, that the JORSALA FARAR (Jerusalem pilgrims), recorded to have broken into the Orkhill, in No. 20 of that collection, really cut most of the other inscriptions, and were the companions of Earl Ragnall in his expedition to the Holy Land, A. D. 1152. This, however, is an opinion not shared by several of those who have best studied the subject. Professor Stephens assigns the Maeshowe Futhorc, No. 6½ of his series (but with a *query*) to the ninth century. Mr. Farrer, the discoverer, says :—

"Many of them are, no doubt, to be attributed to the Crusaders ; but there are probably others of far earlier date than the twelfth century."

In fact the theory, that they are nearly all of one date, and that a date later than the forcible opening of the mound by the Crusaders, rests upon assumptions which do not bear the character of proof. Professor Munch, indeed, in a letter quoted by Mr. Stuart, says:[1]—"Runes of this kind are never older than 1100 at the furthest," and to his opinion great weight is justly due. It is not, however, the opinion of Professor Stephens. On the contrary, in speaking of similar characters on the Largs brooch, he says:—

"Earlier than the eighth year-hundred these runes cannot be, for they are all Scandinavian; later than about the tenth, they cannot be, for the ᚦ (here = D) is not strung into D." ("Old Northern R. M." p. 591.)

Inferences from the position of the carvings, and the difficulty of cutting them unless the place were open at the top, appear to me, to say the least, precarious. The chamber at Maeshowe, which is only fifteen feet square, exclusive of the sleeping recesses, must have been warmed, and to some extent lighted, by lamps, probably, like the Greenland habitations of the present day, for it is impossible to imagine people remaining long in pitch darkness; or the Fair Widow, INGEBIORG, however 'stooping' (see Mr. Farrer's inscription, No. 8), to have been led to such a place; and the height of some of the inscriptions above the floor, which is as much as eleven feet, however difficult on other grounds to account for, would present no difficulty to Vikings. People who could build and navigate ships must have been familiar with a ladder. On all these grounds, I conceive that we are not bound to accept the twelfth century for the date of all the Maeshowe inscriptions, conceding it to No. 20.

One thing is, however, beyond dispute, the Greenmount runes are not "Old Northern." The bronze cannot have belonged to any Saxon invader of Ireland in the seventh century. They are "Scandinavian," and it belonged to the Norwegian or Danish invaders of the ninth or tenth. Earlier it cannot be than A.D. 795, when the first men-

[1] "Notice of Excavations at Maeshowe," by J. Stuart, Secretary, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, "Proceedings" of the Society, vol. v., 1865.

tion of the Gentiles or Pagan Danes (Norwegians) occurs in the Annals of Ulster; nor later than the battle of Clontarf, A. D. 1013, when the Danes, throughout Ireland, embraced Christianity, as the Danes of Dublin had done, according to Sir J. Ware, so early as A. D. 948. The Irish, according to this great authority, erected tumuli before they embraced the Christian religion; "nor were anciently the funerals of the *Ostmen* unlike while they remained heathens."[1] Mr. Stuart has quoted from one of the Capitularies of Charlemagne a prohibition, A.D. 785, for the bodies of the Christianized Saxons to be carried *ad tumulos Paganorum*.[2]

Professor Munch repudiates, somewhat indignantly, the notion that the Cairns, Cromlechs, and other sepulchral monuments of Pagan times, near Largs, can have any connexion with the expedition of Hacon (A. D. 1263),[3] because his countrymen were then Christians, and interred as such. In short, it is needless to multiply authorities for what is so generally recognized; and we must seek between the beginning of the ninth and the middle or end of the tenth century, for some event capable of accounting for the erection of a heathen tumulus, the burning of bodies, and the celebration of a heathen funeral feast in the territory of the Cianachta. I select from the annals three such events.

The first presents itself in the year A. D. 836, when a battle was gained by the foreigners at Inbhear na m'barc, over all the O'Neill, from Sinainn (Shannon) to the sea; and Saxolbh, chief of the foreigners, was slain by the Cianachta. In the old translation of the Book of Ulster, we read—

"A battle given by the Gentiles at Inver-na-mark, by the Nury, upon O'Neils, from Sinainn to sea, where such a havoc was made of O'Neils that few but their chief kings escaped."

I am aware that Dr. O'Donovan disputes the addition, *by the Nury*, and considers the place of this defeat to have been Rath Inbhier, near Bray; but it is a coincidence not

[1] "Ware," ii., p. 145.

[2] "Proc. of Soc. of Antiq. of Scotl.," vol. v.; and see references in "Horæ Feriales," p. 97, to earlier prohibitions of burning the dead.

[3] "Chronicon Manniæ," p. 123.

to be entirely passed over, that Annagassan, which in primitive geography might be described as by the Nury, answers remarkably to the conditions of an "inlet of the barques." It is about half a day's sail, or twenty miles, from the head of Carlingford Lough; and O'Donovan himself, in another place, concedes the proximity. Referring to a great battle of two chiefs of the Lochlanns (A. D. 851), against the Danes, at Snamh Aighnech (which is Carlingford Lough), he remarks—"Near which, at a place called Linn Duachaill, the Norwegians had a strong fortress."[1] Linn Duachaill, as we shall see presently, is Annagassan. Here two small rivers, the Nith now called the Dee, and the Glyde, unite their waters at one mouth, flowing the one from the north-west, the other from the south-west, and afford at certain seasons access for large boats to some miles of country. The character of either river has been a good deal altered, by artificial treatment, and it is evident from the character of the ancient banks in many places, that they once, and, perhaps, as recently as a thousand years ago, were streams of much greater volume. Mr. R. Manning of the Board of Works, Dublin, informs me that twenty-five years ago the River Dee was twenty-six feet wide, and six feet deep, at one mile above its junction with the Glyde. While the latter, at the same distance above its junction with the Dee, was fifty feet wide and seven feet deep; this was partly the effect of shoals at the mouth, since removed. They would at that time have been navigable for boats drawing two feet water for a distance of three or four miles inland. A shoal in the River Glyde, one mile above the Dee, proved to be almost entirely composed of bones of animals, chiefly, to the best of Mr. Manning's recollection, those of sheep and oxen; they were so numerous as to sell for 20*l.* or 30*l.*,—probably the result of some flood. The only other discoveries were a brass pot, perhaps like that presented to St. Patrick by Daire,—"*æneus mirabilis transmarinus*," an imported article, which was accompanied by a perforated strainer and ladle: a peggin bound by brass hoops perforated in a pattern: and

[1] "Three Fragments," p. 121.

an enamelled ornament or button, which was inside this vessel. These objects are believed to be at present in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

The next event is in the year A. D. 852, when the Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters tell us that a fleet of the Black Gentiles (the Danes) first came to Dublin, and plundered, after great slaughter, the fortress erected by the White Gentiles; (the Finngall, or Norwegians), and there was soon after a great battle at Linn Duachaill, the place just referred to, in which the Danes were victorious; and Dr. Todd, from whose translation of the ancient MS. of the Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill,[1] this is derived, adds in a note:—

"Linn Duachaill was on the banks of the river called Casan Linné. This river is mentioned in the circuit of Ireland, as a station south of Glen Righe, or the Vale of Newry, and between it and Ath Gabhle, or the Boyne. Part of the name of Casan Linné is preserved in the name of Annagassan (Aonach g'casain, Fair of Casan), a village at the tidal opening of the Rivers Glyde and Dee. There is a townland called the Linns, in the parish of Gernonstown, which runs down along the sea to Annagassan bridge. The Casan Linné was probably the river now called the Glyde; and Linn Duachaill must have been at the united mouths of the Glyde and Dee (Nith). For this information," he adds, "the editor is indebted to Dr. Reeves."

Between the years A. D. 876 and 916, the same chronicle informs us—

"There was some rest to the men of Erinn for a period of forty years, without ravage of the foreigners."[2]

It was the period in which the Norwegians, under Harold Haarfager, having possessed themselves of the Isle of Man, were engaged in extending their conquests to the Sudreys and Orkneys, and although there are abundant evidences in the Annals that the rest of the men of Erinn was of a qualified nature, it is probable that the coasts of Down, Louth, and Meath, may have enjoyed comparative repose.

In A. D. 921, the Annals of the Four Masters again conduct us to this immediate neighbourhood; they record

[1] "The Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or the Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen." By James Henthorn Todd, D. D., 1867, published for the Master of the Rolls, p. lxii.

[2] Id.

"The plundering of Feara Arda, and Lann Leire (see *supra*, p. 471), and Fearna Rois (near Drogheda), by the foreigners,"

who probably landed at Annagassan. In the pathetic words of the chronicler:

"Until the sand of the sea, or the grass of the field, or the stars of heaven are counted, it will not be easy to recount, or to enumerate, or to relate what the Gaedhil, all without distinction, suffered from them, whether men or women, boys or girls, laics or clerics, freemen or serfs, old or young; indignity, outrage, injury, and oppression. In a word, they killed the kings and the chieftains, the heirs to the crown, and the royal princes of Erinn: they killed the brave and the valiant, and the stout knights, champions, and soldiers, and young lords, and the greater part of the heroes and warriors of the entire Gaedhil; many were the blooming, lively women; and the modest, mild, comely maidens; and the pleasant, noble, stately blue-eyed young woman; and the gentle well brought up youths; and the intelligent valiant champions, whom they carried off into oppression and bondage over the broad green sea. Alas! many and frequent were the bright and brilliant eyes that were suffused with tears, and dimmed with grief and despair, at the separation of son from father, and daughter from mother, and brother from brother, and relatives from their race and from their tribe."[1]

Under such circumstances it would be hazardous to connect the "Ridge of Battle" too positively with any one epoch; but I have found no records which fit the locality nearly so well as those here quoted; and if Professor Munch is correct in his belief, that, from A. D. 989 to A. D. 1080, the Island of Man, that perpetual source of piratical descents on the east coast of Ireland,[2] was an appendage to the Norwegian kingdom of Dublin, we may conclude that the coast of Louth was free from them during that long interval. The character of the runes, as I have attempted to show, as well as the ornamentation, suggest a connexion with the race that settled in that island. Neither the relic nor the tumulus in which it was found can, I think, be of so late a date as A. D. 1080; and if earlier than A. D. 979, there appears to be no event with which they may be so well connected as the battle of Linn Duachaill in A.D. 852.

This event also but slightly preceded the first conquest of the Orkneys by Harold Haarfager, A. D. 880; and as we

[1] "Wars of G. G.," xxxvii., p. 43. The writer of this passage is apparently referring to the middle of the tenth century.

[2] See Munch, "Chronicon Mannise."

read about the same time that the Danes in Ireland "left not a cave underground that they did not explore,"[1] it is impossible to suppose that the conspicuous mound of Maeshowe escaped their cupidity. It is always regarded as the work of a race who long preceded the coming in of the Norse population,[2] and was probably then first broken open; we have examples of repeated forcible entry into mounds. The runes on slabs 6 and 7, which Mr. Stephens regards[3] as "among the most ancient of the carvings"[4] may have been cut not long after. As we have already seen, they are identical in every letter with these cut on this Irish relic, and must, as we conceive, belong to the same Scandinavian family, and nearly the same epoch.

Reference has been already made (p. 479, *supra*) to the bronze axe or celt, weighing nearly 20 oz., found on the same occasion, and I have ventured to hint that it may have been interred at the same time, and in use in the same age. Sir W. Wilde has remarked,[5] that even the adoption of metallic implements

> "Was neither sudden nor universal, for so late as the ninth century, stone weapons were still used in Ireland, and stone implements were fabricated with metal, probably even with iron tools."

And we may infer with him, elsewhere,[6] that bronze swords

> "Very likely continued in use until the general employment of iron, and even for long after."

A Celtic tumulus was opened at Anet, near Berne, in 1848, which yielded among other objects, "une de ces haches, ou coins, en bronze communement appelés haches celtiques," which Dr. Todd regarded as of a date long subsequent to the introduction of Christianity into that country; that is, later, and probably much later, than the end of the sixth century.[7]

Unfortunately, the Irish Annals, while abounding in vivid poetic descriptions of battles, deal for the most part

[1] "Wars of G. G.," xxv. A. D. 866, p. 25.
[2] J. Stuart. "Proc. Soc. A. S.," vol. v.
[3] Stephens, p. 757.
[4] Id.
[5] "Descriptive Catalogue," p. 350.
[6] Id., p. 440.
[7] "Proc. of Royal Irish Academy," vol. vii., p. 42.

in general language with the equipments of the warriors. We are left to guess whether the—

"Two thickheaded, wide socketed battle spears, with their rings of gold about their necks"—

Which Conn of the Hundred Battles wielded at the Battle of Magh Leana,[1] were of bronze or iron; but we are informed that this hero of the second century employed the former metal for defensive armour:—

"He put his light strong leg armour, made of fine-spun thread of *Finndruine* upon his legs."

And this is explained by Mr. O'Curry to be—

"A kind of fine bronze used chiefly in ornamental works by the artists of ancient Erin."[2]

There are also more direct passages which support the view that the employment of bronze may have descended many centuries beyond the Christian Era:—

"The stipend of the King of Drung, which is not small.
From the King of Eire—'tis not contemptible;
Three curved narrow swords,
And three ships very beautiful."—"Book of Rights," p. 85.

I believe that an ancient *curved narrow sword* of iron is unknown in any collection; but the description applies exactly to the ordinary bronze weapon, and it is perhaps in Drung (Kerry) that their employment would linger the longest:—

"Whoever wishes for a speckled boss,
And a sword of sore inflicting wounds,
And a green javelin for wounding wretches,
Let him go early in the morning to Ath-Cliath.[3]

"This day Bruide fights a battle for the land of his grandfather.
Unless the Son of God wish it otherwise, he will die in it.
To-day, the son of Oswy was killed in a battle with green swords."[4]

[1] "The Battle of Magh Leana." Translated by Eugene O'Curry, 1855, p. 113.

[2] O'Donovan, however, defines it as a metal which would be represented by what we call German silver ("Three Fragments," p. 77), and is followed by Sir W. Wilde. The white metal of the exquisite Ardagh chalice, found in 1869, would, according to this identification, be *Finndruine*, but it seems a metal ill adapted for any purpose of defence.

[3] "Four Masters," A. D. 919.

[4] Three Fragments transl. by O'Donovan, 1860, p. 111.

I do not venture to affirm that the ascribing to a weapon the colour assumed by bronze, when not kept bright, amounts to proof that such was the metal employed; but it favours such a view. The description is not applicable to iron weapons, and the epithet seems not very likely to have been applied to the shafts or mountings. We find it applied to a Danish spear in an age when we know that the Danes used iron exclusively: "strong, broad, green, sharp, rough, dark spears, in the stout, bold, hard hands of freebooters," were plied at Clontarf; but to this it may be answered, that, when an epithet has once acquired a fixed poetic use, it is apt to be employed long after it has ceased to be literally correct. We still talk of our wooden walls and our hearts of oak, in metaphors quite out of date: but when we read of red gold, purple mantles, red cloaks, blue cloaks, we understand the language literally,[1] and probably any one reading of blue swords, would at once associate the epithet with weapons of steel or iron, to which, in fact, it belongs. Thus we read of Donagh Mac Namara:—"His expert, keen-pointed, blue-coloured, and neat-engraved dart, ... his long blue-edged, bright-steeled, sharp-pointed dagger;" and certain captives are exhorted "to shake and rattle the beautiful bright iron chains which are fastened to your well formed fetters of blue iron," for "there was a bright fetter of blue iron between every two of the heroes of the race of Conall and Eoghan at that time."[2]

But we have this very term applied to a sword, in a passage which applies the other term to a spear:—

"There is Domhnall in the battle.

* * * * * * *

Oh, the size of the expert blue sword,
Which is in his valiant right hand,
And the size of his great shield beside it!
The size of his broad green spear![3]

The term has, in fact, been used in bardic versions of events of so early a date, that, if they have any historical basis

[1] Book of Rights, *passim*.
[2] The Battle of Magh Rath, translated by O'Donovan, 1842, p. 197.
[3] Id., p. 194.

at all, we must suppose bronze weapons to have been in use in Ireland. Thus:—

"There came not [to the battle of the ford of Cormar] a man of Lobar's people without a broad green spear, nor without a dazzling shield, nor without a *Liagh-lamha-liach*, (a champion's hand stone) stowed away in the hollow cavity of his shield."[1]

This was in the first century, B. C.

The annals of the "Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaill," again, are full of allusions to the superiority of the Danish weapons; even so late as the Norman conquest—

"Unequal they engaged in the battle,
The foreigners and the Gaedhil of Teamhair,
Fine linen shirts on the race of Conn,
And the Foreigners one mass of iron.[2]

and the occurrence of "masses of iron" among the regal tributes in "The Book of Rights," recalling one of the prizes in the Homeric games,[3] suggests that, in both cases, the metal had a character of rarity, consistent with the contemporaneous use of bronze for a purpose for which it was equally suitable. As a matter of fact, very little iron is produced in Ireland to this day.[4] The battle axe, singularly enough, is not mentioned as a weapon in the metrical account of the Battle of Magh Rath.[5] It cannot have been in very general use at that date; and the statement of Giraldus Cambrensis that the Irish employed "broad axes excellently well steeled," in the twelfth century, does not preclude the supposition that some bronze axes, may have been seen on the battlefield as late as the ninth. I cannot otherwise account for the presence of one in this tumulus, if the circumstances under which it was found have been correctly ascertained.

[1] Quoted by Sir William Wilde, "Catalogue," p. 73.

[2] "Miscellany of the Celtic Soc.," p. 70.

[3] See "Iliad," Book xxiii; "Book of Rights," pp. 97–105.

[4] There is an anecdote in the life of St. Columba, as to the use of iron in his day, which may be quoted for its simplicity. The saint was besought by a brother, to give his blessing to a weapon *ad jugulandos tauros vel boves*: he does as requested; but warns the petitioner, "*Ferrum quod benedixi, confido in Domino meo quia nec homini nec pecori nocebit;*" accordingly the brother, "*vallum egressus monasterii, bovem jugulare volens, tribus firmis ictibus, et forte impulsione conatus, nec tamen potuit etiam ejus transfigere pellem.*"—(Reeves' "St. Columba," p. 143).

[5] See O'Donovan's note, p. 192.

I will conclude these remarks by one or two statements, called for by certain inaccurate reports, such as generally obtain currency on these occasions:—

(*a*). The bronze ornament was, by the workmen's account, attached to something in a very rotten and mouldy state, doubtless a strap of leather. The presence of the cavity at the top of the mound ensured a great percolation of water, and at the time of the excavations, which were during and after heavy rain, the soil below it was very wet. They threw this strap away, and it could not be found.

(*b*). We discovered no sign of an interment, either at the level of the bronze, or at the level of the passage. Professor Carte, of Dublin, who has kindly examined about the third of a bushel of bones and teeth from the mound, can find no human remains among them. These bones and teeth were found scattered throughout the soil moved, which I calculated at about fifty-two cubic yards. They can hardly be said to have been much more abundant in one place than another. Professor Carte had fully half of what were thrown out.

(*c*). The marrow bones were all split, and many of them bore marks of the fire, but no mark of having been gnawed. A great proportion of them were of young and immature animals, such as would be preferred for food; and were probably consumed in larger proportion in early ages, than is the modern practice, from the difficulty of feeding them in winter. For this suggestion, I am indebted to Professor Rolleston. The fact is shown by many of the teeth in the jaws found not having completely pierced the gums. They give the idea of a great funeral feast having been held on the spot, the relics of which were gathered up with the surface soil, to form the mound.

(*d*). The base of the mound in the centre, or at the north end of the excavation, seemed to be composed almost wholly of sea sand; this was not observed at the south end. A cut was made in one of the transverse ridges across the top of the *Druim*, and this too disclosed, at a depth of not more than two or three feet, a pure dry sea sand, containing minute fragments of shells and a little lime, probably arising from their decay. The inference seemed to be that

the ridge itself was once a promontory washed by the sea, although it is now a mile and a half distant; but that such was the case so recently as the ninth century is disproved by the allusions to the port of Annagassan in the Annals, and by the present elevation of the ground; the base of the mound is above the 100 feet contour on the Ordnance Survey. It creates, however, a difficulty in determining how much of it is artificial, which cannot be solved until further excavations have been made.

(*e*). The centre of the tumulus appeared to have the character of a true cairn. It was composed of a mass of portable round stones of moderate size, perhaps all under the quarter of a cubic foot. The section presented at the south end was a dry gravel, for about five feet above the passage, then as much alluvial soil, then two feet of a coarser gravel, then bands of clay and gravel, for four or five feet more. There was nothing particularly artificial in its appearance.

(*f*). It has been suggested that this long passage, 5 feet high, and 3 feet 4 in. wide, leading apparently to nothing, and with nothing evidently sepulchral about it, may have been somehow constructed for shelter or concealment. Unless, however, further explorations should show a connexion with undiscovered subterranean chambers of larger dimensions, I am persuaded that this theory is untenable. The space is too contracted; there is no trace of any access to it; and it is almost incredible that so much labour should have been expended on such a structure, at a date when the Round Towers and other architectural remains show the Irish to have been capable of building masonry structures above ground, in which they would have been much more secure against their enemies.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT a GENERAL MEETING, held at the apartments of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday July the 5th, 1871,

MAURICE LENIHAN, J. P., M. R. I. A., in the Chair;

The following election to a Fellowship took place:—

George Stewart, Manager Provincial Bank of Ireland, Enniskillen: proposed by W. F. Wakeman.

The following Members of the Association were admitted to Fellowships:—

The Rev. M. H. Close; and Laurence Waldron, D. L.

The Rev. James Graves begged leave to propose the admission to Fellowship, *honoris causa*, of the Chairman of the meeting, Maurice Lenihan, M. R. I. A., the Historian of Limerick, and to whom the Association was largely indebted for many valuable services rendered, not the least of which was the contribution to their Journal of the manuscript of Dr. Arthur's Fee-book.

Mr. Lenihan was unanimously elected.

The following new Members were elected:—

Mrs. Charles H. Gregory, Westcourt, Callan; James Frost, J. P., Ballymorris, Cratloe, Co. Clare; Messrs. J. Parker and Co., Booksellers and Publishers, Oxford; and Thomas Bosworth, Bookseller and Publisher, 198, High Holborn, London; proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

George Innis, St. James' Cottage, Kilkenny: proposed by J. B. Fitzsimons, M. D.

G. Henry Wallis, South Kensington Museum: proposed by George M. Atkinson.

William A. Hinch, Longwood Avenue, Dublin: proposed by J. R. Joly, M. D.

Patrick J. Roche, New Ross: proposed by W. A. Mahony.

On the motion of Mr. Graves, Dr. Riggs was elected Honorary Local Secretary for Armagh, and Albert Courtenaye, F. R. H. A. A. I., Honorary Local Secretary for Clogheen.

Mr. Graves read a letter from Mr. Courtenaye expressing his regret to find that neither a seal for official documents, nor a form of diploma for Fellows, was possessed by the Association. He "thought that with their favourable financial prospects, such wants ought to be supplied. Every Fellow would be glad to pay a fee of *5s.* for such a document attesting his position in the Association, and thus no expense would be entailed on the funds. Why not advertise for a design, and give a small premium for the best?"

The Chairman fully concurred in the suggestion of Mr. Courtenaye. Every Fellow would naturally wish to possess a tangible diploma of Fellowship.

Mr. Graves did not consider a Fellow ought to be charged any additional fee for a document of the kind. As regarded a design for a form of diploma of Fellowship, they need not advertise for it, as he had in his possession an admirable design for the very purpose, made by their late deeply regretted associate, George V. Du Noyer. The frame-work was an Hiberno-Romanesque Church doorway, the details principally taken from the Killeshin doorway, Queen's County.

It seemed to be the feeling of the meeting that Mr. Du Noyer's design ought to be adopted, and that a device for a seal might be suggested by Mr. Graves himself; Mr. Bracken pointing out that it was due to Kilkenny, as having had the honour of establishing the Association, that the device should have some feature connecting it with that city or district.

Mr. Graves said that he would lay Mr. Du Noyer's design before the next meeting, and it could then be adopted if approved.

The following presentations were received and thanks voted to the donors:—

A thick folio manuscript book, being a compilation of the pedigrees of the ancient Anglo-Norman families of Wexford, most beautifully transcribed by the donor from the original MS. compiled by the late Herbert F. Hore: presented by J. Ennis Mayler, F. R. H. A. A. I.

On the motion of Mr. Prim, seconded by Mr. Robertson, a special vote of thanks was given to Mr. Mayler for his most valuable present, and the great trouble and care which he had bestowed on the work of copying it.

"Christ Church Cathedral and the Synod Hall": presented by the Author.

This paper, reprinted with an illustration from the "Irish Builder," advocated a re-consideration of the site proposed by Mr. Street for the new Synod Hall in connexion with the restoration of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin.

The Rev. James Graves expressed his confidence, in which the meeting fully concurred, that so eminent an architect as Mr. Street would, if possible, secure a site which would enable two such important buildings to be grouped so as to give "each to each a double charm."

A collection of very beautiful photographs of numerous antiquities preserved in his own cabinet, amongst them a bronze sword retaining its original handle of bone, the second of the kind as yet recorded to have been discovered in Ireland: presented by A. Knight Young, J. P., Monaghan.

A series of valuable photographs of buildings and objects of antiquity in and near Dover, including views of Dover Castle, Kit's Coty house—the great Kentish cromleachs so called, &c.; also "Dover, by Samuel J. Davis, with Photographic Illustrations by Russell Sedgfield,"; London, 1869: presented by Captain T. Bigoe Williams.

An old twelve-pounder cannon-ball, found at Newbawn Castle, near Carrigburn, Co. Wexford: presented by J. Ennis Mayler, F. R. H. A. A. I.

A stone axe from the South-sea Islands mounted for use; the manner in which the stone was attached to the handle might serve to illustrate the mode in which our Irish stone celts were mounted in primeval times: presented, through Mr. W. F. Wakeman, by the Right Hon. the Earl of Enniskillen.

Several objects found in sinking the shaft to ascertain the depth at which a secure foundation could be obtained for the piers of the proposed new bridge of St. John, Kilkenny. They consisted chiefly of portions of old iron buckles, and conglomerates formed by the oxidization of iron amongst pebbles. There were some animal bones, which having been submitted to Dr. Foot, of Dublin, he decided that they belonged to a ruminant—most probably a deer. Four coins were found, two of silver, being respectively coins of Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth, and two of copper, one being a halfpenny of George II., and the other so worn as not to be recognizable. These might be considered an earnest of more important and interesting remains of antiquity, likely to be found in the course of the work of erecting the new bridge. Also a measured drawing of one remaining arch belonging to the old bridge of St. John, which was in great part swept away by the flood of 1763. This arch was to be seen within the present mouth of the main sewer of the city; it seemed to have been a land-arch of the old bridge: presented by Peter Burtchael, C. E., County Surveyor, Kilkenny.

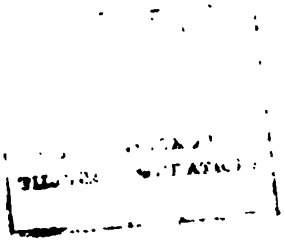
A photograph—an engraved copy of which forms the plate which faces this page—of a fictile vessel, found about the year 1840 at a place called "Yellow Jack's Carn," in the townland of Altegarron on the slopes of Divis mountain near Belfast; now in the possession of James Hunter, Esq., Dunmurry, Co. Antrim; the original was 5 inches high, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter at the broadest part, and 6 inches in diameter across the mouth. The bottom was plain: presented by W. H. Patterson, Belfast.

Mr. Graves read a letter which he had received from Lord Courtown, in which his lordship mentioned that he had heard from the Hon. L. G. Dillon, that a large portion of the Round Tower of Kilmacduagh had fallen, and that the rest of the structure was in a perilous condition. Lord Courtown asked—"Could further damage be stayed by an appeal to the public?"

The meeting expressed much concern at this intelligence, and requested Mr. Graves to communicate with the Hon. Mr. Dillon, in order to ascertain the exact extent of the damage, and what course might be taken to stay any further injury.



FICTILE VESSEL FOUND AT ALTEGARRON, NEAR BELFAST.



Mr. Courtenaye, F. R. H. A. A. I., Clogheen, communicated a curious legend which he had recently picked up at Ardfinnan Castle.

"There remains embedded in the wall of the mill there (a portion of which is said to be as old as the Castle the erection of which is attributed to King John) a square stone bearing an almost effaced bas-relief figure of a woman's head. The stone is about 15 inches square, about 15 inches above the level of the road, and a few feet from the bridge pier. It is stated that for ages all passers-by on the bridge who are familiar with this object, have been accustomed to intimate their contempt for it, as they go by, the women of the district, in particular, always spitting upon it. The legend accounting for this is, that when the King was building the Castle, the workmen employed lived in huts around the building, and as it progressed towards its completion it was occupied by the servants and dependants of the king, amongst whom the cook (whose effigy this head is said to be), used to be frequently asked by the masons for a share of the good things of the castle kitchen; but she having declined to yield to their solicitations, they vented their disappointment and spleen against her, by setting up a caricature of her in this conspicuous manner, heaping every possible indignity upon it, which observance towards it was handed down to posterity."

The Chairman said he had himself not long since heard this legend told on the spot. He referred to his note-book, and found a memorandum that the effigy was popularly designated "Jane Squib's head."

Patrick Watters, Esq., Town Clerk, exhibited, in continuation of his series of specimens of the Municipal Records of Kilkenny, a document which he said he had chosen for the purpose chiefly on account of the beauty of the seal attached to it, although it was not altogether devoid of local interest, as the clergyman to whom it was intended as a "safe conduct" among the successful Williamite party in Ireland, might be supposed to be a Kilkenny man, from his name, and from his having apparently lodged the document with the Corporation here on his arrival. It was endorsed, in an old hand, "a Certificate of the good behavier of Pat: Brophy, a popish preist, from the Citty of Antwerpe," and ran as follows:—

"Nos, Consules Senatores et Concilium Civitatis Antuerpie, omnibus has visuris salutem; notum facimus et attestamur quod reuerendus Dominus Patritius Brofy Hibernus et Sacerdos Secularis hac in urbe habitauerit a 20ma Julij Anni 1690 usque ad tertiam Aprilis presentis anni, et quod semper se pacificum et modestum exhibuerit, suisque superioribus subditum, absque eo quod unquam se regimini tam militari vel politico harum

prouinciarium se immiscuerit, aut aliquid in preiudicium regie sue Maiestatis eiusque confederatorum molitus sit, quod ad nostram cognitionem deuenerit: in quorum fidem has par infrascriptum a Conciliis et Secretarium nostrum juratum signari, et sigillo ad causas urbis Antuerpiensis muniri jussimus, die septima Julij, Anno Domini milesimo sexentesimo nonagesimo secundo.



"V. D. DE VATCKENISS."

[*Translation.*]

"We, the Consuls, Senators, and Council of the City of Antwerp, to all who shall see these, greeting: we make known and attest that the Reverend Mr. Patrick Brofy, an Irishman and Secular Priest, has lived in this City from the 20th of July, 1690, until the third of April this present year, and that he always showed himself peaceable, modest, and submissive to his superiors, that he never intermeddled in the military or political rule of these Provinces, or ever undertook anything to the prejudice of his royal Majesty or his confederates, which has come to our knowledge; in faith of which we have ordered these to be signed by the Council and our below written sworn Secretary, and to be confirmed by the seal *ad causas* of the City of Antwerp, the seventh day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and ninety two.

"V. D. DE VATCKENISS."

The Rev. James Graves said that the seal, a very fine one, was impressed on a wafer; it was circular, and measured two inches in diameter. Round the margin was the legend in Roman capitals:—

*SIGILLVM CIVITATIS ANTVERPIENSIS AD CAVSAS.

In the centre the seal bore an elaborate architectural device, in the Dutch style, of a portcullised gateway in a turreted wall; over the gateway was a shield, supported by two lions rampant, bearing the double headed eagle, and surmounted by an imperial crown. At the dexter side of the gateway was a shield bearing a lion rampant, and surmounted by a cap of maintenance: at the sinister side was another shield with the double headed eagle in chief and the arms of Castile in base; whilst on three turrets on the top of the gateway were set three banners, each charged with a dexter hand couped at the wrist.

The following papers were read:—

THE PRECIOUS METALS AND ANCIENT MINING IN IRELAND.

BY RICHARD ROLT BRASH, M.R.I.A.

At a remote period of her history, the inhabitants of Erin were acquainted with the art of working in the precious metals, out of which they manufactured articles of necessity, and ornaments, the beautiful design and execution of which we have even now opportunities of judging.

At A.M. 3656, the "Annals of the Four Masters" record the death of Tighearnmas, King of Ireland, and add to it the following statement:—

"It was by Tighearnmas also that gold was first smelted in Ireland in Foithre-Airthir-Liffe. [It was] Uchadan, an artificer of the Feara-Cualann, that smelted it. It was by him that goblets and brooches were first covered with gold and silver in Ireland."

The "Annals of Clonmacnoise," in referring to the reign of Tighearnmas, thus mention the above circumstance :—

"He was the first who caused standing cuppes to be made, the refining of gould and silver, and procured his Goldsmith (named Ugden) that dwelt near the Liffie, to make gold and silver pins to put in men's and women's garments about their necks."—Mageoghegan's Translation.

Though the chronology of the reign of the above-named monarch may be open to dispute, the reign of such a king several centuries before the Christian era cannot be denied, nor is there any reason to throw doubt upon this recorded occurrence of his reign ; on the contrary, its truthfulness is confirmed by its reference to the locality of the mines, and the country of the artificer.

Foithre, or rather Fotharta-Airthir-Liffe, signifies the territory east of the Liffey, and comprised the present county of Wicklow, and part of the county of Dublin. Now, it is remarkable that this (Wicklow) is the precise district where in our own day considerable quantities of gold have been found in the mountain streams, as I shall refer to hereafter.

Feara-Cualann, the native place of Uchadan, the artificer, is a district in the same county.

The record respecting Tighearnmas is also preserved in a poem by Flan of the Monastery of Bute (Monasterboice), county of Louth, who died A. D. 1056. It is to be found in a poem on the Tuath-de-Danans, preserved in the "Book of Lecan," fol. 28 :—

"It was Tighearmas first established in Ireland the art of dyeing cloth of purple and other colours, and the ornamenting of drinking cups and goblets, and breast pins for mantles, of gold and silver."

The next notice we have of the use of the precious metals is in the "Annals of the Four Masters :"—

"The age of the World, 3817. After Enna Airgtheach had spent twenty-seven years in the sovereignty of Ireland, he fell by Raitheachtaigh son of Maen, son of Aengus Olmucadha, in the battle of Raighne. It was by this Enna Airgtheach that silver shields were made at Airget-Ross."

Airgtheach is a cognomen which signifies *argenteus*, Enna of the silver. Airget-Ross, or silver wood, was a locality situated on the Nore, in the parish of Rathbeagh, and there was a silver mine on Knockadrina in the ancient Magh Raighne ; both localities are in the county of Kilkenny. These shields were probably of wood covered with plates of silver, or ornamented with bosses of that metal.

Again—

"The age of the World, 3882. After Faildeargdoid had been ten years in the sovereignty he fell by Ollamh Fodhla son of Fiacha Finscothach, in the battle of Teamhair. It was by the king Faildeargdoid that gold rings were first worn upon the hands of chieftains in Ireland."—"Four Masters."

The rings referred to above are no doubt the armillæ, of which so many specimens in gold, silver, and bronze have been found in the country.

Ten years before the above date the same authorities record the introduction of gold chains :—

"The age of the World, 3872. At the end of the fifth year of Muineamhon, he died of the plague in Magh Aidhne. It was Muineamhon that first caused chains of gold [to be worn] on the necks of kings and chieftains in Ireland."

The "Annals of Clonmacnoise" have a similar reference.

Allusions to rings, chains, goblets, brooches, and other articles of gold and silver, as portions of the stipends and presents paid by the provincial kings to the reigning monarch, are very plentifully scattered through that remarkable work the "Leabhar na g-Ceart, or Book of Rights," as edited by the late Dr. O'Donovan for the Irish Celtic Society. This work which refers to a state of things existing in pagan times, is an account of the stipends, tributes, and privileges of the King of Ireland, and of the provincial chiefs, and is supposed to have been compiled by St. Benen, a disciple of St. Patrick under the direction of the great Apostle of the Celts from more ancient sources. It would seem that these stipends and privileges had become a source of serious misunderstanding, and consequently of war and bloodshed; it was therefore a matter of great importance to bring these evils to an end, by defining from the most ancient authorities the real nature and value of these tributes and privileges as they had been from ancient times. We have therefore in this remarkable work a complete picture of the political state of Ireland in the time of St. Patrick, and for several centuries preceding it, while the nature of the articles mentioned in these tributes, will show the wealth and social advancement of the island at that period.

Thus, among the stipends from the King of Cashel to the King of Cruachan (Connaught), we find—

> "A hundred drinking horns, a hundred swords from Caiseal,
> A hundred steeds, a hundred tunics besides," p. 33.

From the same king to the chief of Tir-connell in the present county of Donegal, p. 35—

> "Twenty rings, twenty chess-boards,
> Twenty steeds at the great Eas-ruaidh
> To the king for whom no sorrow is fated,
> To the king of the gap of hardy Conall."

The stipend of the King of Tara, p. 39—

"Thirty coats of mail to the hero of Teamhair,
Thirty rings—that is true,
A hundred steeds not wearied in a fatiguing service,
With thirty chess-boards for a banquet."

Again, at p. 75—

"Seven matals (cloaks) with ring-clasps of gold,
And seven horns for carousing,
Seven steeds, not used to falter,
To the king of Ciarraidhe of the combat.

Seven steeds to the hero of the Leap,
Seven shields with the brightness of the sun,
Seven curved swords of battle,
Seven ships, seven coats of mail.

Entitled is the king of Dealbhna of Drum Leith
To six swords and six shields,
Six steeds, six tunics with gold (ornaments),
And six drinking horns for banquets." p. 113.

"Three drinking horns to the king of Ui-Fiachrach,
Three swords for the overthrow of battles,
Three steeds to the Aidhne of the all,
Ten rings, ten chess-boards." p. 117.

"Thirty rings—that is true,
Ten hounds, and ten matals,
Ten drinking horns with handsome handles,
And ten ships, very beautiful." p. 159.

"Ten carved rings to the king of Raelinn." p. 211.

"Eight steeds not driven from the mountains,
With bridles of old silver." p. 163.

"To three rings, three chess-boards." p. 215.

"Eight good steeds of high distinction
Are due to the king of the noble Deise,
And eight green cloaks besides,
With eight pins of findroine (carved silver)." p. 257.

The perusal of this curious work shows the ancient Gaedhal in a most oriental light. The inferior chiefs paid tributes to the provincial kings, consisting of beeves, hogs, wethers, cloaks, &c.

On the other hand, the stipends, or rather presents, made by the reigning monarch and the provincial kings to the feudal chiefs, consisted of war weapons, shields, coats of mail, steeds, chariots, ships, cloaks of fine texture, rings, pins or fibulæ, ornamented horse trappings, chess-boards and chess-men, slaves both male and female, and dogs for the chase; and in no instance are any of the above articles mentioned in the tributes from the inferior to the superior chiefs.

In the account of the death and burial of Fothaidh Airgtheach, king of Ireland, who fell at the battle of Ollarba, A.D. 235, we find in accordance with then existing customs that he was interred in a cistvaen of unhewn stone, beneath a cairn, and that his two rings, bracelets and torque, all of silver, were interred with him:—

"We were with Finn once," said he; "we went from Alba (recte Almhain), we fought against Fothaidh Airgtheach here with thee at Ollarba. We fought a battle here, I made a shot at him and I drove my spear through him, so that the spear entered the earth at the other side of him, and its iron head was left buried in the earth. This is the very handle that was in that spear. The round stone from which I made that shot will be found, and east of it will be found the iron head of the spear buried in the earth, and the uluidh (cairn) of Fothaidh Airgtheach will be found a short distance to the east of it. There is a chest of stone about him in the earth. There are his two rings of silver, and his two bunne-doat (bracelets), and his torque of silver on his chest, and there is a pillar-stone at his cairn, and an ogumis (inscribed) on the end of the pillar-stone which is in the earth, and what is in it is Eochaidh Airgtheach here."—Petrie's "Enquiry," &c., p. 107.

That large quantities of gold, silver, and bronze ornaments and jewels have been interred with the illustrious dead in this country is undeniable, and that in pagan times, as Christianity discountenanced such vain ostentation and waste of the precious metals. A remarkable instance of this occurred in the county of Cork in the year 1805, the following account of which is taken from "Researches in the South of Ireland," by the late Crofton Croker:—

"Throughout the whole of this district the lime-stone rock abounds with natural caverns, and in 1805, a curious discovery was made not far from Castlemartyr by a quarryman, in consequence of his crowbar having accidentally fallen through a fissure in the rock; he widened the aperture and descended in search of the instrument into a cavern, where he was not a little surprised to behold a human skeleton, partly covered with exceedingly thin plates of stamped or embossed gold, connected by bits of

wire, he also found several amber beads. The annexed sketch of one of these gold plates is the same size as the original, which is in the possession of Mr. Lecky of Cork, with the fragments of a bead. The remainder of the gold was sold, and melted in Cork and Youghal; and a jeweller who purchased the greater part told me the quantity he had melted—to use his own words—was 'rather more than the contents of half a coal-box'" (p. 253).

"The sketch" alluded to by Mr. Croker represents a thin leaf of metal two and a quarter inches long, seven-eighths of an inch wide at the top, and two and a quarter at bottom, with four longitudinal ribs equi-distant, the spaces between being engraved with a fern leaf pattern. This singular find is corroborated by another discovery at Aghabulloge, about fifteen miles west of Cork, in an ancient grave; the finder was a peasant, in whose possession a portion of the find was seen by the late Mr. John Windele of Cork; it consisted of pieces of thin elastic gold plate, and the finder stated that it was but a small portion of a large sheet that covered the entire breast and upper part of the skeleton; the whole found its way to the melting pot of a Cork silversmith, a piece of gold ring-money was found with the skeleton which was purchased by Mr. Windele. I have been restrained from giving quotations from ancient Irish authorities respecting gold mantles so often mentioned in them, from a sense of the incredulity with which such statements would be met in many quarters, nevertheless, I have produced two authentic instances directly corroborative of the truth of such statements; whether these embossed gold plates, joined together by gold rivets, formed an ostentatious covering or mantle in themselves, or were the external ornamentation of a more pliable material which may have perished, it is now impossible to determine. A similar discovery was made by the Russian Government in opening some tombs of ancient Tartar chiefs or kings in Siberia, in one of which were found two skeletons, male and female, each having a sheet of thin gold plate covering the face and breast. Seealso, for similar gold finds, Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 592.

In an account of the death of Eochaidh Belbhuidhe, who was slain by Asal, son of Con Cead-Cathah, about A.D. 140, is mentioned the eric paid by Asal in compensation,

it was "seven 'cumhals' of gold, and seven of silver, and land of seven 'cumhals.'"—"Senchus Mor," p. 71.

The Scandinavian adventurers who for three centuries infested the coasts, and plundered many of the inland districts of the country, were well aware of the national custom of interring treasure with the dead, and in consequence of this knowledge rifled the sepulchres of the great cemeteries as we find it recorded in the "Annals of the Four Masters," at A.D. 861 :—

"Amhlaeibh, Imhar, and Uailsi, three chieftains of the foreigners; and Lorcan son of Cathal, lord of Meath, plundered the land of Flann, son of Conang. The cave of Achaidh-Aldai, in Mughdhorna-Maighen; the cave of Cnoghbhai; the cave of the grave of Bodan, i. e. the shephard of Elcmar, over Dubhath; and the cave of the wife of Gobhann, at Drochet-atha, were broken and plundered by the same foreigners."

Dr. O'Donovan, in a note to this annal, identifies the above caves as the souterrains under the sepulchral mounds of New Grange, Knowth and Dowth, situated on the banks of the Boyne, not far from Drogheda.

The statements in the "Book of Rights" and other authentic Irish MSS., of the very general use of the precious metals in remote ages, has been received with considerable distrust by many archaeologists, nevertheless these statements have been fully borne out by the immense finds of gold and silver ornaments and utensils, which from time to time have been discovered in the country. If, for instance, we averred that the ancient Gael had used bridle bits of gold, with what an amount of incredulity would such a statement be met, yet it is on record that the Earl of Strafford during his administration in Ireland, presented to Charles 1st a bridle bit weighing ten ounces of solid gold which had been found in a bog. In the "Book of Rights," as already quoted, are mentioned as a part of the stipend of one of the sub-chiefs—

"Eight steeds not driven from the mountains (untrained) with bridles (bits) of old silver." p. 163.

In our "Journal," vol. 1, new series, p. 423, is given a plate of an ancient bridle bit of bronze, the mouth piece consisting of three links with two cheek rings; these were

time, and which he says was of the same piece with part of a plate which he sold last September, and which I saw at the same time. The plate from which it was broken was round and no less than ten inches in diameter; there was a gold wire inlayed about the rim, and about three inches towards the centre there was a gold twist sewed in and out.

"1750. A man found a small plate of gold in the form of an equilateral triangle.

"1751. A man found a bronze sword, the *hilt* of which was ornamented with a *plate of gold*, it had also a *pomel* of the same *metal* with three links of a chain hanging out of it.

"1752. A boy found a plate of gold five inches wide at one end, and four at the other; in length six inches, beautifully chased and embossed. The goldsmith to whom it was sold said he supposed it was portion of a crown; it weighed close on two ounces.

"1753. May 23.—A man found a piece of hollow gold in the form of the point of a scabbard of a sword, which weighed one ounce, twenty-three pennyweights, seventeen grains.

"1753. June 25.—Was found a gold vessel much in the form of our own chalice except that the handle was curved; the cup was bulged and cracked, but opened to its full capacity would contain almost a pint. The handle and cup were chased and engraved, and weighed ten ounces, twelve pennyweights, twenty-three grains, the bottom was broken off and not found.

"June 30th. Two thin leaves of gold of curious form.

"July 17. Was found a piece of gold almost in the form of a scallop shell which was purchased by the lord of the soil from the finders, being poor people, for fourteen guineas and a half.

"July 21. A man found two pieces of gold of curious forms, which weighed three ounces, nine pennyweights, twenty-one grains.

"August 12. A boy found a piece of gold two inches in length, which weighed one ounce seven grains.

"1760. A woman found imbedded in a piece of turf a thin plate of gold, and five small square ingots, which weighed twenty ounces, four pennyweights, three grains.

"1762. A man found a piece of hollow gold in the form of a triangle enclosing seven small ingots of the same metal, the whole were sold for six pounds five shillings.

"1764. A man found a piece of gold which weighed one ounce three grains.

"1765. A man found about a handful of gold in small bits not much thicker than a straw, and about a quarter of an inch long. All weighed two ounces some grains.

"1769. June 14.—A man found in a sod of turf a plate of gold which weighed two ounces and a half and eleven pennyweights.

"1771. A boy found in the border of the bog a piece of gold about six inches long, much like the pipe of a trumpet, hollow in the middle; which weighed three ounces, fifteen pennyweights, twenty-one grains."

In addition to the above articles, there were found in the same bog a great quantity of bronze utensils, and from thirty to forty leaf-shaped bronze swords; some of the

bronze was analysed and found to contain a per centage of gold. The catalogue given in Governor Pownall's paper seems to have been but a portion of what was found in this locality, as Mr. Armstrong, who communicated the account, and lived on the spot, states that though he had informed (repeatedly) all the people of the village that he would give the highest price for anything found there, "yet still they carry them privately to Limerick," p. 370.

June 7th, 1792. Mrs. Molesworth exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries two gold torques found in Ireland, "Archæologia," vol. xi., p. 429.

In 1808, a twisted rod of pure gold was found near Ballycastle, county of Antrim, and which weighed twenty-two ounces, "Archæologia," vol. xvi. p. 353.

In 1748, a remarkable discovery was made at a place called Carne, near Mullingar, in the county of Westmeath, the particulars of which were communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, by Dr. Poccocke, then Lord Bishop of Meath, and was published in the "Archæologia," vol. 11, p. 32. In ploughing the ground six graves were discovered in the form of rude cistvaens, composed of slabs of stone; they were regularly disposed, one being in the centre, the others uniformly arranged round them. The contents of the centre one was a human skeleton, the bones of unusual size; an urn of yellow clay, which upon handling fell to pieces, beside which lay a ring consisting "of twenty-five table diamonds, regularly and well disposed, set in gold." This was certainly a pagan interment—the cistvaen of unhewn stone, the urn, and the absence of inscription or symbol that in anywise could connect it with Christianity, unmistakeably proclaims it a pre-Christian interment, yet here we have a remarkable work of art which could only have been produced by a people far advanced in civilization. The Bishop argues from the position of the tombs that this was an interment after a battle, that the centre tomb contained the remains of a king or chief, and that the other five cistvaens contained the bodies of friends or companions slain with him; he further quotes from "Keating's History of Ireland," p. 146, which gives the death of Breas, monarch of Ireland, who was killed at Carn-Chluain, A.M. 3301; also from O'Flaherty, who makes the

event happen one hundred and thirty one years later, and designates the place as Carn-Conluain: now the exact locality where the graves were found is called Carne, while the barony adjoining is called Clon-lonan.

In the "Archæologia," vol. xvii. p. 333, is the representation of a beautiful silver brooch dug up in a bog at Ballymoney, county of Antrim, 1812. Shaw Mason in his "Parochial Survey of Ireland," vol. iii., p. 46, states, respecting the parish of St. Peter's, Athlone, that "several lunettes or crescents of gold were found in a bog not far distant from the town, which with some other articles of the same metal were sold, as I have been informed within these few years, to a jeweller in Dublin, for the sum of £858, and for want of purchasers of antiquarian tastes melted down for more common uses."

The Rev. Mr. Hamilton, M.R.I.A., in his "Letters concerning the northern coast of the county of Antrim, states, "Within the limits of my own knowledge golden ornaments have been found to the amount of near one thousand pounds in value," p. 45. A curious musical instrument of gold was found on the strand at Youghal in the year 1800; it was a curved shank or handle, at each end of which loosely attached by rings was a bell-formed cup about six inches in length, and three inches in diameter at the mouth; the interior of these cups or bells gave evidence of there having been tongues or clappers suspended in them; a drawing of this curious relic was published in "Ireland's Mirror," Nov. 1804. The same plate exhibits a bracelet of pure gold, found with others in a bog near Mallow, Co. of Cork, in 1799, and which were sold to a goldsmith in Cork for £48.

In 1848 some labourers while earthing potatoes near Carrick-on-Shannon, found eleven balls of gold, which seemed to have formed a necklace; the largest, which was in the centre, was four inches by two, being egg-shaped; the smallest, two inches by one, the rest graduating in pairs; they were formed each of two halves of gold plate neatly joined together, and weighed 20 oz. 8 dwts.; they were pierced in their breadth, evidently intended to be strung; they are so neatly soldered that the uniting material can only be detected with a lens. They are now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

In 1810 two magnificent gold torques were found at Tara, Co. of Meath, which are now in the Museum of the R.I.A. One of these ornaments measures five feet seven inches in length, and weighs 27 oz. 9 dwts.; the other weighs 12 oz. 6 dwts. In Dubourdieu's "Statistical Survey of the Co. of Antrim," p. 585, is a plate of a remarkable utensil; it is a double patera of gold, united together by a curved handle of the same metal, and ornamented with engraving; it weighed 19 oz. 10 dwts., and was sold to a Mr. Delander in Dublin, who could not find a purchaser for it to save it from the crucible. The above Mr. Delander is stated to have purchased a number of gold bracelets which were found in the Co. of Roscommon, and which he subsequently sold to the Marquis of Lansdowne for £1200. In the Museum of Trinity College, Dublin, is a very beautiful specimen of the same article, which is sometimes called a fibula, it is 8¾ inches in length and weighs 33 oz.; the pateræ or cups are rather bell-shaped, and the external surfaces are chastely ornamented. There is also a very fine specimen in the Museum of the R.I.A. Another was found on the Keeper Mountain, Co. of Tipperary, in 1859, it weighed 12 oz. 13 dwts.; it was cut up into pieces by the finders for the purpose of division, and so was lost. Another was found near Fermoy, Co. Cork, and was sold to Mr. Tate, a jeweller in that city, in 1857, for the sum of £52 16*s.* 10*d.*, though it was in a mutilated state when it came into his possession; this also went to the crucible. In the "Archæologia," vol. ii., p. 40, is an engraving of one found in the Co. of Galway, and which weighed 15 oz. On the estate of Henry Adair, Esq., near Dunboyne, Co. of Meath, was found a very large specimen of this class, a model of which is to be found in the illustrative collection of the R.I.A.; it is 7¼ inches in length, and 3¾ inches in height, and weighed 40 oz. 10 dwts.; what became of the original is not known.

It would be endless for me to enumerate the articles of gold that have been discovered from time to time in this country during the last century, the finding of which has been made public, much less can we form an estimate of the vast quantities of gold ornaments and utensils which have been secretly melted down and disposed of through the

fears of the finders. I shall conclude this portion of the subject by referring to a few remarkable finds, which will more powerfully illustrate the existence of vast quantities of the precious metals in the country in remote ages.

In 1854 an immense treasure in gold was found in the Co. of Clare during the construction of the Limerick and Ennis railway; the discovery was made by some navvies while excavating on a portion of the line which ran near the lake of Mooghan, within two miles of Newmarket-on-Fergus. The treasure was found under a cairn of low elevation, in a rude stone cistvaen of small dimensions. The late Mr. John Windele in a communication to the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. ix., p. 42, thus describes the particulars of the find:—

"The discovery was made by one of the railway labourers who had remained behind after his companions had gone to dinner. The first article turned up by him was a specimen of ring-money, which having carelessly looked at he flung into the lough as valueless. In removing more of the stones a similar piece of gold was exposed, which he treated in the same way. Meantime continuing his operations some of the navvies had returned, and one of them took a few of the pieces with him to the village, where they were reported to be gold. A general rush was now made to the spot, a fierce scramble ensued, and an almost incredible quantity of the precious metal was exhumed. The Rev. Dr. Neligan of Cork was one of the first who obtained a sight of some of this large treasure, and to his kindness I am indebted for the following note—'A day or two after, the matter was reported to me, and I hurried to Limerick where I heard that large quantities of the gold was disposed of. Being anxious to procure some for my late friend, Lord Londesborough, and having purchased about £60 worth, consisting of various specimens of ring-money and three of the lunette shaped pieces, I was told that so vast was the quantities of gold that wheel-barrows were employed in carrying it off. Men were seen with hats full, and women with laden aprons of it. I was informed that one party in Limerick purchased between £200 and £300 worth the night before for £40, and immediately melted it down. Also that four men went to America with about £6000 worth each. I give the story as it was related to me. Being in Dublin a short time after, I saw ninety ounces of this very gold brought into a silversmith's shop and sold at once. I saw at another silversmith's about thirty ounces. And I saw a large quantity consisting of ring money and lunettes produced at a soirée of the R. I. Academy, when Dr. Todd gave some interesting details as to this 'find.' I heard since that there was a tradition that some celebrated Irish chieftain and his followers had been slain on that spot."

Sir W. Wilde has stated that the Academy has purchased about £300 worth of this gold.

In 1860 a letter appeared in the Athenæum from Mr. Clibborn, the Curator of the Museum of the R. I. Academy, stating, that a considerable gold find had been made near Athlone to the value of £27000, which was entirely lost to the antiquarian world.

From the above notes of treasure finds it is quite evident that gold was the predominant metal in use for personal ornaments, the quantity of silver relics being very small. Antiquarian science has endeavoured to appropriate the various objects from time to time discovered in the country, and which are thus classified by Sir Wm. Wilde in his "Catalogue of the Antiquities of gold in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy," "diadems, tiaras, lunulæ, hair-plates, and ear-rings; those used for the neck, as, for example, gorgets, small torques, flattened beads, globular balls, and necklaces; for the limbs, as armillæ, bracelets, finger-rings; and for the chest and waist in the form of large torques; besides various minor trinkets and miscellaneous articles, such as, bullæ, small circular boxes, penannular shaped articles supposed to represent money, bracteate medals, and some other objects of undetermined use."

The Museum of the R. I. Academy contains about three hundred and fifty specimens of Irish antiquities in gold. The Museum of Trinity College has also some very fine objects; a considerable number are to be found in the collections of private individuals in Ireland, England, and Scotland. There is a considerable collection in the British Museum, while not a few continental museums are enriched with specimens of early Irish art. The great quantities of the precious metal discovered in Ireland has given rise to some speculation as to where it was procured. The peculiar form and character of the articles, and their distinctive ornamentation, stamp them with a peculiarly national character, while the absence of Christian symbols, and their archaic type, assign the majority of them to an age anterior to the introduction of the faith in this island. The question then naturally arises, from whence came this abundance of gold at so early a period? Some have attributed its introduction to the Phœnicians, who trading to Cornwall for tin became acquainted with our island,

and its inhabitants, and who are supposed to be the Fomorians or African pirates of Irish history. Others to the Iberian Celts, who it is said migrated from Scythia to Egypt, and from thence across northern Africa into Spain and Ireland. Mr. Clibborn, in a communication published in the 7th vol. of the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," most ingeniously labours to prove, that these ornaments were brought into Ireland by Jewish fugitives after the fall of Jerusalem. Others have attributed their introduction to the Danes; but gold was plentiful in Ireland before these invaders set foot in the island, and they were much more likely to export that precious commodity than to import it, as I have already shown by their plundering not only the towns and religious establishments, but also the very sepulchres of the country. We must account for the presence of gold, and of the art exhibited in its manufacture, from other sources. That the art of melting and working gold was brought to Ireland by some of her colonists is more than probable, for though gold in its native state has been found, it is not likely that the savage aborigines who used stone celts and hammers, and pointed their lances and arrows with flints, could have of themselves arrived at such a state of refinement and civilization as is indicated in these relics of ancient art. We must, therefore, I think, be compelled to entertain the probability already advanced. The question, then, to be decided is, which of the various bands of colonists were most likely to be the introducers of the precious metals. Of the Firbolgs we have only very hazy and traditionary accounts, even such do not definitely state from whence they came; the Tuath-de-Danans are even more mythic still. I think we must be obliged to fall back on the band of adventurers who, led by the sons of Mileadh came hither from Spain, subdued the previous inhabitants, and became masters of the island. O'Halloran places this event at A.M. 2736; little dependence can however be placed upon our early chronology, and all research has proved futile in fixing even an approximate date to the event. These Spanish colonists could not but have been acquainted with gold, as the country from whence they came was in ancient times prolific in the precious metals, as is stated by Aristotle, Polybius, and Strabo; now the sons of Mileadh

landed at Inbher-Sceine, supposed to be either the bay of Dingle or Kenmare, in the Co. of Kerry, in which district they first established their power, having gained their first victory at Sliabh-Mis near Tralee. It is remarkable that the people of this south-west district of Ireland have been noted for their Spanish physique, and for a special trade and intercourse with Spain from the remotest times down to a late period. It may also be noted that Sir William Wilde specially alludes to the large quantities of gold found in this south-western district contrasting with what has been found in other parts of our island ("Cat. of Gold Antiq. in the Mus. of the R. I. A.," p. 3). It will not therefore be unreasonable to conjecture, that the use of, and the art of working in the precious metals, were brought into Ireland by this people; neither will it be so, to give them the credit of having soon found the gold deposits of the country of their adoption, and of having worked them; accordingly we find that it was in the reign of Tighhearmas (as already quoted) of the race of Eremon, the son of Mileadh, that gold was first smelted in Ireland, that his *saor* or artificer was Uchadan, and that the district was the present county of Wicklow, as I have already set forth.

Now it happens that in this county gold has been extensively found. The first instance we have in reference to its existence is in Harris's edit. of Ware's Antiq., vol. i., p. 203, where it is stated, that gold had been extracted from the copper mines of this county; but it appears that gold had been for some time occasionally found by the peasantry in certain districts, and secretly sold in Dublin. In the year 1796, however, public attention was directed to large quantities of this metal having been found in the Ballinvally stream, a tributary of the Ovoca, as is detailed in Frazer's Statistical Survey of the Co. Wicklow, p. 19; that writer states, that from the latter end of August in that year, until the 24th of October, when the government took possession of the locality, the peasantry had received £10,000 for the gold they had picked up. At that time the authorities commenced working the mine, but the proceeds, £3,671, not paying the expenses, further working was abandoned; since then, however, considerable quantities have been found by the peasantry, from nuggets of con-

siderable size down to single sand grains. The Dublin jewellers, on an average, purchase yearly since that period about £2,000 worth. There is now in Trinity College Museum the cast of a nugget which weighed twenty-two ounces, one has been got of nine ounces, another of eight ounces, and in 1856 a poor labourer found a piece of six ounces. The localities where it has been thus discovered are—Crogan-Kinshella, Ballinvally, Cronebane, Crogan-Mor, Ballyteampul, Killahurlan.

It has also been stated that gold has been found in a rivulet called the Miola. Co. of Antrim, see Boates' "Natural History of Ireland," also on the estate of the Earl of Erne near Lisnaskea. A practical writer in the "Mining Journal" states, that gold is unquestionably to be found in various districts of the kingdom, both in "gosson" and in quartz; but it is a question whether it can be produced in sufficient quantity to render it a source of profitable industry"; that the diggings of Wicklow were known to the ancient Irish is therefore more than probable, and that they ceased to produce, as did the mines of old Spain, and in modern times various mines both in Australia and California. The disintegration of the granite of the Wicklow mountains, and the wearing action of their torrents and streams, will account for the revival of gold finding in modern times. Traces of ancient mining have been observed in various parts of Ireland. In a report to the Royal Dublin Society on the metallic mines of Leinster, in 1828, by Richard Griffith, Esq., there is the following passage:—

"If we may judge from the number of ancient mine excavations which are still visible *in almost every part of Ireland*, it would appear that an ardent spirit for mining adventure must have pervaded the country at *some very remote period*. In many cases no tradition that can be depended on now remains of the time or people by whom the greater part of these works was originally commenced. It is worthy of remark, that many of our mining excavations exhibit appearances similar to the surface workings *of the most ancient mines in Cornwall*, which are generally attributed to the Phœnicians."

Another geological writer in the "Transactions of the Geological Society," vol. v., p. 595, makes the following refer-

ence to the traces of ancient mining operations at Lough Lein, Killarney:—

"The vein of Mucrus has been held in high estimation in every age of which tradition has preserved any accounts. Rude and laborious traces of *ancient minings* remain in several places, and are regularly though erroneously known by the name of Danish works. Many shafts at several miles distance have been sunk, though long since filled up, of which no history gives us any relation."

In the "Historia Britonum" of Nennius, a writer of the ninth century, we have a curious reference to the mines or metalliferous riches of Lough Lein: "Loch Lein; four circles are round it, viz., a circle of tin, and a circle of lead, and a circle of iron, and a circle of copper:"—

"Est ibi stagnum quod vocatur Loch Lein, quatuor circulis ambitur. Primo circulo gronna stanni ambitur, secundo circulo gronna plumbi ambitur, tertio circulo gronna ferri, quarto circulo gronna æris ambitur, et in eo stagno multæ margaritæ inveniuntur, quas ponunt reges in auribus suis."

In Dr. Hamilton's account of "The Northern Coast of Antrim," at p. 35, he mentions the discovery of ancient mining at Ballycastle. In 1770 he writes:—

"On examining this subterranean wonder it was found to be a complete gallery which had been driven forward many hundred yards to the bed of coal: that it branched off into numerous chambers where miners had carried on their different works: that these chambers were dressed in a workmanlike manner: that pillars were left at proper intervals to support the roofs. In short it was found to be an extensive mine wrought by a set of people at least as expert in the business as the present generation. Some remains of the tools, and even of the baskets used in the works, were discovered, but in such a decayed state that on being touched they crumbled to pieces. The antiquity of the work is pretty evident from hence, that there does not remain the most remote tradition of it in the country; but it is still more thoroughly demonstrated from a natural process which has taken place since its formation; for the sides and pillars were found covered with sparry incrustations which the present workmen do not find to be deposited in any definite portion of time."

In a note to the above account the author mentions that the adit had been carried forward 450 yards and the level carefully preserved; there were thirty-six chambers discovered, which were esteemed so valuable, that they were again occupied by the workmen; some of the mining tools found were only thinly shod with iron, as if the mate-

rial had been scarce and difficult to procure among these ancient people.

In reference to the mines of Lough Lein, O'Halloran, who wrote his "Introduction to the History of Ireland," in 1803, states :—

"It is not above thirty years since a very rich copper mine was discovered on the border of this lake, and worked with very great profit to the proprietors for many years, but what is greatly to our purpose is, that in pushing on their works they found shafts had been regularly sunk and implements of mining were found. As to the lead mine, it is an uncontroverted fact, that about seventy years ago an English company worked one at Castle-Lyons on the side of the lake, and many years after the same works were resumed under the inspection of one Longstaff, from which they extracted large quantities of silver. Though the tin mine has not yet been found, nor I suppose searched for, yet Smith in his 'Nat. Hist. of Kerry,' confesses to have found near the lake an ore which contained tin; and as for the iron mines the proofs that they were largely carried on here are many, and at this day one is worked in Muckross." p. 204.

When the copper mines on Ross island were re-opened in 1804, under the inspection of Colonel Hall, that gentleman discovered the fact of their having been worked at a period very remote, and in a very rude and primitive manner, by a people probably unacquainted with the use of iron, as several large stone hammers were found; these had a groove cut round the centre, to which was probably attached the handle; one of these hammers is figured in Hall's "Ireland," vol. i., p. 240. The above facts are confirmatory of the record made by Nennius, and we must therefore conclude that these mines had been worked previous to his time.

An ancient lead mine exists at Miltown, barony of Tullow, Co. of Clare; it was re-opened by the "Royal Irish Mining Company," who after clearing out the old workings and driving a level a short distance into the north side of the mine, abandoned it after raising eleven tons of ore. In 1836 a lease of this mine was taken by John Taylor, Esq., of London, who commenced working it; "The ancient workings were now completely cleared and some rude tools discovered, such as *oaken shovels* and iron picks, the latter of an extraordinary size and weight, also the remains of fires, which had been evidently made use of to crack and

loosen the masses of calcareous spar and carbonate of lime in which the ore of this mine is chiefly imbedded."—Kane's "Industrial Resources of Ireland," p. 201.

The same authority states, that the Bonmahon Mines Co. of Waterford, had been worked by the ancient inhabitants. "One almost insulated promontory is perforated like a rabbit burrow, and is known as the Dane's island, the peasantry attributing those ancient mines, like all other relics they cannot account for, to that people. In the abandoned workings antique tools have been found, *stone hammers and chisels, and wooden shovels.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 179.

Ancient mine workings have also been discovered in the west of the Co. of Cork. In 1846, Captain Thomas, an experienced Cornish miner, while searching for copper on the lands of Derricarhoon, near Ballydehob, came on some ancient workings; a neighbouring gentleman, Mr. Swanton, communicated to the late Mr. John Windele an account of the discovery, in which he states, that they were six in number, "all parallel lodes; one was about thirty fathoms in length, and ten feet in breadth; they were found filled at bottom with rubbish, and at top were overlaid with peat in some places *to a depth of fourteen feet.*" A number of stone hammers were found in the bottom of the mine, weighing from three to seven pounds, similar to those already described as found in the old workings at Killarney; also a curious sort of tube of oak of a curved form, which was in the Dublin Exhibition in 1853, and a ladder of black oak eighteen feet long, formed of a single solid piece, having fourteen steps notched in the side—"Ulster Journal of Arch.," vol. ix. p. 213.

A glance at Sir Robert Kane's work, "The Industrial Resources of Ireland," will show the extent of the mineral wealth of Ireland to be much more than is generally supposed, as far as gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron; it is true the gold is now but sparingly procured, but he gives evidence that it was once got in greater abundance.

That the ancient Irish were acquainted with some portion of their mineral wealth is evident from what has been already advanced, and that they worked them at an exceedingly remote period is shown by the primitive nature of the tools found in their workings—stone hammers, chisels,

and oaken shovels; we can no longer be at a loss to account for the immense quantities of bronze utensils, arms, and ornaments, found in the country; they had abundance of copper at home, and tin nigh at hand in Cornwall, which county was indeed in the possession of the Irish for some time.

I have before stated, that it is probable that the first gold was imported into Ireland; our ancient bards seem to have had some idea of this being the case. In an ancient tract contained in the "Book of Ballymote" it is stated, that Iban brought gold into Ireland, and Eban idols:—

> "Iban and Eban were
> Partholan's two merchants;
> Iban was the first importer of gold,
> Eban was the first importer of idols."

I have also referred to the probability that the first gold came from Spain with the sons of Mileadh. A curious passage from a poem by "Flan na Mainstreach" is found in the authority above quoted, that directly refers to the importation of gold from Spain:—

> "Creidne, the skilful mechanic, was drowned
> In the boisterous tide of the ocean,
> While conveying gold dust
> To Ireland from Spain."
> *"Book of Ballymote."*

Before dismissing the subject of the metallurgic arts, and the use of the precious metals in Pagan Ireland, I would wish to refer to these subjects in connexion with early Christian times; the authorities for which may be considered by some as less open to criticism. I am not here going to advance as evidence the statements in the "Acta Sanctorum" of Colgan, as to the artist's workshop kept by St. Patrick, and as to the great variety of articles manufactured there—"Campana, cymbala, baculos, cruces, scrinia, capsas, pyxides, calices, discos, altariola, chrysmalia, librorumque coopertoria, quædam horum nudem, quædam verô alia auro atque argento gemmisque pretiosis circumtecta, pro amore Dei et sanctorum honore sine ullo terreno pretio ingeneosè ac mirabiliter composuit" [vid. A SS. Aug., tom. iii.]. St. Dageus, who is referred to in the above

passage, is fabled to have manufactured 300 bells, 300 pastoral staves, and written 300 copies of the Evangelists. Such statements smack more of Colgan's own time, than that of the great Apostle of the Celts, who appears to have been engaged in more weighty concerns.

There is no doubt, however, that the early Christian Church in Ireland made use of native artists for the production of such utensils as were used in the services of religion, such as the paten and chalice for the celebration of the Divine Communion, croziers, and covers or cases for those beautiful copies of the Holy Scriptures, the copying and beautifying of which was a labour of love with the primitive Christians of our native land.

Of ancient native Christian artists in metal we have recorded the names of Essa, Tasach, Fortchern of Rathaidme, MacCeacht of Domnach Arnoin, and Dageus; these lived in or about the time of St. Patrick, and are stated in the Annals of the Four Masters to be, or to have formed, a portion of his household—

> "His three smiths expert at shaping,
> Macecht, Laebhan, and Fortchern.
> His three artificers of great endownment,
> Aesbuite, Tairill, and Tasach."
>
> "*Four Masters*," A. D. 448.

The name of Conla, an artificer in gold and silver, is mentioned as having flourished in the fifth and sixth centuries (Colgan's "Tr. Th.," p. 452).

The late Mr. John Windele of Cork, in one of his admirable papers contributed to the Ulster Journal of Archæology, "On Ancient Irish Gold," has the following passage:—

"The 'Book of Armagh' (Tirechan) transcribed or written in the seventh century, describes as property devoted to the Church by Cummin and Breatan, three ingots or ounces of silver, a bar of silver, and a collar, three ounces of *old gold* of the *dishes of their ancestors*, half an ounce for their sons, half an ounce for their sheep, and they paid half an ounce for their vases (Betham's 'Irish Antiq. Researches,' p. 398). Cogitosus, a writer of the sixth century, as Colgan, Ware, O'Connor and others assert, or of the earlier part of the ninth as Dr. Lanigan thinks, describes the monuments of St. Bridget and Conlaeth at Kildare as ornamented with gold and silver gems, and precious stones, with crowns of gold and silver suspended from above ('Trias. Thaum.,' p. 523).

In the reign of Hugh (A. D. 580) the bards carried their rampant insolence so far as to claim from that monarch the golden buckle and pin which fastened the royal robes on his breast (Walker's Irish bards). Aldfred king of the Northumbrian Saxons, whilst in exile in Ireland, about the year 685, was known by the name of Flann Fiona, a name derived from his mother, the daughter of Colman, King of Meath ("Rerum. Hiber. Script. Vet.," 1, 188). He has left a poem still extant, the original of which has been published in Hardiman's "Irish Minstrelsy," ii., 372, and a translation by Dr. O'Donovan appeared in the first volume of the "Dublin Penny Journal," p. 94. In this the royal exile sings:—

"I found in every province there
Of the fair provinces in Erin
Both in Church and State
Abundant provision, much of raiment;
I found gold and silver,
I found honey and wheat."

In the ninth century St. Donatus an Irishman, a bishop of Fiesole in Italy, who died according to Camden in 840, testifies to the wealth of his native country in gems, vesture, and gold:—

"Insula dives opum gemmarum vestis et auri."

In A. D. 907, Cormac, the King-Bishop of Cashel, by his will left legacies of a large amount in gold, &c., to the principal churches in Ireland—To Armagh twenty-four ounces; Cashel twenty cups of gold, one hundred ounces of silver, &c., ("McCurtin," 93). About the same period Saxo-Grammaticus records that the Danes who had invaded this island in 879 and murdered its king Hughlet (*Hibernice* Aodh), found in the royal treasury "such a quantity of money that the victors needed not to quarrel about it, since each man had as much as he could carry." It was under the domination of this people that a capitation tax called Airgid Sron, or nose money, being an ounce of gold (uinge óir), was annually levied from each head of a family, or in default he had his nose cut off. This, if strictly true, must have amounted to an immense sum, even although

considering that, at the height of this people's power, it was never universal over the island. In the period of its decline the cruelty of this tax was avenged, although after a more humane fashion; when the Irish monarch Malachi in 988 retaliated by compelling the Danes to pay an ounce of gold for every cultivated garden which they held. This was the prince who won the "collar of gold" from Tomar the Dane, which the poet Moore has sung of in his well-known popular melody. Their exactions in the day of prosperity enabled this people to carry off immense treasures; this included the plunder of churches and monasteries where valuable church-plate always abounded; their course of indiscriminate rapine was spread over more than two centuries. Yet, notwithstanding this long and wide spread drain, enormous as we may suppose it to have been, gold was still far from scarce.

If we may credit the poet MacCoise, "chief chronicler of the Gaels," who died, according to Tighearna, in 964, gold was used in the lettering upon tomb-stones. Thus in his elegy upon his patron Fergal O'Ruairc he says:—

"Happy for thee O Cluain MacNois.
This treasure of gold which is under thy sod
Treasure of the poets of Inisfail
Feargal accustomed to impose tributes.

This red gold upon his tomb
Which was sometime since melted down upon it
Like the sun as he looks in the West
Had a brilliancy like to that sun."

See our "Journal," vol. i., new series, 341, 350.

In 1006 the great *Soisceal* or gospel of Colum Cille was stolen at night from the western erdamh of the great church of Kells. This was the principal relic of the western world on account of its cover (cumdach), and it was found after twenty nights and two months, its gold having been stolen off, and a sod over it (Four Masters, ii., p. 759). The great subduer of the northern marauders, "the exactor of tributes," was enabled to manifest his bounty and generosity by the distribution of gold; in 1004 he remained on a hosting with his army at Armagh a whole week, and at his departure he left on the great altar of the cathedral, a

collar of gold weighing twenty ounces, as alms ("Ann. Innisfallen"). At his death he bestowed upon the same church twenty ounces of gold. This monarch was buried there in 1014, and his son Donchad thereupon sent a large treasure with jewels and other offerings to the successor of St. Patrick and the clergy of Armagh ("Trias. Thaum.," 298). In 1029 Amlaff, lord of the Danes, captured by Mahon O'Riagain lord of Bregia, paid for his ransom, besides cows and horses, three ounces of gold, sixty ounces of white silver, &c., ("Ulster Journal of Arch.," vol. ix., p. 37).

I shall not extend this part of the subject any further by allusion to those objects of early Christian Celtic art which are preserved in both public and private museums, as the cumdachs or covers of books and bells and pastoral staves, some of which date from the early ages of Christianity in Ireland, and are remarkable specimens of the metallurgist's art as well as of the taste of the designers of these really beautiful works, which are richly ornamented in gold, silver, and bronze, and set with precious stones, and in some instances beautified with enamel. Now, we know that art does not grow up in one age, for how many centuries did she struggle in Europe before she produced a Giotta, a Michael Angelo, a Cellini.

The names of the artists of the fifth and succeeding centuries handed down to us are Irish, and they must have inherited the secrets and principles of their art from those who preceded them, for in those days art was hereditary in families, I mean the art of the craftsman; the fathers instructed their sons from generation to generation, and none others dare practise their craft, or intrude on their privileges. No doubt in Christian times a new impetus was given to native talent, foreign intercourse improved and varied Celtic taste, religious feeling gave it a higher tone, the result of which we see developed in those relics of early Christian art which remain to us.

I have thus endeavoured to give some idea of the state of the metallurgic arts in the pre-Christian age of Ireland's history as one element in her early civilization.

DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE ANCIENT CORPORATION OF GOWRAN—No. I.

CONTRIBUTED BY PATRICK WATTERS, ESQ.; EDITED BY JOHN G. A. PRIM.

AMONGST the Municipal Records of Kilkenny, which have long been deposited in the office of the Town Clerk, and placed in the custody of that official, there is a considerable bundle of documents connected with the Corporation of Gowran. Mr. Watters, the present efficient and widely-respected and esteemed Town Clerk—by whom the originals were exhibited at the meeting of the Association, and the transcripts are permitted to be arranged by me for publication—is quite unable to account for the circumstance of these papers and parchments, very few of which have the remotest connexion with the affairs of Kilkenny City, having been placed in the charge of his predecessors, from whom they came into his guardianship; and he can only form the supposition that, they being chiefly connected with law-suits in which the Gowran Corporation were engaged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and such suits having been occasionally tried before the Judges of Assizes in Kilkenny, the documents used at the trials may have been lodged with the Mayor, who was associated as a Justice in the Commission with the Judges, or given into the custody of the Town Clerk of the day, he also holding the office of Clerk of the Peace for the city. But this is merely conjecture. All that can be stated for certain is, that the documents exist in the repository indicated, and that they are of a nature such as renders them likely to be of interest to many members of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, as throwing some light on the history of an ancient community enjoying from a remote period down to the passing of the Municipal Reform Act the dignity of incorporation, and, before the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, sending representatives to Parliament.

A few words as to the history of the Municipality of Gowran, anterior to the period to which the documents

belong, may be suitably offered as introductory to the matters of which they treat. The town, which was once of much greater importance than at present, or than it is likely ever to be again, owes its origin to the locality having been selected for a residence by one of the ancient Kings of Ossory, and so continued by his successors, long previous to the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland. The royal rath was constructed on a site contiguous to one of the ancient roads leading from the direction of Dublin to Munster, here known as Belac Gabran, or the pass, or way, of Gabhran. A settlement grew up about the King's residence, and was termed the Baile (corrupted into *bally*), i. e. the town, as the road on which it stood was the Belac, and Ballygauran, Ballygawran, or Ballygaveran, was the usual name by which the town was known for centuries, till, as it began as simply Gabhran, so it became again modernly abbreviated once more into Gowran. It was obviously one of the chief seats of the King of Ossory, as from it he was frequently designated King of Gabhran. Throughout the Book of Rights he is generally so termed. We are told that amongst the "stipends of the King of Caiseal to the kings of his territories," there was an allowance of "ten steeds, and ten drinking horns, and ten swords, and ten shields, and ten scings, and two rings, and two chess-boards to the King of Gabhran." And again—

"The stipend of the King of fair[1] Gabhran
From the King of great and Merry Munster,
A pleasing distinction in his crowded house,
This King is entitled to sit by his side.
And at the time he [Caiseal] goes to his own [Gabhran's] house,
He [Gabhran] is entitled to a steed and trappings too,
And of the number who go [with Caiseal] eastward,
A steed and dress for every man."—(pp. 69, 85).

[1] The term "fair" applied here to Gabhran, may have been used only by the poet to make out the complement of his line. In another portion of the Book of Rights, the poet gives it a different descriptive title:—

"Ten steeds to the King of blue Gabhran,
From the King of Dala, and ten drinking horns."

Probably this description was applied from the hilly district, modernly known as the Johnswell mountains, which was termed Bealach Gabhran, having appeared of a blue colour, as distant eminences always do to those looking at them from afar off. Cormacan Eigeas, chief poet of the North of Ireland, applies another descriptive appellation to the place, in tracing in the year 942, the journey made the year before by Muircheartach MacNeill, prince of Aileach, for the purpose of taking hostages from

After the Anglo-Norman invasion, the district came to be the property of Theobald FitzWalter, the ancestor of the Ormonde family, who attended King Henry II. hither, and assisted that monarch in reducing a portion of the country, receiving for his services several grants of lands, and, in 1177, the office of Chief Butler of Ireland. Some time before his death, which occurred in 1206, he gave a charter of incorporation to his "free burgesses of Baligaueran,"[1] endowing them with a considerable grant of lands for commonage, which I shall have occasion to show hereafter their successors appear to have retained the full enjoyment of down to the first quarter of the seventeenth century at least. Theobald, and those of his family who followed him for some descents in the Lordship of Gowran,

the native chiefs who were most likely to oppose his succession to the throne of Tara:—

"A night we passed at Bealach Mughna;
We did not wet our fine hair;
The snow was on the ground before us
In the noisy Bealach Gabhran."

The late Dr. O'Donovan, in "The Circuit of Ireland, by Muircheartach MacNeill," which he edited for the Irish Archæological Society (Tracts Relating to Ireland, vol. i., 1841, page 39), remarks that the meaning of the epithet glonach, noisy, applied to Bealach Gabhran, is not clear, "unless it alludes to the shouts or clamours of the inhabitants." This is likely to be the correct solution; for, as the prince of Aileach was married to Dubhdara, daughter to Kellach, king of Ossory, he would naturally be received with acclamations by the people on arriving within his father-in-law's territories. The name of Gabhran seems to be derived from *gabhar*, the Irish for a horse—still popularly applied in the form of *garran* to an old "screw" or worn-out horse. The hilly portion of the present barony of Gowran, may, in some of its ridges, have presented to the eye of observers in time remote the appearance of gabra, horses. In the Book of Rights (page 213), amongst the stipends of the sons of Feidhlimidh Fir Urghlais, we find—

"Eight steeds to the Ui Drona of Ceann Gabhra
From the hand of the king, with good profit."

Dr. O'Donovan appends a note to this—"*Ceann Gabhra*," i. e., head of the horse. This name, which was evidently that of some remarkable hill in 'Idrone,' is unknown to the editor." It may be presumed to be the head or extremity of the Johnswell range, running up to Idrone. In "The Circuit of Ireland" (page 55), the poet, Cormacan Eigeas, has a stanza which shows that the *beallagh*, or road of Gabhran, was through a hilly country. Apostrophizing Sabia, or Sabina, whom Dr. O'Donovan supposes to have been the wife of Kellach, king of Ossory, and mother of the Queen of Aileach, he exclaims—

"Sabia of Ballagh-Gabhran, district of Glens,
Has surpassed the women of Erin
In chastity, in wisdom, in purity,
In giving, in bestowing."

But the name must have extended to the neighbouring plain on the Ossory side, as the town of Gowran is some distance from the hills. Mr. John Hogan has suggested to me that, in the townlands of Rathgarvan and Dungarvan, the first situated northwest, and the latter southwest of the town of Gowran, and both in the plain, we have evidence of the ancient name of the district still being retained in connexion with remarkable local features. There is every reason to consider this conjecture well founded.

[1] The charter is given by Carte, in his Life of the Duke of Ormonde, vol. i., introduction, p. xvii. It is not dated, nor is the place of its repository stated. If it was in Carte's time preserved in the Evidence Chamber of Kilkenny, it must have subsequently been removed.

we must suppose to have had a residence there, although they had many others in various parts of Ireland and England; but it probably was but the rath of the ancient Celtic chieftains, which their Anglo-Norman successors had adapted to the purposes of an occasional dwelling, and a fortress suited to their time, for it was James, the Third Earl of Ormonde, who built a castle at Gowran; and, before he made the purchase of Kilkenny Castle in 1391, having used it as his general residence, was "commonly called Earl of Gowran." In Gowran Castle he died in 1405, and was buried in Gowran Church, as had previously been his grandfather, James, First Earl of Ormonde, in 1337, and his great grandfather, Edmond le Botiller, Earl of Carrick, in 1321. Being a frontier town[1] of the English settlement of the county Kilkenny—neighbouring the hostile Irish septs of the Kavanaghs and O'Nowlans, and more immediately the O'Rians of Idrone, and the branch of the same sept inhabiting the district of Farran O'Rian, situated between Gowran and Graiguenamana, in the locality of Ullard—it was necessarily a place of some strength. In connexion with the incursions from "the Irish enemy" which it was obliged to sustain, and was apparently not always able effectually to resist, the charter of incorporation, given to the burgesses by Theobald FitzWalter, received a royal confirmation. King Henry V., in 1414, made it a grant, which recited that "The town of Balygaveran, in the county of Kilkenny, in the marshes of the said county, is situated far from any English aid, surrounded by Irish

[1] Previous to the Anglo-Norman Invasion, Gowran was also on the frontier of the Irish principality of Ossory. One of the "five prohibitions of the king of Munster," was "To hold a border meeting at Gabhran" (Book of Rights, pp. 5, 17). Gowran was the scene of some ancient battles fought thus on the frontier of Ossory to prevent the marching of hostile princes through that territory by the road, known as Bealach Gabhran. In A.D. 754 "The battle of Gabhran [was gained] by Anmchaidh, over the Leinstermen." A.D. 756, "The battle of Bealach Gabhrain [was fought] between the men of Leinster and Osraighe [Ossory], in which the son of Cucerca had the victory, and Donngal, son of Laidhgnen, Lord of Ui-Ceinsealaigh, and other chieftains along with him, were slain." A.D. 868, "The plundering of Leinster by Aedh Finnliah, from Ath-cliath to Gabhran." A.D. 893. "An army was led by the Deisi, the foreigners, and Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, over Osraighe, as far as Gabhran, where Maelmordha, son of Maelmhuaidh, and a great number of others along with him, were slain." A.D. 901, "An army was led by Flann, son of Maelseachlainn, and by Cearbhall, son of Muireagan; and they plundered from Gabhran to Luimneach." *i. e.* from Gowran to Limerick. (O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 357, 359, 513, 551, 563).

enemies who have lately burned it and destroyed the lieges in it, and daily threaten to do so again,"[1] for which reason he conferred on the burgesses and commons the privilege that they and their successors, in aid of surrounding their town with a stone wall, paving their streets, and other necessary works, should take such tolls and customs as were taken in the town of Kilkenny by royal charter, for the space of forty years, rendering all accounts thereof before the Earl of Ormonde, and not to the Treasury. Some other royal recognitions of the Corporation of Gowran followed. By an exemplification under the Petty Seal of Chancery, on behalf of "the portrife, commons, and inhabitants of the town of Gowran, in the county of Kilkenny," including a certain order or ordinance passed by Sir James Crofte, Knight, late Lord Deputy, and others, then of the King's Council in this realme, bearing date the 25th November, in the sixth year of Edward VI., it appears that it had been ordered that thenceforth the said town and the inhabitants therein dwelling should remain clearly exonerated, disburthened, and discharged from bearing or being contributory, with the rest of the county of Kilkenny, for any cess or cesses that should be levied on that county, and remain clear and free from all such, in as large and ample manner as the towns of Kilkenny and Thomastown then remained free. And, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, this grant was recited in and ratified by a certain "concordatum" or order, "by the Lord Deputie and Counsell," given at Kilkenny, the 5th of February, 1566. But Gowran's most important Charter was received from King James I., in 1608, whereby the corporate body received the title of "The Portrive, Chief Burgesses, and Freemen of the Towne and Borough of Gowran." The preamble of the Charter sets out that—

"Whereas the town of Gowran, in the county of Kilkenny, is seated

[1] Just a century previously, during the Lent of 1316, Gowran was taken by Edward Bruce with his army of Scotch and Ulstermen, and although the fact is not stated, there can be little doubt that he burned and destroyed the town in every possible way, as he had done with other places along his line of march. He would have a particular motive for doing any injury in his power to Gowran, as it was a manor belonging to Edmond le Boteler, Earl of Carrick (father of the nobleman who received the title of Earl of Ormonde), who was governor of Ireland at the time, and in command of the opposing army for the king of England.

in the high and thorough way from the province of Munster to Dublin, and is and hath been, by reason of the commodious situation thereof, like to prove a place of great importe and consequence, both for our service and the safety of our subjects residing in the county of Kilkenny; and whereas the inhabitants of the said towne, as we are informed, have been true and loyall to the Crown of England, and as well in the late rebellion as in other comotions in the former times, did relive our garrisons and such of our armyes as were occasioned to travill that way, in which times of disorder, alsoe, the inhabitants aforesaid have performed many good services with the losse of their blood, as we are likewise informed; and now, as we understand, by reason of the former troubles and rage of the late plague,[1] the said towne is greatly damaged and dispeopled, which probably will be the better recovered and repaired again if the same be newly encorporated, and the franchises thereof enlarged—whereupon humble suite made unto us in the behalf of the inhabitants of the said towne, know ye, that we, by the advise and consent of our right trusty and well-beloved Councilor, Sir Arthur Chichester, Knight, our Deputy General of our said realme of Ireland do ordaine, and by this our present charter, give and grant unto the said inhabitants of the said town of Gowran, that the said town or place called Gowran, in the county of Kilkenny, shall from henceforth be called the Town or Borough of Gowran, and that there shall be a Corporation and Body Pollitique made and constituted of the inhabitants of the said town, and the same to consist of one Portrive, twelve chief Burgesses, and so many as are now free and inhabiting in or of the said town and borough, and of so many freemen as the said Portrive and Burgesses for the time being amongst themselves shall hereafter think fitt to choose or admitt, according as the multitude of inhabitants shall increase and grow from time to time. And to the end it may appear to Posteritie that the said Corporation is now upon this new Establishment thereof, made and compounded of civil and honest persons, We, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, by the advice aforesaid, do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, make, ordaine, constitute, and appoint our well-beloved Nicholas Hackett to be Portrive of the said towne of Gowran, for the first year, beginning from the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, last passed before the date hereof; and doe likewise make and constitute Gabriel Everarde, David Archer, John Nashe, Redmond Nashe, John Swayne, Edmond Staunton, Thomas Kealy, William Raghtor, Richard Swayne, Melchior Staunton, Edward Walshe, and Thomas Staunton, to be freemen and Chief Burgesses of the said towne and Borough of Gowran, and to be of the Common Council of the said town and Borough; and such to be freemen and to exercise free trade and traficque in the said town as are now freemen, or exercising free trade or traficque, or now inhabiting in the said town and Borough, and such others as the said Portrive and chief Burgesses, for the time being, shall from time to time admit or receive into the freedom of the said town."

[1] King James, no doubt, entertained a very disagreeable recollection of this plague, which ravaged London in 1603, and struck terror into the Court. In the autumn of 1604 the pestilence had reached Kilkenny, as appears by the municipal records both of that city and the adjoining borough of Irishtown, and it was probably at the same period that it thinned the population of Gowran.

The Charter further made provision for enabling persons of one trade to unite themselves into guilds or fraternities, and gave power for the election of an efficient person, learned in the laws, to be Recorder and Town Clerk; the Portreeve to have the right, with the consent of the greater part of the chief Burgesses, to substitute in his absence some discreet and substantial person, being one of their body, to act as his Vice-Portreeve; he, or in his absence, the Vice-Portreeve, to be a Justice of the Peace and quorum within the boundary and limits of the town; and also to be Coroner, Clerk of the Market, and "Master of the Say." Under this Charter, too, as being constituted a borough, a writ was issued to the Portreeve and Burgesses to send two representatives to the Parliament summoned by the King to meet in Dublin Castle on the 18th May, 1613, and they accordingly elected two of their Councilmen, Thomas Staunton and John Swayne, for that purpose.

The Corporation of Gowran seem to have had a full perception of the increased importance of their position under this Charter; and it would appear that, immediately upon its obtainment, or even before its actual issue—when the arrangements for the making of the grant had been settled with the Lord Deputy—they began to resist the demands made by the officers of the Lord of the Manor for the olden dues and customs claimed from times remote, as his right to levy from the inhabitants of his seignory—the Lord in this case being Thomas, the tenth Earl of Ormonde, the representative of the original patron and incorporator of the Burgesses, and whose lands, with which he had endowed them for commonage, they were still in full possession and enjoyment of. These exactions, however, were exceedingly oppressive, and were chiefly derived from the old Irish usage, and discountenanced by English law. Henry VIII. and Elizabeth had issued commissions, before which the lieges of various counties and boroughs in the south-east of Ireland were invited to declare their grievances as regarded the exactions of the nobles; and the presentments made, in consequence, have been printed in the "Annuary" of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. In the "Verdyt of the Corporacon of the Town of Irishtoune," in 1537, the grievances

of the inhabitants of Gowran are set out[1]—the chief of which was that the Earl of Ormonde "Dothe at his pleasure charge all the towne of Garon [Gowran] and all the countie of Kilkenny, with coyne and lyverey, as well as his tenauntes." Under the first James and Charles, also, the inhabitants of the Irish towns received the fullest encouragement to endeavour to shake off the burthens thus imposed upon them by the feudal lords of their respective districts, not only because that the royal exchequer was replenished by the sums which the various Corporations paid for the granting of additional privileges by new Charters from the Crown, but also because the Government of the period being engaged in straining the royal prerogative to the utmost, it was its policy to endeavour to obtain popularity with the trading classes, by curbing the nobles in the abuse of the privileges which they claimed to enjoy from olden time, of levying exactions on various pretences from their tenants and neighbours. The portion of the Gowran documents, exhibited by Mr. Watters to the Association, which I propose to print at present, shows the Portreeve and Burgesses engaged in appealing to the Lord Deputy and Council against the distraints made by the Earl of Ormonde's constable at Gowran Castle, under the plea of levying the manorial customs.

There would appear to have been two petitions, embodying the same complaint of the Corporation, forwarded to the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, early in the year 1608, on either of which, strange to say, a different order was made on the same day. The following is one of the memorials referred to :—

"To the Right honorable the Lo: Deputie. The Humble Petition of the Portrieve, Burgf, & Comons of the Toune of Gourrā, in the coun' of Kilkeny.

"Complayning that one David Archer, of the same, gentleman, Constable to the Erle of Ormond & Ossory, in the Castle of Gourrā, and one David

[1] See "The Social State of the Southern and Eastern Counties of Ireland in the Sixteenth Century: Being the Presentments of the Gentlemen, Commonalty and Citizens of Carlow, Cork, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, and Wexford, made in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth," forming the Annuary of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland for the years 1868 and 1869; page 132. Many "Irish exactions" are therein charged against the Earl of Ormonde.

Ohikie, yeomā, in Awgest last, came to Gourran aforesaid, & tooke away w^th^ them two bras pottes, one pann, & a gerron, price all ten poundes ster. of the goods of the Inhabitauntes of the said Towne, and the same ever sethence dothe detein, for a certain vnlawfull demandes of meat and drink by ways of Cvnys & Livery,[1] & for Sumner othes called the oethes of the great horss,[2] being meere Irish exactiones, and abolishid by the lawes of the Realme; Whearfore, & forasmuche as such vnlawfull Demanndes wer never paid by yo^r^ Suppliantes but by Cohercion, y^t^ would please yo^r^ Lp. aswell to comaunde the Deffend^ts^ to restore the said goodes as to Inhibit the Deff^dts^ vpon apain nott to disturbe yo^r^ Supliantes w^th^ anny the like extortions, vntill they shall recover the same by som course of law. And the poore Playntifs will pray, &c."

The other memorial I give here also, as it supplies the names of the inhabitants upon whom the distress was levied, and some further particulars of interest :—

"To the Right Hō^ble^ the Lo: Deputie and Councell. The humble Petitiĉon of the Portriff, Burgesses, & Coñons of the Toune of Gaurane, in the Counti of Kilkeny.

"Humblie complayning shewethe to yo^r^ Hō^rs^ yo^r^ Petitioners, where one David Archer, of the said Toune, Gent., and one David O'Heikie, hosboy, distrayned in August last, uppon one Melcher Stantone, John Nashe, of the said Gawran burgesses, and Cono^r^ o'Brinan, Fearmer, and tooke from theme tou brass Pottes, a pane, & a plowe garrane, supposed to be worthe tenn Poundes ster: and that Distresses dothe sithence detayne under collo^r^ of unlawful exactions as coinow—vizt., horsmeat and mansmeat, wth many other such like barbarous customes, whereof yo^r^ suppl was by severall comaundem^ts^, as well in yo^r^ Lo: tyme as before, redie to be showne, grounded uppone sevrall concordatms, disonerated. It may therefor please yo^r^ ho: Lop to addresse yo^r^ expresse coñanndm^ts^ to the aforesaid Archer, çomaundinge him therby either to make present restitutione to yo^r^ suppl of the said Distresses, or refusing so to do to make their indelayed apparence to answer & sho good cause to the contrary. And they shall pray."

It may be noted here, that the David Archer against whom these complaints were levelled was himself actually a member of the Corporation of Gowran, his being the second name on the list of those, as already given above, who were by the Charter of King James constituted the first chief Burgesses and Common Council of the town;

[1] Coyne and livery, an Irish exaction.

[2] One of the grievances of the inhabitants of Gowran set out in the verdict of the Corporation of Irishtown, in 1587, was—"*Item*, they doo present that my Lord of Ostery (the Earl of Ormonde and Ossory), doth in the tyme of Lente levie and take of his tenauntes and all other inhabitauntes within the said countie, otes for his horses, without paieng anything therefoe." See "Annuary" for 1868-9, page 133.

but, doubtless, he was more largely interested in discharging the duties of his office of Constable of Gowran Castle, under the Earl of Ormonde, than in aiding his fellow-burgesses to resist the exactions enforced in the name and for the profit of the Lord of the Manor. On the first of the petitions the following was the order made :—

"The 28th of April, 1608.

"The defendts are required to restore the distrsses in the bill mentioned to the inhabitantes of Goran, and to forbeare to molest or troble them for anie such vnlawfull exaction, yf they can not shewe sufficient reason before vs at the Councell table why they should doe it; wch they are required to doe in defaulte of performinge our order in this behalfe, by the beginings of the next tearme.

"Arthur Chichester."

On the second petition the ensuing order, of a different nature, was made, under exactly the same date :—

"The 28th of Aprill, 1608.

"Refd to the Examination and Order of the Sheriffe of that Countie, or the next Justice of the Peace adioyninge.

"Arthur Chichester."

To both these documents the signature of the Lord Deputy is in autograph. The first order is that which was most probably acted upon, for an attachment was issued against Archer and his assistant in the levying of the distress, in consequence of their not having attended to the directions of the Lord Deputy and Council therein set forth. The original attachment is amongst the bundle of Gowran papers in the Kilkenny Town Clerk's office, and a copy may as well be here supplied :—

"By the Lo: Deputie.

"These are to will and desire yu repayer to the dwellinge houses of the psons hearevnder written, and them and everie of them to atach and bringe before vs, aswell to answer to the compt of the Portrefe, Burgesses, and Comās of the Towne of Gorran, as theire contempte in that behalfe mad. Hereof fayle you not, and for yr doeinge this shalbe yor warrant. Geven at his Mats Castle of Dublin, this 4th of June, 1608.

"Davyd Archer, Cunstable to the Earle of Ormond, in the Castle of Goran, David Hykye.

"Afidauit is mad and entered.

"To anie of his Mats pursevantes to whome it shall apptaine."

The blank in the document is caused by its having been worn at the fold, the "pursevant" charged with its execution having seemingly kept it for a considerable time in his pocket. A letter addressed to the Portreeve by the father of the person who had thus been employed to serve the attachment on Archer and O'Hickie, affords a curious glimpse of the state of things which resulted at home in the little borough, whilst the case was proceeding in the Castle Chamber in Dublin. We must suppose the Constable was terribly incensed at the course adopted by the Corporation in resistance of the Lord of the Manor's alleged rights, if the allegations in this epistle were well founded :—

"Good M^r^ Portrif, vnderstanding yo^r^ resolucon to remove my sonn out of yo^r^ prison, and to send him for Kilkenny iaile, I thought it fiete to coñend this to yo^r^ consideracon or ever yo^u^ doe so: ffirst, you all know that my sonn servid my Lo: Deputies warrant, vppon w^ch^ David Arch^r^ sent his sonn in law, who was in the said warrant, for a S^r^giant, and arrestid my sonn on an action of debt of twentie nobles ster; and so he was therbie in the rest of yo^r^ S^r^geant, and so to remaine vntill he founde sufficient suerties to answ^r^ the said debt. Then aft^r^ xxiiij howers imprisonment, the said Arch^r^ being ashamed of that fowle act of wrongfull and false arrest, knowing that my sonn had never to bargin or deale with him for on single penny, devised a new mat^r^, and challengid my sonn to wrestle w^th^ him self in the midst of the streate, whose milde aunse^r^ of deniall yo^u^ best know that hard it, and imediatly vppon his deniall did moste rashly cach a pap^r^ booke, and swore before yo^u^ that he was a frede of his lief, goods, and all that he had; how liekly this is to be trew, I refer it to yo^r^ self, and all donn of malice and in pollicie to detaine him in prison, y^t^ he maie not appere before my lo: Deputie to show his grevaunce there, I praie yo^u^ rememb^r^ the first action whereon he was comittid, and vntille he is acquittid or found giltie thereof that y^u^ suffer him not to be removid on the second arrest, as yo^u^ will answ^r^ the contrarie. And so in all haste I leave yo^u^ to God^e^ goov^r^mt this p^r^sent Sat^r^daie,

"Your wor^p^ to be comandied,

"He: Gwyllym."

We have hitherto only had the manorial officials on the stage, but the next document in point of date serves to show that they were not acting without warrant from their superior. We have an attested copy—all the previous documents are originals—of a letter, from Thomas, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, addressed to the Serjeant of the Manor, directing him to take steps for the collection of his "ancient customes" there. There is no allusion to what

had occurred already in connexion with the matter, but the letter was probably written with the view of its being seen by the Portreeve and Burgesses, under the impression that under such circumstances they would discontinue their resistance to those levies. Earl Thomas, who had taken a prominent part in the government of Ireland under Queen Elizabeth, and was a special favourite of the Queen, to whom he was distantly related through the Bolleyn family, was at this time very far advanced in years, had lost his sight, and had ceased to take part in the administration of public affairs, so that the Lord Deputy is not likely to have entertained such consideration for the old nobleman as he would have commanded from the royal representative in Ireland a short time previously.[1] However, here is his letter:—

"James Waton, where sut of neyn reaping hookes, and other ancient customes & dueties are due & answerable unto me by the Portereve & Burgess^{e} of the Towne of Gawrā, according as the same, tyme beyond the memorie of man, was paid unto my ancesto^{rs}, Thies are to will and auctoriz yo^{u}, as my S^{r}jant of my Mano^{r} of Gawrā afor said, to take upp for me and to my use all my said auncient customes and duties. And such of the said Burgess^{e} or Inhabitants of Gawrā as shall resist to pay the same, to take his or ther distres for refusing to the double value of the demand & those distreses to putt into the Castle of my said Mano^{r}, ther to be kept saulf untill I be satisfied for my said auncient customes & dueties, as heretofore my self & my ancest^{ors} have been. Faill nott her of, and for yo^{r} doing herein this shalbe yo^{r} war^{ra}. Dated at Carrick, the xxviiith of September, 1608.

"Thomas Ormond Oss."

"Copia vera."

Fortified with this missive from a nobleman whose will once was law throughout Ireland, the manorial officials at Gowran would seem to have set at naught all previous

[1] It seems certain, however, that if the petitions of the Portreeve and Burgesses of Gowran stated truthfully the nature of the exactions which were being enforced by the officials of the Earl of Ormonde, the Lord Deputy would not only be warranted but might be considered even bound to interpose, for on the 30th June, 1569, as appears by an entry on the Irish Council Book, temp. Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth, an order was received from the latter Queen by the Lord Deputy of the day, "to take measures to free the Earl of Ormonde's lands, in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, from all cesses, other than royal subsidies, in the consideration of his abandoning *certain taxes, which he had been accustomed to raise off the inhabitants, for his personal expenses:* but allowing him to receive victuals for his house, at the Queen's rate of payment:" ("Annuary" of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, for the years 1868 and 1869, page 92, *note*).

injunctions and attachments from Dublin Castle, and proceeded to make new distresses for their alleged "unlawful exactions." We have the result in the ensuing memorial from the Gowran Corporation :—

"To the right ho^ble the Lo. Deputy.

"Humblie maketh peticõn to yo^r ho^ble ỉp Richard Hackett, Portrefe of Gaurane, in the behaulfe of himselfe and the poore inhabitants of the saied towne, that wheare they have exhibited compỉt to yo^r lp heretofore against Davyd Archer, Constable to the right ho^ble the Earle of Ormonde, of the Castle of Gaurane aforesaied, for taking of Distresses vppon pretence of certeine horssemeat, cuiny for horsse boyes, and other vnlawfull exactions demanded by him of yo^r poore peticõers in right of his office of Constableshippe, and that it pleased yo^r ỉp to sende Direction therevppon to the said David, not onlie to restore the said Distresses, but to forbeare from such vexacõn vntill the right of the said Demand weare tryed, w^ch Direction the saied David did disobey, vppon affidavit wheareof an attachment was graunted, with further commandment to the Sherife to restore the said Distresses, which, as touching the restitucõn, is in parte performed; since which tyme one Terrelagh fitz Thomas, a man of the saied Earles, with one Sheary O'Loughlyn, by procurement of the said David, as seemeth, vpon Sonday Last, late in the evening and after sonnsett, came vnto the lands of Gauran aforesaied, and tooke from thence soñ cowes belonging to soñ of yo^r poore peticõners, not declaring to the coweherde vppon what occasion, but, as is pretended, for the saied vnlawfull exacõne; whearefore the saied Terrellagh, being neither knowen nor the cause of the takeing of the cowes being by him disclosed, the coweherd, thincking that they weare taken by way of spoyle, did rayse the hugh and crye, by occasion wheareof soñ of yo^r peticõers did pursue the saied Cattle, and with much trouble and travell recovered them, soñ seaven or eight myles distance from Gaurane aforesaid, on the morrowe, and tooke the said Shearye prysoner, whoe was sent by the saied Portreve with his mittim^s to Edwarde Rooth of Kyllkenny, being marshall of the shire gaole; and the saied marshall refused to take the prisoner to his warde, excusing him selfe that the late Charter of encorporacõn graunted vnto yo^r peticoneřs, which maketh the Portrefe of the saied Towne for the tyme being Justice of peace, was not published at the Last Assisses, wheare the same did not passe for six or seaven wyckes after the saied Assisses, which is but a practize to overthrowe the poore estate of yo^r supỉts w^h were honorably respected by yo^r ỉp in graunting of the said Charto^r. In tender consideracõn whcareof, yo^r supỉts Doe moste humblỉ praye that if the saied Davyde Archer shall appeare vppon the said attachment, that he may be punished for his contempt and soñ course taken to restraine both hym and others not to molest yo^r peticõners for the saied wrongfull exacõne vntill the right shalbe censured at this honorablẽ table. And that yo^r ỉp alsoe will be pleased to give warrante for the comyttment of the saied Terrellagh and Sheary to answeare the said fact at the next assizes. And they according theire bounden Dutie will praye, &c."

The following was the order made by the Lord Deputy on the foregoing, the signature being in autograph :—

"26 of November, 1608.

"We have lately referred this matter to be determined at the next Assizes, & yf any distresses have bene taken since o^r last order for restitutiõ, we require the sherife that the same be p^sently restored, & that no other distresse be taken for that cause till the Assizes, & for the contempt of David Archer, yf the same shalbe proved before the Justice of Assize, we require them to se him punished, & we coñand the gealer of the Coũtie to take notice of ye portrefe, beinge a Justice of peace.

"ARTHUR CHICHESTER."

It may be supposed that the foregoing order was put into effect, and matters as regarded the suit of the plaintiffs remained so pending the Assizes, which would not take place till the following spring; but, in the meantime, towards the close of 1608—it is scarcely necessary to say that we must follow the arrangement of dates according to the "old style," when the year ended on the 25th March—we have a short document, from which the inference is deducible that Archer, and his fellow manorial officials, filed a bill in the Star Chamber, not merely in justification of themselves as an answer to the complaints brought against them, but making charges against the Corporation of Gowran. The following is a transcript of an attested copy :—

"By the Lo. Chancelo^r.

"I require the Cleark of the Starr Chamber to bringe vnto me the bill preferrid in that Court against certain poore men of the Towne of Gowran, that I may Consider therof, according to the Lo. Deputies Reform^t Directed to me in that behalf. Given at S^t. Pulchere this sixt of ffebruary, 1608.

"THO: DUBLIN: CANC^r.

"To Anthony Staughton, Esquire,

"Cleark of the Castell Chamber."

"Copia vera."

What may have been the counter charges of the Constable of the Castle against the Corporation, we have no information; but it would seem that as the period for holding the Assizes approached, the Portreeve and Burgesses became apprehensive as to a change of venue. They probably feared that a tribunal sitting in Kilkenny would be disposed to favour the chief lord of the district, and, per-

haps the allegation put forward in the following memorial, as to their inability to procure the aid of Counsel, was but an excuse for seeking to have the case removed for decision to the Court of Castle Chamber, in Dublin :—

"To the Right Honr̃able the Lo: Deputie.

"The Humble Petition of the Portreffe of Gouran,

"Declaring where yo^r lp. haue been pleased to referr to the Lo. Justices of Assizes, in the Countie of Kilkeny, a demaunde of certain Irish exactiones p^rtended to be due, by the Constable of the Castle of Gawran, vpon the Inhabitaunts of the said Toune. For asmuch as the said poor Inhabitauntes have no Councell in that p̃te to repose vpon, and that the Councell retained by them doe vsually attend here in Tearme tyme yo^r Sup̃l therfore dothe moste humbly pray that the contraversie may be ended either befor yo^r Lp. at the Councell Table, or be referred to the Judges the next Tearm, when the said poore Inhabitauntes wilbe reddy to attend the same by Atoney instructed in that behalf. And they shall pray, &c."

The Lord Deputy's order on this was as follows :—

"14 of February, 1608.

"Referred to the Lo^e. Cheife Justice who in his circute can best judge whether the petitioners can have indifferencie in the Country, & yf any iust impediment thereof shall appeare to him; then we require that the cause be remitted hether.

"Arthur Chichester."

And here we have the report of the Chief Justice, as requested, which is endorsed on the Lord Deputy's order :—

"xvij Die Marcii, 1608.

"The Portreeve of Gawran doth refuse to retaine any learned Councell or to have the cause heard this assizes wherefore I leave the same to the consideracon of the Right Hon^ell the Lo: Deputy.

"H. Winche."

Whether the proceedings in this case ever went further, I find nothing amongst Mr. Watters' bundle of Gowran papers to show. But whatever may have occurred during the two ensuing years, it would seem that in 1611 there were new distresses by the Constable of the Castle, and a new suit instituted by the Portreeve and Burgesses of Gowran. We have only one document connected with this matter, but it refers to a previous award made in the same year, in the case.

"To the Right Hoble the Lo: Deputie. The humble Petiton of the Portreffe & Commons of Gawran.

"Declaring that whear yor Lp. and the Counsell graunted Direcon, vpon peticon exhibited the last Tearm by yor Suplts requiring one David Archer, Constable of the Castell of Gawran, and Jamis Waton, Srgiant to the Earle of Ormonde, of his said manor of Gawrā, to restore somm distreses taken by them from yor Suplts for Irysh & vnlawfull exacions, & that the said direcn was shewed to the said David and Jamis, whoe, notwthstanding, refused to restore the said Distresses, & as yett doe detein them. Yor Suplts therefore doe most humbly beseech yor Lp. either to graunt an atachmt against the said David and Jamis to answer for their said Contempt, or that yor Lp. wilbe pleased by warrant to comande the Sherife to tak order for restitution of the said distresses, the rather for that yor Supliantes are reddy to pform the ordrs taken by the Lo. Wailsh and others vppon yor Lps references in this contrav̄sie.

"And they will pray, &c.

"Copia vera."

The order on this memorial is signed not only by the Lord Deputy, but by the Privy Council at large:—

"3° Junij 1611.

"If the pties complayned of in this peticon have nott according or formr directiones of the 6 of May last deliver'd the distresses, we hereby comaund them, and either of them, wthout delay to restore the same, wch yf they do nott vpon sight hereof, then we comaund the Sherif of the County to see the said distresses deliv̄d wthout delay, or to deliv̄ to the peticoners so much of the defedts goods as mey contervaile ther distresses, and wthall to require the said Defers to apeer before vs wthin tenn dayes after sight herof to answer their contempt in that behalf.

"Arthur Chichester.

"Tho: Dublin: Canc.	Fraunces Barkley.
Tho: Ridgway.	Frances Angier.
John Denham.	Adam Loftes."

"Copia vera."

We have no document to inform us as to the result of the suit, but there can be very little doubt that the proceedings terminated in the Lord of the Manor being compelled to abandon all claims which could be shown to be in the nature of "barbarous Irish exactions." The following schedule of the manorial customs of Gowran was doubtless furnished to the Court in the progress of the proceedings, but it bears no date:—

"*A Note of the Dewties and coustomes dew upon the inha of the Towne of Gouran unto the Castell of s^d Man loweth videlicett.*

"Imprimes The Burgesses and commones of Gaura suett of Court with all frayes strayes and stu

Itm. To the Seutt of the Mill and also for drough Stones upon ther owne charges and also for t ing clene of the Pound.

Itm. They are also to pay one choyse beste once in t

Itm. They are to pay xxiiii Gallons of Beare once in

Itm. One Pottell of the best aquavita.

Itm. Upon every forren[1] in Gauran vii^d ste^r once in t

Itm. Everie forren in Gauran wch hath a Garran or a to give what strangth he hath unto the Cas licet one dayes plowing in whett harvest, plowing in barly or otten harvest.

Itm. Every forren in Gauran wch hath a Garran or pl give one Garranes labor once in the year, vi harvest to drawe corn or haye.

Itm. Every forren is to give one reping hooke once i ficient man to reape wth the same.

Itm. Every forren is to give and bring into the Castel Lo: doth come one sufficient fagott.

Itm. Every Butcher of the Towne of Gauran is to Gauran when they doe kill or slay any best for tooe shillings ste^r.

All these Dewties and Costomes hath bin pa Archer, Constable of the Castell of Gauran, and to m

[Endorsed] "Dutys payable to the Constabl Gowran."

Whatever manorial "duties and cus deemed to come within the forbidden " exactions,"[2] we may presume the official Ormonde continued to levy, and it must b out the claim being resisted. The last Gowran bundle at the Kilkenny Town Cl

[1] *i. e.* every foreigner. Inhabitants not admitted to the freedom of the borough, were esteemed as, and termed, "foreigners."

[2] The "verdyt of the Corporacon of the Towne of Irishtoune," in 1537, opens thus:—"First, constable of the T dothe daily cha the said towne v 4 men appointe See "Annuary"

ing on the subject, shows the Ormonde Seneschal arranging for the holding of a Court Leet there, in the name of the King and the Lord of the Manor, even in the midst of the social convulsion which had commenced three years previous to its date. It is as follows:—

"Yo" are hereby to warne all the Inhabitants and free Suto" of the Mannor of Gowran and the deamegne thereof to be and appeare before me on Munday, beinge the 2d of December next, at y^e^ hower of 9 o'clock in y^e^ forenoone, that they may doe suite and service to y^e^ Courte leete there, to be held for his Ma^ie^ and the Lord of the leete, whereof they may not faile Dated y^e^ 20th of No. 1644.

"Jo: MANDEUILE,
"Seneschall."

"To y^e^ Portriffe of
Gowran and his assistants."

With the success of the Cromwellian invasion of Ireland, Gowran passed entirely out of the possession of the Ormonde family, and since then the Corporation and inhabitants of the town have had different manorial proprietors to deal with. Any documents to illustrate the history of Gowran, under these changed relations, must come from some repository other than the office of the Town Clerk of Kilkenny. The most important of the other papers contained in the bundle exhibited at the meeting of this Association by Mr. Watters, refer to other suits and collisions of the Corporation of Gowran with neighbouring proprietors, respecting mears and boundaries of their respective lands, and such of these as may be considered of interest in illustrating the history of the borough at the period, I hope soon to lay before the Association.

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Nº 1.



Nº 6.

Nº 5.



Nº 2.



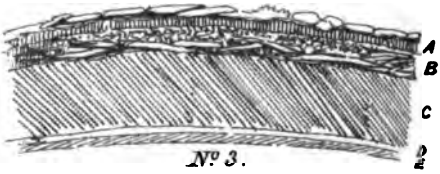
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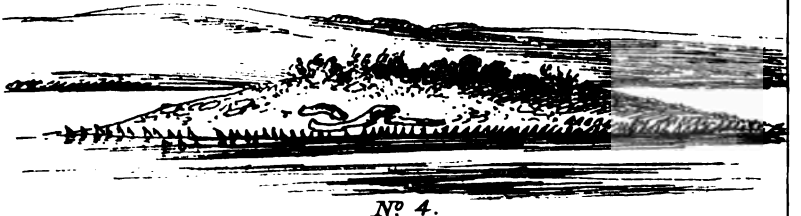
Nº 9.



Nº 7.



Nº 3.



Nº 4.

LOUGH EYE S CRANNOGS.

Plate 1. W.F.Wakeman, 1870.

Photo Litho Wakeman & Bros

THE CRANNOGS IN LOUGH EYES, CO. FERMANAGH.

BY W. F. WAKEMAN.

"LOUGH EYES" (as the name appears upon the Ordnance Maps) is a lake of about two-thirds of an English mile in length, by less than a quarter of a mile at its greatest breadth, situate at a distance of two miles north-east of the village of Lisbellaw, in the county of Fermanagh. Hitherto, at least within historic times, the lough was not supposed to possess any manner of interest, scenic or otherwise, except indeed for anglers, who found it well stocked with scaly prey of various kinds, or to consumers of or dealers in "Irish wine" (potteen), as Peter the Great was wont to style whiskey. Its ancient name appears to have been lost, possibly corrupted, or perhaps translated, for a spring, called *Tobernasoul*, "The Well of the Eyes," is still extant near its southern shore. This well is connected with the lough by a small stream, so that in all likelihood we have here a clue to the derivation. Like the crannoged retreats of Ballydoolough and Drumgay, distant respectively, "as the crow flies," about two and a-half, and three miles or so from the place, Lough Eyes was anciently embowered in a dense forest of oak, pine, and alder. The trees were of immense size, larger than any seen growing in this country, or indeed in England. Their roots, and portions of their stems, still remain *in situ*, and are often so close together that the upper branches must have commingled, forming a canopy impervious alike to sunshine and storm. When or how the giants fell it is not the purpose of this paper to inquire; but I may suggest that in their green age they served to shelter a town of "lake habitations" (*crannogs*), the ruins of which may still be seen in wonderful preservation. From Plate 1, facing this page, a fair idea of the appearance of the scene will be derived. The sketch was taken from the south-east, and shows the whole of the islands, six in number, as they appeared in August and September of last year, when, in consequence of the dryness of the summer, the water was unusually low.

Upon most careful examination I was convinced that

although the elevation of the works above water was unequal, the rows of piling by which the several shores were enclosed are almost uniformly on about the same level. In one instance, however, in deep water, the crannog would appear to have sunk; and its immersion may be attributed to the perishable nature of its component parts, timber and branches, which as they decayed settled down. The other islets are built upon shoals, or as would in at least one case appear, upon a natural turf-bank, which was artificially strengthened, and covered with layers of sticks, brambles, earth, and stones. The sluice, figured in the sketch, heads a deep cutting (made some years ago by the Rev. J. G. Porter), by which the mill-dam at Lisbellaw is principally fed. The natural outlet of the lake is on the opposite shore. In the Plate, Figs. No. 2, 3, and 4, &c., will be seen an elevation, section, and some details of what appears to have been anciently the most important crannog of the group. It measures about two hundred and eighty-eight feet in circumference, the greatest height above the lowest summer level being ten feet. It is never entirely submerged, a remark which applies only to it and to one other of the crannogs under notice. Mr. J. G. V. Porter, of Bellisle, having kindly, at my suggestion, caused a trench to be cut across the island from shore to shore, I was enabled to make the section given on the Plate (No. 3), and which very clearly illustrates the character of the work. The excavators first of all removed a coating of stones, laid without any regard to regularity, and which were more thickly deposited in some places than in others. The stones averaged about one foot in depth, and rested upon earth (A), containing pieces of bone much broken, and small particles of charcoal. This layer, also about one foot in average depth, immediately surmounted a stratum composed of boughs (B), with the bark on, of oak, alder, pine, hazel, and perhaps of other trees, intermixed with brambles, decayed foliage, small stones or gravel, a little earth, and some bog mould. Next followed about six feet of very good peat (C), or turf-bog, which appeared to have grown there naturally, and never to have been previously disturbed. The bog lay upon sand and marl (D and E), probably at some very remote period the bottom of the

lough. The stockading still exists in a very interesting state of preservation. To the west and north the stakes are four deep, and are placed so close together as almost to touch. They are all, or nearly all, of oak; roughly worked, and sharply pointed by a metal axe or adze, as shown in the sketch which appears on Plate 1 (No. 5). No trace of the framework of the house which doubtlessly stood here was forthcoming; but half buried in the soil about the water's edge, were several pieces of oak, which had evidently been fashioned by man. The barrel-shaped block to the right of the plan (No. 8) is one foot four inches in length by one foot ten inches in circumference, a groove cut in one of its sides is two inches deep by one and a-half broad. The largest of the blocks drawn in the Plate (No. 6) measures one foot seven by six inches; a second is slightly smaller; a third (No. 9), which I have also sketched, has all the appearance of having been a portion of the bottom of a bucket or vessel. It measures twelve inches across.

It would appear that at some time or other this crannog was not considered large enough for the requirements of its inhabitants; and that a long, low-lying shoal, extending from it in a southerly direction, was staked in order to supply the deficiency. The piles in this addition though "few and far between," are, however, sufficiently numerous to attest the ancient occupation of this generally submerged ridge by a crannog building people. It shows, when the water is very low, as a long and narrow islet, or rather as two islets, but being so slightly elevated, the action of the water has almost obliterated its features. Upon the main crannog, as well as upon the extension referred to, occurred a very large quantity of bones similar to those found at Ballydoolough, and like them, broken for the marrow which they contained. They are evidently remains of the *Bos longifrons*, or ancient Celtic short-horned ox, of the red-deer, ass, sheep, goat, and pig. Here, too, was found, mixed with the animal remains, an extraordinary collection of broken earthen vessels of that very interesting and hitherto undescribed class referred to in my papers on The Drumgay and Ballydoolough Crannogs. Nearly all, if not all, the specimens are

more or less ornamented with indented patterns, sometimes arranged simply in lines, in other cases presenting chevron designs of early style. I append illustrations (Figs. 1 and



Fig. 1.—Restored vessel from Lough Eyes, drawn one-fourth the real size.

2) representing two of these vessels carefully restored from existing examples.



Fig. 2.—Restored vessel from Lough Eyes, drawn one-fifth the real size.

bracelets, apparently of jet, exactly similar to articles of that class discovered in Ireland and elsewhere, and which there is reason to believe cannot be later than the time of the occupation of Britain by the Romans. Of these bracelets only two fragmentary specimens came under my own observation; but I am given to understand that several others had been from time to time picked up from the shores of the Lough Eyes crannogs. As in Switzerland the builders of the "*Pfaulbauten*" appear to have utilized the antlers of deer in the manufacture of tools or weapons, so here have we evidence of the ingenuity of a probably semi-savage in converting the horn of an animal, upon which he had perhaps fed, into an instrument well fitted for warfare, offensive or defensive, as the case might be. I would beg particularly to call attention to a portion of the antler of a red-deer which was found by myself when searching the shore of the island just described. That it had served as the head of a rude battle-axe there can be little question. Its broader end has been roughly fined to a cutting edge, and a notch shows where a string, or, perhaps, leathern thong or sinew, was tied to prevent the axe-head from slipping from the handle of wood into which it had been set in the manner of a stone or flint celt. The weight of this piece of horn is very considerable, and the weapon, when intact, must doubtless have been formidable in the hands of a crannog-dweller, used to feed on "*Cervus elaphus*," "*Bos longifrons*," good oaten or wheaten bread, or porridge (as the early quern stones found indicate), &c. &c. At Strokestown, Ballinderry, and other crannogs, bone daggers and spear-heads have been discovered, but this I believe is the first notice of a horn axe-head on record. In Switzerland, it is the handle which is of horn, the cutting portion being composed of flint or stone inserted into the shaft at its thicker end.

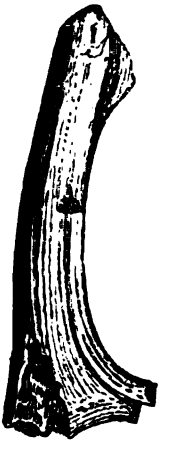


Fig. 6.—Axe-head of horn of the red-deer, drawn one-fourth of the real size.

If ever there had been a "kitchen midden" in the place I believe that its contents must have been washed out, as

the bones, pottery, whetstones, &c., se
tributed equally all round the island.
current amongst the people of the neighbo
time to time brass or copper vessels hav
the lough in connexion with this and so
islands. No attention was paid to their
they were supposed to have formed a por
ratus of potteen distillers who worked
memory of persons still living. The pr
these so-called "copper or brass" uter
of bronze, and belonged to a very earl
have been hopelessly lost. No one can g
description of their appearance, and we h
the ignorance of their finders.

Referring to Plate 1, a very small islar
the distance. It is the second from th
sketch. This is the sunken crannog,
timbers of which extend from the litt
(when the lough is at its lowest level) un
the eye can pierce through the surround
about here are of considerable depth.
shown in the lowest sketch of the second P
left to right in the general view (Plate 1
we meet is the most northern of the gro
vation, and some details, form the four
Plate 2, facing this page. The form is c
about fifty feet. In consequence of t
water but little of the original timber,



Fig. 7.—Quern stone from Lough Eyes.



Fig. 8.—Portion

remains. The stakes could not be so easily moved, and they stand as originally placed, while the horizontal timbers, &c., of the interior have disappeared. In a cruciform section made at my request by Mr. Porter, it was shown that the island consists of a low mound formed of sand, earth, and stones, which appear to have settled down in their present

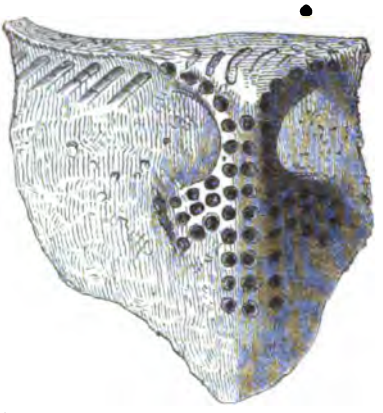


Fig. 9.—Portion of a vessel from Lough Eyes, with unique ear, drawn half size.

position. Here were found many bones and pieces of pottery, a whetstone, and portions of a highly decorated quernstone, which I have restored in the illustration (Fig. 7), given at p. 559. There was, of course, no trace of log house or "kitchen midden." The bones, &c., were scattered all

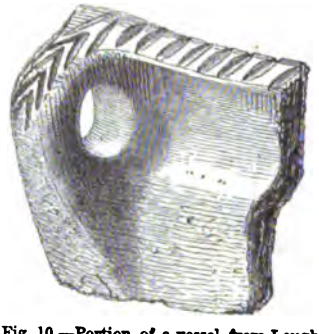


Fig. 10.—Portion of a vessel from Lough Eyes, drawn half the real size.

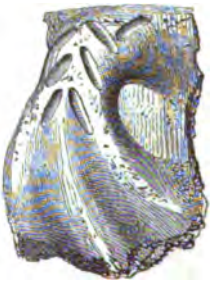
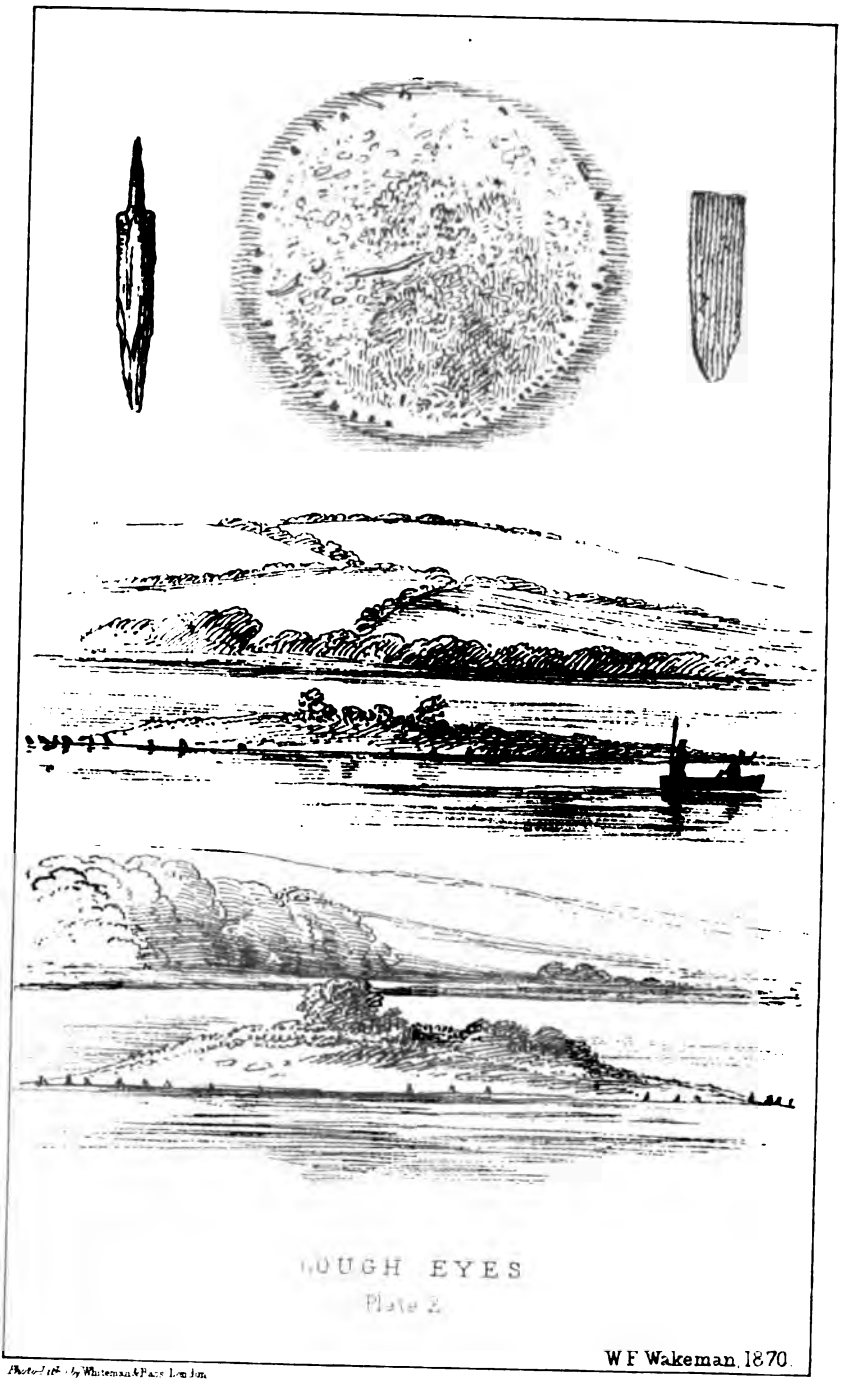


Fig. 11.—Ear of a vessel from Lough Eyes, drawn half real size.

round the shores, and even over the surface of the enclosure. The accompanying illustrations (Figs. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and


ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



GOUGH EYES

Plate 2.

W F Wakeman, 1870.

Photo-lith. by Whiteman & Place London.

13), represent characteristic examples of the pottery which was here found in abundance. The dotted pattern is curiously like the ornamentation seen on fictile vessels discovered in connexion with the "Lake Habitations" of Switzerland—see "The Ulster Journal of Archæology." The cut Fig. 8 by some mistake or other was printed among the engravings of the Ballydoolough paper.

The fourth and next island from the left of the view is represented in the sketch, the second from the bottom of Plate 2. It is very similar to the example last described, and has been greatly ruined by the action of the water. Upon a cruciform section of considerable depth being made,

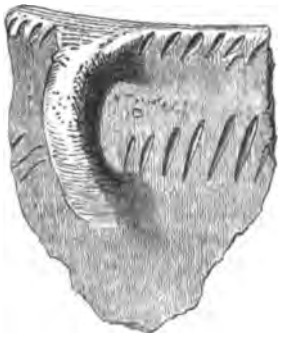


Fig. 12.—Portion of a vessel from Lough Eyes, drawn one-third the real size.

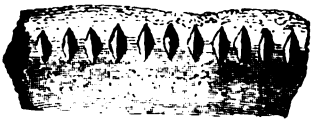


Fig. 13.—Lip of a vessel from Lough Eyes, draw one-half the real size.

little to illustrate the internal construction of the place was discovered. There were layers of earth and sand, and some disturbed sticks. A portion of the upper stone of a quern, many fractured bones, and portions of earthen vessels rewarded a search and diggings along the shore. Here as indeed in all the islands in Lough Eyes, were pieces of "slag" or dross of iron ore. The fifth crannog lies very low and narrow, and seldom remains for any considerable period above the water. It may be described as of the sunken class, though some of the stakes are still visible. To examine it thoroughly without the aid of navvies and a good equipment, would be a hopeless undertaking, as the water would speedily fill up any excavation which might be made in it. Its surface presented some bones, a few

bits of pottery, of which I engrave four rims (Figs. 14, 15, 16, and 17), a whetstone, and a bracelet (unfortunately



Fig. 14.—Portion of a vessel from Lough Eyes, drawn one-half the real size.

broken), of the rare class already spoken of. The only crannog of this interesting lough which remains to be noticed is figured in the extreme right of the general view



Fig. 15.—Rim from Lough Eyes, drawn one-half the real size.

(Plate 1). Though staked round in many places it forms in summer time a small peninsula. Probably from its proximity to the land it has been robbed of all its woodwork, and, upon being cut into, presented no instructive

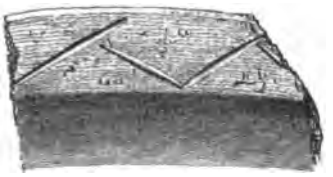


Fig. 16.—Rim from Lough Eyes, drawn one-half the real size.



Fig. 17.—Rim from Lough Eyes, drawn one-half the real size.

feature. Like the other islands it contributed its quota of pottery and bone fragments, but the pieces of the former

(Figs. 18 and 19, 20 and 21,) were very small, anything conspicuous having no doubt been from time to time picked up and thrown away by the idlers and children of the neighbourhood.

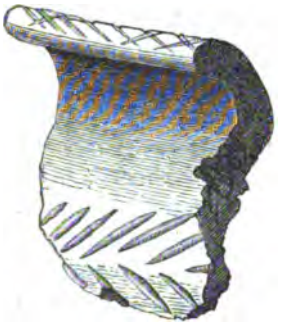


Fig. 18.—Portion of a vessel from Lough Eyes, drawn half the real size.

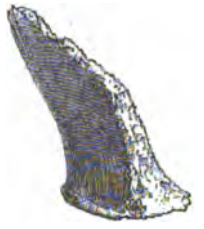


Fig. 19.—Portion of the base of a vessel from Lough Eyes, drawn half the real size.

The destruction of these relics is much to be lamented, as, from the style of ornamentation which several of the fragments exhibit, we must conclude that when perfect, or nearly so, the vessels were of great archæological importance. The design was usually a chevron, such as is



Fig. 20.—Rim from Lough Eyes. Drawn half the real size.

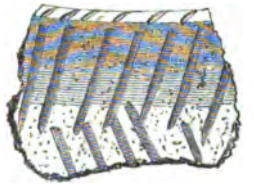


Fig. 21.—Rim from Lough Eyes. Drawn half the real size.

often found upon fictile ware discovered in tumuli, as well as upon several varieties of our bronze celts, and other weapons or instruments of prehistoric times. In no single instance was there any trace of what might be called Christian art or design. The vessels, large and small, belonging to this group of crannogs were all hand-made, and appear to have been well burnt. It is a curious fact that in many ex-

amples the action of the fire would seem to have been greater on the interior than on the outside. The material is the sandy clay of the district, or perhaps the grit was added in order to give greater consistency to the paste. Most of the vases show this sand quite distinctly, and in the ruder examples particles of white stone, of the size of very small peas, may be seen roughly projecting from their sides. Their colour varies from light drab to very dark brown, almost black. A few are slightly red in appearance, and all are unglazed. I may here remark that Figs. 20 and 21 have already, by mistake, appeared in connexion with my notice of Ballydoolough published in this Journal. They are now reproduced, not only that an error might be corrected, but also that the list of decorated fragments of fictilia from Lough Eyes might be rendered as full as possible. I look upon these designs as singularly interesting. It is only by comparing objects found in our crannogs with antiques of a similar class discovered elsewhere, that light can be thrown on the question of the origin and occupation of our "Lake Habitations." Most of the specimens figured in this paper were picked up by myself from the shores of the crannogs. A few were kindly presented by Mr. J. G. V. Porter, of Bellisle; and for several fine examples I am indebted to Mr. Martin, of Drumlone.

The subject is still in its infancy, and yet crannog investigation has not been without some interesting result. It has shown, at least, that the remote ancestors of the Irish people had in daily use pottery, peculiar to themselves, of graceful design and of admirable manufacture, superior indeed to any possessed by the Britons or Saxons, a fact hitherto more than doubted even by our best informed writers upon archæological questions.

In none of the Lough Eyes crannogs did I discover any trace of the wicker-work flooring or partitions noticed by Mr. Kinahan; but floors of this description may have been washed away.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

At a General Meeting, held at the apartments of Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednes April the 5th, 1871,

Patrick Watters, Esq., in the Chair,

The following Members of the Association were mitted to Fellowships:—

The Hon. B. E. B. Fitzpatrick; Lieut.-Colonel Edw Cooper; Captain H. M. F. Langton, High-Sheriff of kenny County; Albert Courtenay; the Rev. J. L. Dar Eugene Shine; R. R. Brash, Architect; Thomas Wats Nicholas Ennis; Joseph Digges; F. E. Currey, J. P.; J Hill, C. E.; J. Ennis Mayler; and W. R. Molloy.

The following new Members were elected:—

Robert O'Brien, Old Church, Limerick: proposed the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Limerick.

The Rev. Frederick Charles Hamilton, St. John's carage, Limerick; Richard W. Banks, Ridgebourne, K ton, Herefordshire; and W. Forbes-Skene, 20, Inverl Row, Edinburgh: proposed by the Rev. James Graves

John H. Browne, Kylemore Castle, Galway: propose G. H. Kinahan, M. R. I. A.

John Cramsie, Lisavon, Strandtown, Belfast: prop by W. H. Patterson.

William Charles Bonaparte Wyse, Woolly Hill Ho Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts; and James Martin, M. F. R. C. S. I., Portlaw: proposed by Maurice Lenihan, J

Thomas C. Atkinson, Beaureau Veritas, Halifax, N Scotia: proposed by R. R. Brash, Architect.

John O'Neill, Sarsfield Court, Riverstown, Cork: proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

"The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London," Vol. I., Nos. 2, 3 and 4, and Vol. II., Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4: presented by the Society.

"The Archæological Journal, published under the direction of the Central Committee of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," No. 107: presented by the Institute.

"The Journal of the British Archæological Association," for December, 1870: presented by the Association.

"The Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine," Nos. 24, 25 and 26; also "Some Account of the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury," Part II.: presented by the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

"Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire," new series, Vol. X.: presented by the Society.

"The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal," Part 4: presented by the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Society.

"Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society," for the years 1868–9: presented by the Society.

"Proceedings of the Natural History Society of Dublin," Vol. V., Parts 1 and 2: presented by the Society.

"Archæologia Cambrensis," fourth series, No. 6: presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

"Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London," second series, Vol. IV., No. 9: presented by the Society.

"The First Annual Report of the Natural History and Philosophical Society of Derry:" presented by the Society.

"Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland," Vol. V., Part 39: presented by the Society.

"The Reliquary," Nos. 43 and 44: presented by Llewellynn Jewitt, F. S. A.

A circular perforated stone, about two inches in diameter and one and a half inch thick, found during excavations in the interior of the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny, probably a distaff weight: presented by the Dean of Ossory.

On the motion of the Rev. James Graves, W. H. Patterson was elected Hon. Local Secretary for the county of Down, and Dr. J. H. Stakpole Westropp, Lisdoonvarna, for the county of Clare.

A letter was read from the Rev. Abbé Ryan, P. P., Claragh, observing that he did not find his name printed in the list of Fellows under the Queen's Letter, as being an original or Founding Member of the Association; and pointing out that he had been a subscribing Member from May, 1849, the year in which the Association was founded.

Mr. Graves said the Rev. Abbé Ryan was quite right. In making out the list of Founding Members they had, in consequence of the occurrence of another clergyman of the same name on the list, failed to identify the Rev. Abbé with the Rev. James Ryan, R. C. C. of Freshford. He was, of course, fully entitled to have the mistake rectified, and to be placed on the roll of Fellows.

An order to that effect was made accordingly.

With reference to the proposed works for the preservation of the Round Tower of Monasterboice, Mr. Graves read the following report of Mr. Graham, of Monasterboice, as to the preliminary arrangements:—

"At length, after much interruption and consequent delay, we have reached the top of the tower inside—that is, as far as it is at one side broken down to. The height from that to the highest point now standing is sixteen feet, and the height from the base to that point is about ninety-five feet, the original height probably 110. It appears to have had originally at least six lofts, or floors, in it. I have got five lofts constructed in it exactly where the former lofts were. The highest point can be readily reached by a ladder from the uppermost loft. I have also got the foundation poles of the exterior scaffolding fixed in their places. That part of the tower about the south window which is between the third and fourth lofts is in a very bad state: it admits the light through it in several places, so that it is almost miraculous that half of it did not fall long ago. The building over that is in a much safer state. It is evident that the best cement and grouting stuff must be used with it, and that the whole tower must be pinned and pointed inside as well as outside, and done by a very skilful hand. It would be idle to expect that all this could be done in one season; time must be given and pains taken with it for the sake of its future permanency. In broken, unfavourable weather, even in summer, such as we had, I may say, during the whole of the past month, men could not safely work at it. This was a great cause of our delay, so that after all much would not be gained even if access could be had to the top of it sooner."

Mr. Graves said he had been just i
Lenihan of a loss which their Association
Archæology in general, had sustained, ir
Earl of Dunraven. No one but those
pursuits knew how much the deceased nc
cause at heart, and how actively and liber
it. He himself (Mr. Graves) had not
received a letter from Lord Dunraven, da
—he little expected at the time that it wc
evincing his Lordship's interest in the
tion of the Round Tower of Monasterboi
anxious—as every archæologist should be
should be taken to prevent anything b
would interfere with the ancient character
and he particularly expressed a hope
would be made to rebuild the lost port
the tower, stating that he was aware of
connected with the structure as it stood
bore upon the general evidence as to tl
and use of the Round Towers, which he
effaced. He (Mr. Graves) had written
what were the particular circumstances re
Lordship's last illness prevented any answ
ceived. Lord Dunraven had recently dir
attention to the propriety of establishin
Department of National Antiquities in I
influence would have been most importan
but, unfortunately, the hand of death hac

Mr. Lenihan referred to the number
edifications of ancient buildings which Lo
carried out, at a great expenditure, at A
rounding district.

Mr. Graves said that Lord Dunraven
devoted much time to obtaining correct p
architectural features of the more anc
structures in Ireland. He had gone rour
his artists to these ancient buildings, a
operations. The last time he (Mr. Gra
Lordship was on the occasion of his bei
Kilkenny, from photographing the doo

church of Clonamery in this county, when he called upon him at Inisnag for a few minutes.

A general expression of regret at the loss to archæological research and the cause of our national antiquities sustained in the death of Lord Dunraven was made by the Members of the Association present.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

"Archæologia," Vol. XLIII., Part 1 ; and "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London," second series, Vol. V., No. 1: presented by the Society.

"Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," Vol. VII., Part 1 : presented by the Society.

"The Archæological Journal, published under the Direction of the Central Committee of The Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," Nos. 108 and 109 : presented by the Institute.

"The Journal of the British Archæological Association," for March, June, and September, 1871 : presented by the Association.

"Archæologia Cambrensis," fourth series, Nos. 6 and 7 : presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

"Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall," No. 12: presented by the Institution.

"The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal," Part 5: presented by the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association.

"Journal of the Architectural, Archæological, and Historic Society for the County, City, and Neighbourhood of Chester," Parts 8 and 9: presented by the Society.

"Collections of the Surrey Archæological Society," Vol. V., part 2 : presented by the Society.

"Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society," Part 9 : presented by the Society.

"Lapidarium Septentrionale: or a Description of the Monuments of Roman Rule in the North of England, published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne," Part 2 : presented by the Society.

"Original Papers published under the Direction of the

A photograph of the celebrated ancient moat of Knockgraffon, near Cahir, the ancient residence of that branch of the descendants of Oilill Olum who, at a later period, assumed the name of O'Sullivan; also, a photograph of the Black Prince's tomb, in Canterbury Cathedral: presented by Captain Bigoe Williams, Dover.

On the part of the Marquis of Ormonde, a blunderbuss barrel, curiously mounted on a swivel. His Lordship knew nothing of its history, but that it was fouud amongst other old arms in Kilkenny Castle. The stock was of beech, very much worm-eaten. It was suggested that it had been prepared with the swivel for duck-shooting, to be used in a boat on a river or lake: presented by J. G. Robertson, Kilkenny.

A sketch of a pocket-shaped celt, found in Omey Island, by a man named Michael Lacy, a few weeks since, in a graveyard, where none but women are buried, according to a custom originating in the belief of St. Festie's mother having been interred there. Report adds, that the only man who was ever buried there, was found the next morning lying on the top of the grave: presented by Edwin A. Eyre, The Rookery, Clifden, Galway.

A tradesman's token, found in the garden at Butler House, Kilkenny, which was struck, as the legend showed, by "Mathew Long, of Tallowfelen [Tullow Phelim, Co. Carlow?] Merch^{t};" as also a halfpenny of Queen Elizabeth, a Cronabane halfpenny, and some other more modern coins, found in the same place: presented by Dr. James, Kilkenny.

Maurice Lenihan, M. R. I. A., exhibited a very curious and valuable vellum manuscript, originally bound in oak boards, known as "The Triumphalia," being a register made by Father John Hartry, a monk of Holycross Abbey, county of Tipperary, in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, of all the old deeds and writings connected with that religious community which he could obtain access to, and also all the traditionary lore on the same subject which had been handed down to his time. The manuscript, which is noticed very fully by Harris (in his continuation of Ware's Writers), who had a loan of the document at the time, was for a long time in the custody of the O'Fogarty family, of the Holycross district,

Heir Castle' (Goban Saer Castle), whilst, as the Rev. Dr. Reeves has ably pointed out, the building was entirely of an ecclesiastical character. Some authors, indeed, have gone so far as to affirm that the 'Castle' was occupied by the O'Kanes, or Ua Cathains, a powerful sept who came from Inishowen, and, after defeating the M'Quillans about the year 1425, obtained possession of the Route.

"The dimensions of the building—which stands nearly east and west on a gentle eminence not far from the River Shesk—when Dr. Reeves visited it in 1844, were as follows: length, twenty-eight feet nine inches, by fifteen feet wide in the clear; in shape, it was a plain oblong. The walls were three feet thick, and were well faced with quoins of dressed sandstone. The north and east walls were about ten feet high; part of the south wall was also standing, but the west was levelled with the ground. There was an aperture in the east gable, which was, undoubtedly, a narrow window; there was another in the north wall, near the east end, and also one in the south. Since that time the north wall has been removed to within two feet of the ground, and the eastern also, except a fragment of about three feet in either direction. Still, however, I experienced no difficulty in tracing them so as to decide the measurements.

"It is curious to think that we can even approximately ascertain the date at which this ancient structure may have been erected. The church is called 'Killeena,' which name is derived from cill, a 'burying ground,' and ena, or Enan, a saint, who was a disciple and contemporary of St. Patrick, as the following passage, taken from the 'Tripartite Life,' amply testifies:—'In regione etiam *Cathrigiæ* ædificavit Ecclesiam de *Domnach-Coinri* ubi duos Connennanos discipulos suos posuit. Item Ecclesiam de *Druim-Indich*, cui S. Enanum; et *Cuil-Ectrann* cui Fiachrium Episcopum præfecit.' 'Ecc. Antiq. Down, Con., and Drom.,' pp. 322, 323. Moreover, in the region of Cathrigia [Cary], he founded the Church of Donagh-Coinri, where he placed the two Connennans, his disciples. Also, the Church of Druim-Indich [Drumeeny], where he placed St. Enan, and Cuil-Ectran [Culfeightrin], over which he placed Fiachrius as Bishop. Again, in the Trias Thaum., p. 182, col. 2, Colgan has the following note: 'Videtur esse S. Enanus filius Muadain qui colitur 24 Mart.; cum Rath-Muadain [Ramoan], id est Arx Muadain a patre ejus forte sic denominata, sit in eadem regione.' St. Enan seems to be the son of Modain, who is commemorated on the 24th March, since Rath-Modain [Ramoan], so called perhaps, from his father—that is, Modain's Fort—is in the same region. The name of the townland is also derived from the saint, i. e., Drumeeny, 'the ridge of the hill of Enan.' The old cill, or burying ground, is now entirely under cultivation. In an adjoining field are several large pillar-stones, lying prostrate; it is not unfrequently that we find the temple of the true God in juxtaposition to the remains of the worship of our pagan predecessors, of whom the poet has said—

> 'The druid's altar and the druid's creed we scarce can trace;
> There is not left one undisputed deed of all your race.'

"Regarding the other antiquity (Goban Saer's Cave), and, in my opinion, the most interesting of the two, a very short sketch will prove sufficient for my purpose. Indeed, I am only induced to send this account to our 'Journal' owing to its not having been, so far as I have been able to ascertain, described at length in any work. In fact, the fullest notice that I amaware

builder, in wood as well as stone, will exist in Ireland to the end of time.' p. 343. Again, at p. 380-1, he has the following—'I have already alluded to the historical evidences which prove that the Goban Saer was no imaginary creation, however legendary the memorials remaining of him may be considered; and I may here add that it would appear from a very ancient authority, namely the Dinnsenchus, preserved in the Books of Lecan and Ballymote, that he was the son of a skilful artizan in wood, if not in stone also; and that this artizan was, if not a foreigner, at least very probably of foreign extraction, and thus enabled to introduce arts not generally known in this country; and further, that the Goban himself was probably born at Turvy, on the northern coast of the County Dublin, which, it is stated, took its name from his father, as being his property. As he was not a person of known Milesian origin, it is but fair to infer he received it as a reward for his skill in mechanical art.' The following passages have been translated from the combined tracts in the Books of Lecan and Ballymote:—

"'Traigh Tuirbi, whence was it named? Not difficult. Tuirbi Traghmar, the father of Goban Saer, was he who had possession in that land. He was used to throw casts of his hatchet from Tulach-in-bhiail [i.e. the hill of the hatchet], in the direction of the flood, so that the sea stopped, and did not come beyond it. His exact pedigree is not known, unless he was one of those missing people who went off with the polytechnic *Sab*, who is in the *Diamars* [Diamor in Meath], of Bregia, *unde* Traigh Tuirbe *dicitur*.

'Traigh Tuirbi, whence the name,
According to authors I resolve;
Tuirbi of the strand [which is superior to every strand],
The affectionate kind father of Goban.'

'His hatchet was used to be cast after ceasing [from work];
By this rusty large black youth,
From the yellow hill of the hatchet
Which the mighty flood touches.'

'The distance he used to send his hatchet from him,
The sea flowed not over it;
Though Tuirbi was southwards in his district mighty
It is not known of what stock his race.'

'Unless he was of the goodly dark race,
Who went from Tara with the heroic Lugh,
Not known the race by God's decree,
Of the man of the feats from Traigh Tuirbi.'

"The Goban Saer is said to have erected the towers of Kilmacduach, Killala, and Antrim, and the age assigned to the building of Kilmacduach is A. D. 620. There is a fine cross over the doorway of the Antrim tower. I do not know if all his architectural works were ornamented with the symbol of Christianity.

"Annexed I send sketches of the crosses, together with a ground plan of the cave. I may here state that the walls are perpendicular, and do not contract towards the roof, as is not unfrequently the case in similar structures."

The Rev. Benjamin W. Adams, D. D., communicated the following notice of Moylagh, county of Meath:—

"This parish forms part of the union of Loughcrew. The ruins, situated three miles south of Oldcastle, consist of a castle and church; the

Pray for the Soul of Catty Fox who died June 7th 1755 *aged* 35 *ord*^{d} *by P. R.*

Phillip Farraley Died Nov^{r} 14, 1787 *aged* 9 *Years.*

"The pygmean headstone of Phillip Farraley measures only 5 in. by 3½ in. The upper portion of an ancient cross in a circle, measuring sixteen inches in diameter, is lying in the cemetery; while part of its shaft, measuring 49 inches high, 11 inches broad, and 5 inches thick, forms a headstone for an adjoining grave.

"The following coins, some found in this neighbourhood, are mostly in my cabinet:—

"1867, a labourer found, on the townland of Baskin, parish of Cloghran, county Dublin, an English sixpence of Elizabeth, 1573, moneyers' mark an acorn.

"1870, May, there was dug up at Kinsealey, county Dublin, a Scotch XL. penny piece of Charles I.

"1870, June, in removing the foundations of an old cottage, near the mill at Swords, was found a three-crown groat of Edward IV. About the same time, in a garden in Swords, to the left of the Malahide road, was found a Dutch ducatoon, 1677. Also, a half-crown of the Gun Money, October, 1689, was dug up near Feltrim. 1870, July 5th, in the townland of Lacken, Co. Wicklow, near Lord Powerscourt's demesne, some labourers, when digging a foundation for a cottage, turned up near 200 silver pennies of the type of Ethelred II.—an extended hand between the Greek letters A and Ω—different busts and moneyers.

The Rev. Richard Galvin, P. P., Rathdrum, county of Wicklow, sent the following note on the landing-place of Palladius as suggestive of further research:—

"The Four Masters, A. D. 776, say, 'Lord of *Rath-inver* slain.' O'Donovan (note [b]) calls it *Rath Inver-dea*, which Usher *thinks* was the ancient name of Oldcourt, near Bray. The Four Masters record, A. D. 836, 'Battle of *Inver-na mark*.' O'Donovan (note [c]) makes this to be the same place.

"The old translator of the 'Book of Ulster' calls it 'Inver-na-mark *by the Nury*.' See our 'Journal' for April, 1871, p. 93, where this place is made to be Annagassan; but I *think* this Rath-*inver*, alias *Inver-dea*, alias Inver-*na-mark* (of the ships) to be the town of Wicklow, *Viking*-lough (of the Sea Kings), one of their seaport strongholds, from which they often burnt all before them, to the city of Glendalough itself. Many old writers identify Wicklow as Inver-dea. Wicklow will also fairly verify the addition 'by the Nury' of the old translator of the Book of Ulster, for the *Newragh* ('Yew tree,' Joyce, p. 494) is only one and a half miles N. near the sea from the town of Wicklow. Newragh-bridge Hotel, well-known to tourists, is on the spot. The commons or village of Rathnew (Newrath, perhaps), famous for its ancient church and saint (see Bollandists and Colgan), and also for its being certainly in Hy-garchon, is some distance inland. Wicklow is at the mouth of the Leitrim, the name given to the Vartry from Newragh Bridge to its mouth at Wicklow. The parish of *Kilpoole* (Paul's Church) comes in near to Wicklow town south,

"My only justification for calling this the 'Priest's House' is, first, that it is situated close to the stone-roofed church of Kilmalkedar (which has been so well described and delineated by Mr. Arthur Hill, in his 'Ancient Irish Architecture'); and, secondly, that as at a short distance to the south-west of the church there are the remains of a building which, in the one inch Ordnance Map, is called 'The Chancellor's House,' I may presume that this district was one of ecclesiastical importance, and that some dignitary of the Church, and the priests who served it, must have resided here, and wished to make it as secure as possible. Perhaps it served as a 'Treasury.'

"The house has, externally, no architectural feature of interest. Its walls are not very thick, and are mainly composed of selected boulders, partially dressed, with but a small portion of quarried stones. Its upper floor did not rest on arches, but was supported by beams and joists. In each gable there is a small window, with cut stone jambs, and an ogee head. It may have been erected in the fifteenth century; perhaps earlier.

"It has, however, one peculiarity to which I desire to draw attention: its doorway and the three lower windows have sliding doors and shutters of stone; a defensive construction which is, as I am informed, so unique, that I have been requested to publish the sketches which I made of them, in the belief that the same mode of defence may have been adopted elsewhere, but been overlooked.

"It will be seen by the accompanying illustrations that, both in the doorway and the lower windows, rough slabs of green slate, of a hard, coarse quality, were placed vertically in recesses prepared for them in the building of the walls; and as flat stones are placed over each recess to prevent the upper work from pressing on the slabs, they could be drawn out, or be forced back, without much effort.

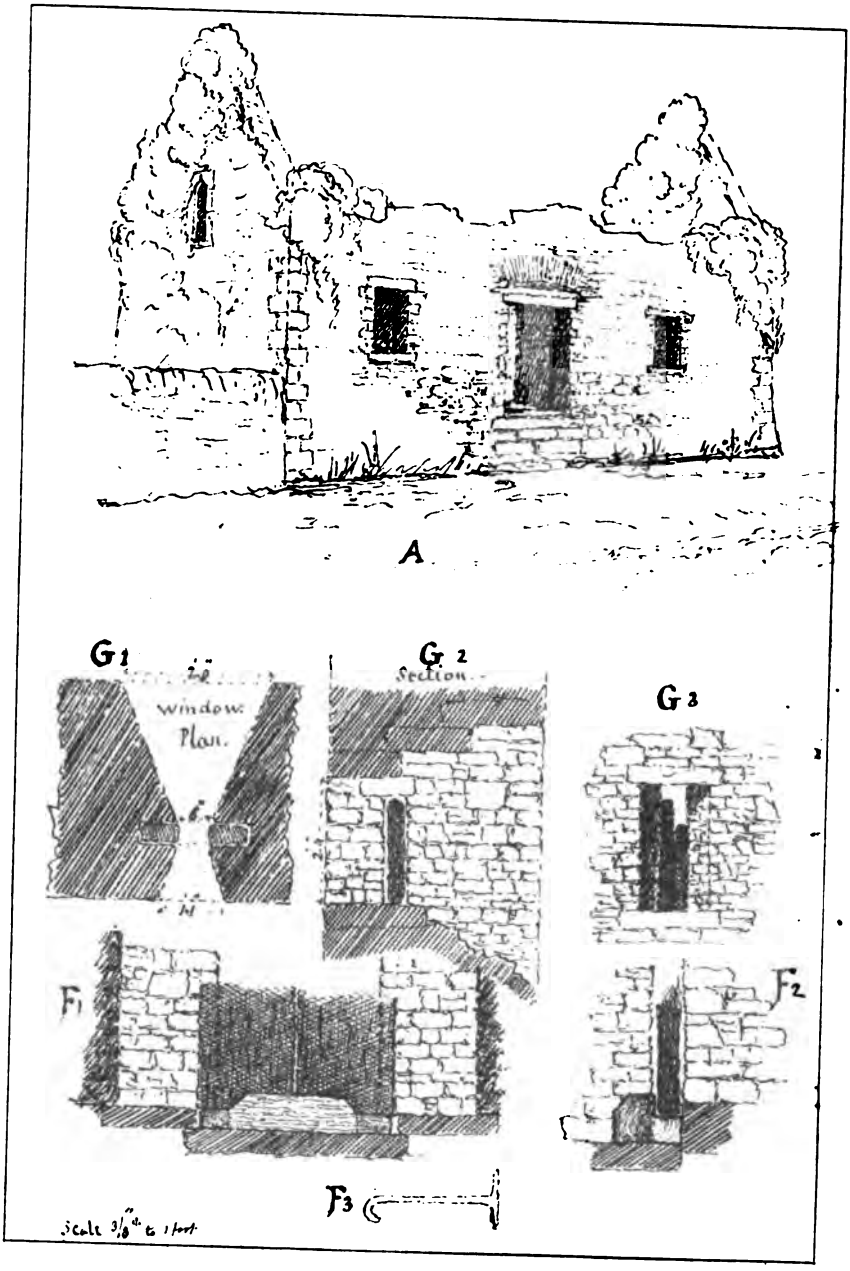
"In the doorway of the 'Chancellor's House,' I found reveals for the door frame. In the 'Priest's House' I could find no indication of there having been fixed wooden frames and doors. I saw no bolt-holes, and no sockets, or other contrivance, for hinges.

"I can offer no explanation why the stone slabs of each opening are of unequal heights. When the period of the erection of the building shall have been ascertained, the defensive weapons then in use may account for it.

"There is also a peculiarity about the lower ends of the door slabs: they terminate at about two inches below the top of the upper step, and do not appear to rest on the sill below it. I think they must have stood, when put back, on flat stones, four or five inches higher than the sill flag, and that when it was required to move them forward, a movable guide-block, with its ends inserted into the recesses, must have been used. This block may have had a raised rim, which, bearing against the flags at their junction, would have given them great strength at their weakest point. The ends of this block must have been reduced in thickness, so as to allow of their insertion.

"I saw no contrivance for moving forward the slabs; but a short iron rod, crooked at the ends, inserted between the slab and the side of the recess, and then turned half round, so as to grip its inner edge, would have sufficed—perhaps two such rods may have been required.

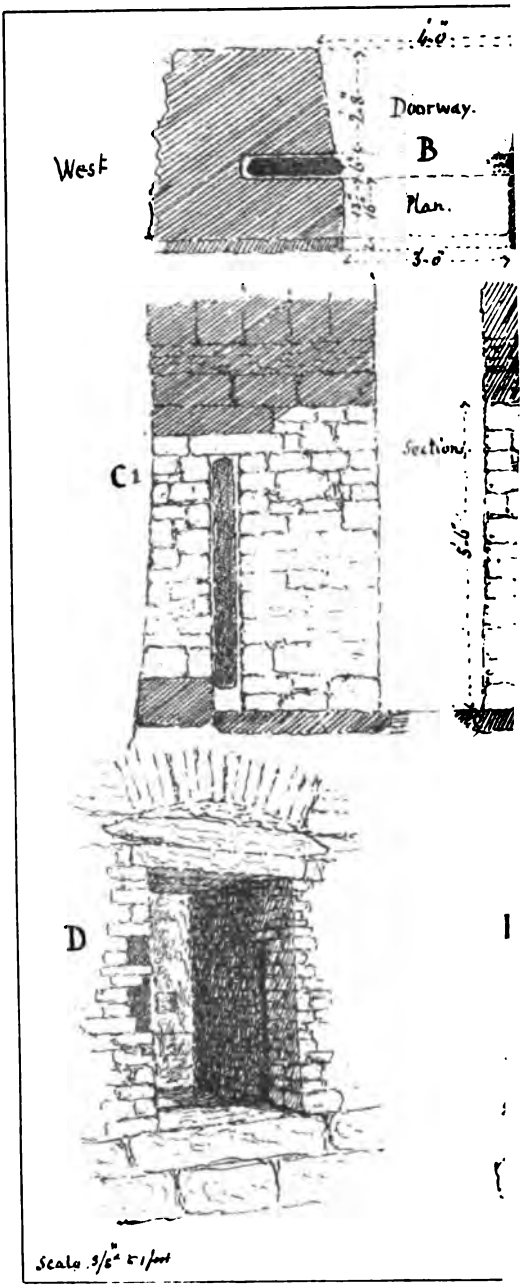
"I have given a general view of the house, but the upper portion of it may not be quite correct, as it has been done from memory. My atten-



PRIESTS HOUSE, KELMÁLKADAR

Plate I.

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



PRIESTS HOUSE, KELMA

Plate II

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

tion, while there, was entirely devoted to the door did not strike me that an accurate view of the required.

"There are three windows on the ground fl shutters; the two to the front are about equal in the rere is about four inches higher than the other the details of one of them, as all have the same fe shake some of the slabs, which, resting on the sill guide-block.

"I have endeavoured to make the subject q plates, of which the following is a description:—

"A. Plate I. is the general view of the h referred.

"B. Plate II. is a plan of the doorway showin walls at the step, and at about the top of the west

"C. 1 and C. 2, Plate II. are sections showi slabs, the lintel and covering stones, the step and

"D. Plate II. is a sketch of the doorway in i Plate II. its supposed appearance when the slab for defence.

"At F. 1, Plate I., I show how I suppose supported when closed, their position in the recess

"F. 2, Plate I., is a section of the above, s rim, and the end reduced, so as to enter the r the crooked rod which I suppose to have been us slabs.

"G. 1, Plate I., is a plan, and G. 2, Plate I., windows. G. 3, Plate I., is a supposed view of a ters drawn together."

The following Papers were contribu

REMARKS ON THE EXPLORATION OF CARN, NEAR TRILLICK, COUNT

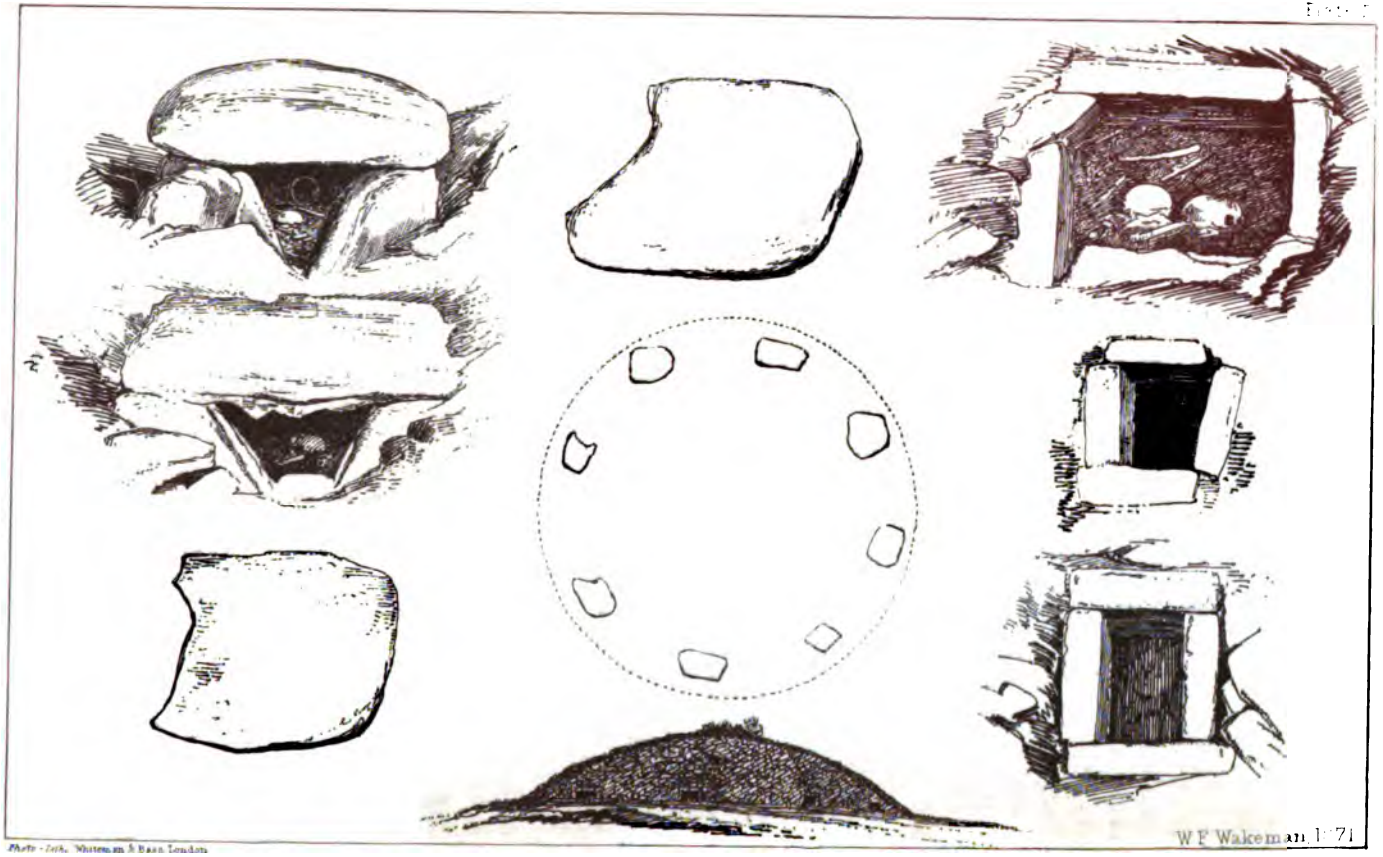
BY W. F. WAKEMAN.

About three miles north-west of T Tyrone, is the "Barr" of Fintona—a wil which, until a comparatively late period of cultivation. Numerous *gallauns*, or sent themselves, which, however, are nor inscribed. A few *lises* occur u and in more than one place may be c ancient sepulture. The Carn, the sub paper, appears to have been perhaps the

the sepulchral works referred to. It stands upon a portion of the estate of J. G. V. Porter, Esq., of Bellisle, and was accidentally discovered towards the close of last July, by workmen in quest of stones for the completion of a National Schoolhouse then being erected by the Rev. John Grey Porter. Upon removing some of the stones the men came upon a cavity containing human bones; and the story at once spread throughout the neighbourhood that an ancient cemetery "of Christians" had been discovered in the middle of a bog, which, according to the testimony of the oldest people living thereabout, had been lowered by turf-cutting several feet below its original level. The grave, or cist, was at once closed, and upon Mr. Porter being communicated with, I was kindly invited by that gentleman, who could not then personally attend, to proceed to the spot, in order to make the most of what promised to prove an interesting "find." The drawings and plans which I now have the honour of laying before our meeting are the result of two and a half days' careful examination of the Carn and its contents. The investigation was conducted in the presence of several gentlemen who had paid more or less attention to archæological pursuits, and there were ladies who, by noting the operation of the diggers, supplied by Mr. Porter, lent very valuable assistance.[1] Mr. William Mahood, son of the late eminent Enniskillen physician of that name, a young medical man, was kind enough to look after the bones, and to his valuable notes, made upon the spot, I shall have presently to refer. Indeed, from first to last, with but one unfortunate act of police interference, the exploration was conducted under circumstances which left little to be desired; and no important fact in connexion with the deposits could have been overlooked.

[1] As the Carn presented not a few very interesting, and, I may say, unique features I think it proper to subjoin the names of the visiters who assisted at its opening, and who, in various degrees, contributed to the success of the undertaking. The party was almost the same on the two days on which nearly all the excavation was accomplished. They were as under:—

Mr. J. G. V. Porter, of Bellisle, Miss Porter, Miss Dewdeny, Mr. Michael Burke, of Ballinamallard, Mr. W. Mahood, the Rev. A. H. Hamilton, the Rev. Eugene O'Meara, the Rev. J. Thornhill, the Rev. P. Cassidy, P. P., Fintona, Mr. Richard Tottenham, Mr. G. Crawford, and Mr. W. M'Grenaghan. The names of the workmen were Art. Monaghan, James Monaghan, Michael Magarr, James Magarr, Pat. Monaghan, Michael Minnagh, Owen Macareny, and Edward Mullen.



PLAN, SECTION, AND DETAILS OF THE CARN AT BELLICK LANE

and bones, more or less decayed. The next cist which I caused to be opened lay seven feet nine inches in an easterly or north-easterly direction from that just noticed. Upon the bog mould and field stones which covered its "table" being removed, I directed a small trench to be sunk on the western side, in order that, by removing one of the supporters (leaving the monument otherwise intact), access might be gained to the interior. In carrying out this plan I was ably assisted by Mr. Burke, of Ballinamallard, a gentleman whose name in connexion with archæological discovery will be familiar to many of our Members. Presently an opening was made—a small one—through which, however, the whole of the interior of the tomb was visible. All within was perfectly dry and undisturbed. The floor was flagged, and here and there lay human bones (see Mr. Mahood's contribution) in various stages of decomposition. With them were found three vertebræ of a small mammal, probably those of a dog. But what attracted the greatest interest was the appearance of a richly-decorated urn, or earthen vase, placed in the very centre of the enclosure, and lying sideways upon a large clean slab of sandstone. There was no trace of a lid or cover. This vessel is of very rare type, equally as regards form and style of ornamentation. Finding it evidently lying as originally deposited, upon its side, without a cover, and completely empty, the question arises, could it have been designed for mortuary purposes? Had it contained ashes of burnt bones, they would have remained within it; or had the vessel, in falling upon its side, become emptied, any relics of cremation contained therein, or some of them, would have appeared upon the bare stone upon which the vessel lay. Every one present at the discovery felt that the cist had not been previously disturbed. Very great difficulty, even with the assistance of a large number of men skilled in the practice of removing rocks and large stones, was encountered in the clearing and opening of the chamber. We find here, within the bounds of a Pagan grave, an urn, or vessel, which there is every reason to believe was not intended as a receptacle for ashes, human or otherwise. Was it a food vessel, or cup? If it were customary, in the so-called "stone age," to inter



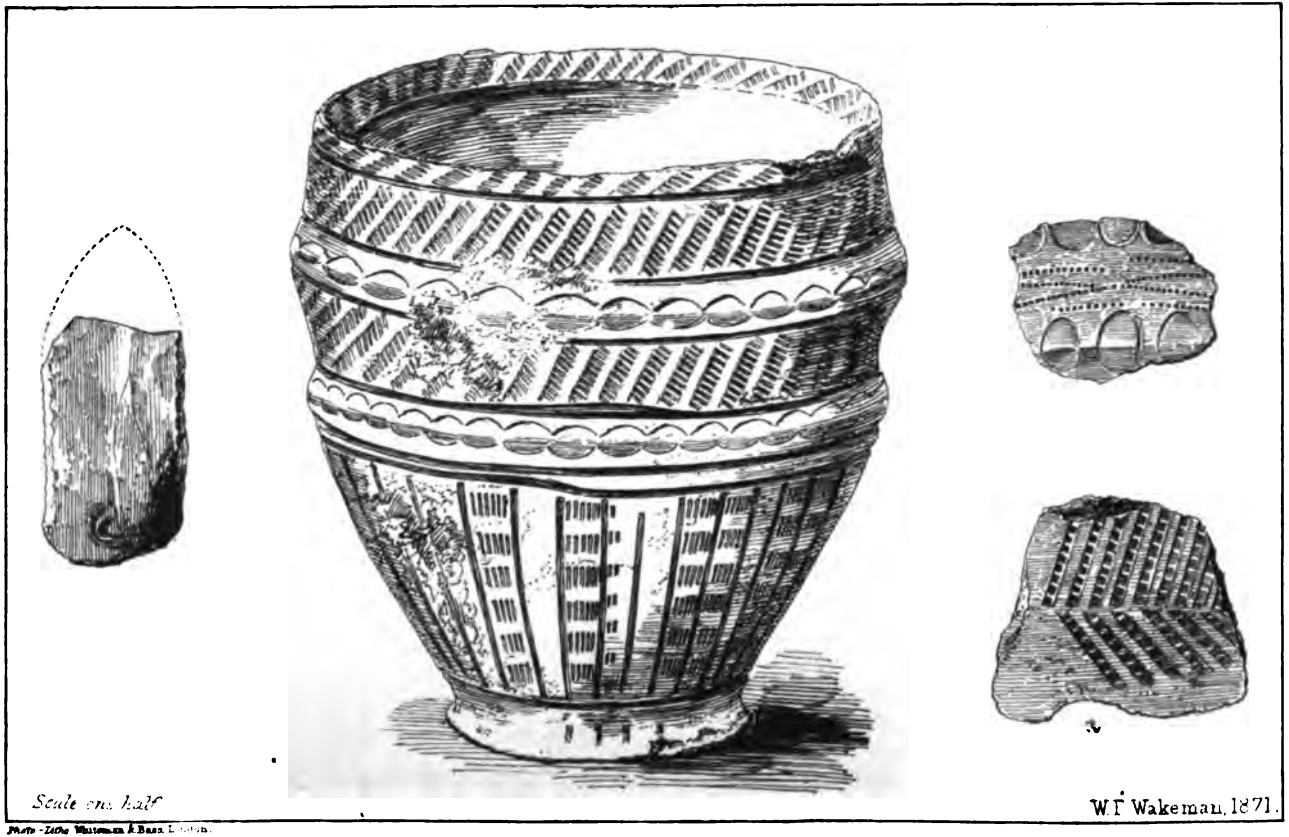


Photo-Litho Whiteman & Bass London.

FICTILIA AND FLINT KNIFE FROM THE CARN AT TRILLICK BARR

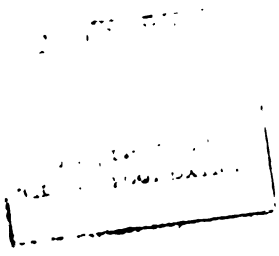
a Portion of fictile vessel from Drumskinny, Crannog

diately over the other, and each so weighty as to require the exertion of several powerful men to turn it on edge. Upon the second flag, the true grave roof, being removed, a sight most startling, and indeed impressive, was presented. We looked into a chamber, or cist, which had not seen the light for countless ages—never since the age of stone! and there upon the floor, cushioned in damp dust, lay the remains, or portions of the skeletons, of two human beings, white and clean, as contrasted with the darker-brownish colour of their kindred mould. My first object, after carefully noting the disposition of the bones, was to cautiously remove the crania, which, unfortunately, crumbled away into their present condition (see Plate III). Strange to say, there were here no traces of the lower jaws, nor even of the teeth. From the narrow dimensions of the cist, it is quite manifest that no two perfect human bodies, even those of very young people, could have been here deposited. The space was far too limited to have contained one unmutilated corpse, and yet the bones showed no trace of the action of fire. They were certainly unburnt, and were unaccompanied by charcoal or ashes of any kind. Upon the mould which lay upon the floor being anxiously sifted, no bead, flintflake, or manufactured article of any kind was discovered; and as the bottom and sides of the cist were composed of cleanly-split sandstone, it was evident that nothing but human remains had been there entombed—unless, indeed, we may suppose that an earthen vessel, or similarly perishable object, had crumbled into dust amongst the animal matter. What, then, are we to consider as to the nature of this deposit? A similar question, indeed, might arise in connexion with the remains already noticed, as the cists, or graves in which they were found, could not possibly have contained one adult human form, unless the body had been dissevered *and packed* within the "narrow house." It is a strange and inexplicable fact that no trace of the jawbones, or of teeth, which are known to be the most enduring portion of man's frame, were here to be seen, though, as I have said, two skulls were found. It is, perhaps, equally curious that, while the crania were fairly perfect, almost the whole of the remainder of the skeletons



Photo-Litho Whiteman & Bass, London

CRANIUM FROM CARN AT THE
Side views.



others; and on resuming operations I was sorry to find that their stones had been so much displaced that no certain measurements were attainable, with the exception, indeed, of those of their covering stones. It is probable that these two graves, like the first three described, presented strongly marked cromleac types. The ruins consisted of large blocks of stone, and the "tables" measured respectively three feet eleven inches, by three feet five, and three feet four inches by about four feet. The depth of the flag, in either case, averaged one foot six inches. The havoc here perpetrated by ignorance is greatly to be lamented, as in one of the cists an ornamented vase, one fragment of which I was fortunate enough to recover, had been found and lost—(see Plate II.—the upper figure to the right of the centre). In connexion with this urn was discovered a beautifully-formed knife of flint, a drawing of which I was enabled to make (see Plate II.). When perfect, as originally found, it measured three inches and three-tenths of an inch in length, by one inch and a half at its broadest part. The blade is extremely thin, and exhibits on one side a slight central ridge, the other surface being flat, or slightly convex. Like most implements of its class, it presents admirably chipped edges. As a hunter's companion, in the hands of primitive man, this relic of the stone age would have answered several purposes—it would have skinned the prey, cut or sawn the flesh, and divided the hide of red deer, wolf, or of almost any animal, into the desired forms for dress or tent covers, or into thongs for bowstrings or ropes, or for curragh manufacture, &c. The colour was dark grey, and the instrument showed no evidence of its having been submitted to the action of fire. Some few particles of unburnt bones, so small that it was not possible to determine whether they were human or otherwise, occurred amongst the stones of these ruined cists.

The grave now to be noticed is the last. It lay nearly midway between the first described and the more northern of the two which had been violated by the treasure seekers. It also was in all but utter ruin, owing partly to the dampness of its position, and perhaps in some degree to the comparatively inferior material of its component parts. With much labour and patience we arrived at the covering stone,

complete the list of remains found in this grave. Judging from the shape of the pelvis, the obliquity of the angle formed by the junction of the neck and shaft of the femur, and the perfect state of the teeth, it would appear that the bones belonged to a male of about five feet ten inches in height, and not very far advanced in years. Neither in this nor in any of the other graves did the bones present the slightest appearance of having been submitted to the influence of fire. The second grave contained a portion of the vault and base of the cranium, about the inferior three-fourths of the humerus of the right side, several fragments of ribs, the olecranoid process, and a small portion of the shaft of the left ulna; also the femur, ilium, and ischium of the left side. The head of the femur had separated from the remainder of the bone, at that part known as the anatomical neck. The ilium was found lying at a distance of fully two feet from the ischium. This would very naturally lead to the conclusion that the bones contained in this grave were placed there subsequent to the removal of the flesh and other investing media—whether by a process of nature or by artificial means[1] it is impossible to say. The dry state in which the bones, and also an urn, were found, and that after long-continued rain, entirely precludes the supposition that these two parts of the same bone could have been separated by the drainage of water from the upper part of the mound. These bones appear to have belonged to a person of about fifteen or sixteen years of age, but it would be very difficult to form a correct opinion as to whether they are the remains of a male or female. The

[1] Mr. Hodder Westropp has well observed that "it affords one of the most interesting proofs of the intellectual unity of mankind to trace the analogies and unconnected coincidences among nations. Many customs, beliefs, and ideas present themselves in countries the most remotely apart, as almost identical, as bearing the greatest analogy to one another; yet, on careful examination, they prove, with every certainty, to be unconnected, and evince decided marks of independent evolution."

"Modes of faith, forms, customs, beliefs, rites, ceremonies—some of so marked a character, as to lead one to suppose that they solely and peculiarly belonged to the people amongst whom they are found, find their exact counterparts in other countries, with which there could be no possibility of intercommunication. From the identity of the human mind, the uniformity of its development, and from the sameness and resemblance of the nature and general constitution of man among all races, it necessarily follows that similar and analogous ideas, beliefs, and coincident customs, will be evolved, under the same circumstances, in regions the most remote from one another."

That the "Barr" Carn belongs to a period of the, perhaps, more than semi-savage "stone age," is sufficiently shown by the character of the objects which it was found to contain. Seeing also that the chambers, cists, or graves, found within its enclosure were quite inadequate to contain even portions of the human body or bodies discovered within them, unless, previously to being there deposited, they had been denuded of their investing media, it is interesting to note the *modus operandi* of some of our uncivilized contemporaries in rendering what they, as we must suppose, considered fitting sepulchral honors to a departed friend. The subjoined extracts are borrowed, and necessarily abridged, from a Paper published in Vol. I. of the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," the title of which is, "Mode of Preparing the Dead among the Natives of the Upper Mary River, Queensland.—Extract of a letter dated October, 1870, from Mr. Albert McDonald, communicated by W. Boyd Dawkins, Esq., M.A., F.R.S." From this Paper I condense the following notice:—

The account describes some of the customs which the "black fellows" are so careful to conceal from the English settlers. Mr. McDonald, having succeeded in gaining the confidence of the natives, was treated in every respect as one of themselves. A "black fellow," the stepson of a chief, had died, and Mr. McDonald resolved to see what they were going to do with him. There was a kind

presents itself. Canon Greenwell, who has explored numerous barrows of the stone age spreading over the Wolds of Yorkshire, is of opinion that many of the remains which they held showed indications of cannibalism having been practised. Dr. Thurnam, another authority on the subject of pre-historic barrows as found in Britain, "sees no difficulty in acceding to the conclusion of Mr. Greenwell—that in the disjointed, cleft, and broken condition of the human bones in many of the long barrows, and especially in those examined by him in Scamridge, near Ebberstone, and near Rudstone, Yorkshire, we have indications of funeral feasts, where slaves, captives, and others were slain and eaten."

The examination of this Carn establishes, at least, the following facts, viz. :—

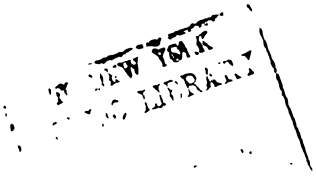
1. That the builders of our primitive carns and cists were of the aboriginal long-headed race (see Plates III. and IV.) by which the north-west of Europe was occupied in pre-historic times.

2. That these people possessed the art of constructing fictile ware of excellent form, which they covered with a profusion of decoration, consisting of stamped and incised designs, similar in detail to the ornamentation found upon *food vessels* discovered in some of our earliest crannogs.

3. That they used well-fashioned instruments of flint, which were, sometimes at least, interred with portions of their remains.

4. That if cremation was practised amongst them, it was not a universal custom.

5. That whereas the skulls and fragmentary members of more than one human skeleton were found commingled in a space that could not have contained one moderately-sized entire corpse, it is manifest that the bones, before being placed in the cists, had been separated one from the other, stripped either by natural decay or designedly of their integuments, and some of them, only, packed in their "narrow house."


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UNPUBLISHED GERALDINE DOCUMENTS.

EDITED BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B., M. R. I. A.

(*Continued.*)

THE nature of the hereditary knightly titles[1] bor several branches of the Desmond Geraldines cannot plained by the usages of the feudal system. That the l of knighthood should be inheritable is contrary to principles of chivalry. It was a strictly personal h only to be won by deeds of valour and daring in th though latterly claimed as a right by certain pri classes, and even imposed on them under fine. hereditary transmission of the knightly title was legalised until James I. invented the grade of Baro replenish his coffers. The true explanation of this se anomaly seems to be that adopted by the late Sir W Betham, namely, that these titles were transmitt Irish usage. The Geraldines of Desmond adopted peculiar customs, and assumed the distinctive rig Irish chieftains. The Earldom itself was frequentl ferred on the most stalworth scion of the race, aside the next heir male. When, then, the heads of Geraldine families had once been knighted, eitl the King, the Viceroy, or their own Seigneur, th of Desmond, the title came to be transmitted by custom. We shall not then be far wrong if we ran distinctions in the same class with The O'Conor The O'Conor Kerry, The O'Grady, &c. Whether tl of the last White Knight could now be re-assumed heir male of one of the older branches of that ra question which would seem to demand an affir solution. It is, at all events, plain that it could nc passed away with an heiress, as Irish chieftain titles went with the spindle.

The following account of the Clangibbon, a one time little inferior in power to the Earls mond themselves, and which survived the fall o

[1] These titles were the White Knight, and the Green Knight, or Knight The Black Knight, or Knight of Glyn; the two last are still represente

over-lords, is printed at the expense of Messrs. Maurice and Abraham Fitzgibbon, from the MS. already described in the Preface to the first instalment of these inedited Geraldine Documents (see "Journal," Third Series, p. 396). The source from which the compiler of that MS. derived his information is not indicated by him, but the narrative which he copied bears internal evidence of having been originally written after the restoration of Charles II., from information supplied by earlier authorities.

The Pedegree of y^e^ Whyte Knight, togeather with some passages relateing to y^e^ Knight of the Glinne or Valley, formerly called the Black Kn^t^., and y^e^ Knight of Kerry, who was also called y^e^ Greene Kn^t^., and y^e^ younger brother, who was y^e^ Lord of Clenlish.

I cannot in my begining but endeavour to cleere these worthy bretheren from the scandalous imputation some unbrideled rouges have of late aspersed them, who without ground or authority have alleadged that these bretheren, worthy of everlasting renowne, were the illegitemate children of John Fitzgerald who was slayne at Callen by Mac Carthy,[1] as you have before read in the pedegree of the Earles of Desmond; theyre whole stresse depending on the false construction of one verse I have produced in the general search and inquisition of the Geraldines throughout Ireland, composed by old Throna Mulionox the greate antiquary and Master of Art in the Irish tounge, whose Ancestors were the cheif Chroniclers and Registers for the Geraldines since theyre first arrivall to the conquest of Ireland.

This verse I say, by an unworthy person of Connaught was altered and corrupted from the true and genuine sense of the Author, to the dishonor of those ancient Heroes, in whom noe such spott or blemish was ever to be found formerly by any approved authority.

This may partly appeare by a letter sent by Garrett, Earle of Desmond (who ought best to know) to Edmond the late Whyte Knight, inviteing him by sundry compelations, as that of consanguinity and other forcible entreatyes, to bestirre himselfe in takeing armes in his quarrell; which letter most likely came not to the hands of the author of the History, called Paccata Hibernia, otherwise he would have registred the same, as he did many of lesse moment.

These foure Brothers were the sonns of John Fitz Thomas (of whom you have heard mention), lawfully begotten on the body of his second wife, who was Honora the daughter of O'Connor Donne of Connaught, and the last two of these were borne at one birth, in which y^e^ mother lost her life.

[1] A. D. 1260.

These children being thus lefte in there infancy, were looked u
much care and diligence, and theyre father in his life tyme sent th
foure severall gentlemen of greate estate and lands, with them to be
and well trayned up in such manner of disguise as it seemed best t
sayd Fosterers, for a time to shunn the fury of Mac Carty, who the
mighty and very grevious to most of his Mag^res^. subjects in M
whose Ancestors, not long before, were absolute Princes of Desm
was alsoe to avoyd Mac Cartyes power and greatnesse that the infan
mentioned afore being sole heyre of the Geraldines, was committe
safe custody and keepeing of the Fryars in the Monastery of T
theyre sanctuary.

The elder of these foure Brothers was named Gilbert Fitz Joh
Foster father was called by name Gibbon OCunyne, who carryed
child Gilbert with him into Twomond, where his Estate and dwell
and ever after called him by his owne name, so that the child w
named young Gibbon O'Cunyne, and by this meanes those of Cl
are most commonly soe nominated by custome ever since.

The second son was carryed away and fostered by O'Culla
third son Maurice, O'Kennedy carryed away and fostered; And th
son, Dermond O'Knogher tooke away.

Not long after, theyre father and elder brother being slayne by
these children, (and also Thomas theyre nephew, being the he
were all of soe tender age, as they were in a manner past all
and unlikely ever to lift up theyre heads againe, were all in thei
kept by theyre faithfull friends and fosterers under such clouds of
until the cleere sunshine of everlasting providence was pleased to
the cloudes of theyre misfortunes, soe that at the last they recove
due fame and renowne, and being arrived to some years of perfec
were alwayes mightily helped and assisted by Fitz Maurice of Ke
matched his daughter with the sd Thomas the heyre, after w
they were ever victorious, and triumphed over theyre adversar
much as they were glad to creepe to them and sue for peace.

I write not this out of partiality, nor favour, or affection; f
I am a well wisher of the noble Geraldines, yett I was neither fo
fosterer to them, though my betters have been; but I am one
vailled hither from beyond seas above twenty years agon, and h
my owne industry, and the help of some learned friends, pra
learned some skill in the Irish tounge, I tooke greate deligh
finding it to be sharpe, sententious, elegant, spacious, and full of
knowledge and liberale ingenuity. My intent therefore is to writ
but what I have found to be undoubtedly true, by my diligen
and reading of Chronicles and Historyes, both English and Irish,
the Irish workes of old Mullonnox, with which I found none c
in matters of antiquity and in the true way of Geneolagie; and s
passages of Ireland, which without insight in the language non
come to understand; as I have well perceived by Giraldus C
Stanihurst, S^r^. John Davies, D^r^. Hanmer, Campion, Morrison, S
such other partiall authors who have taken upon them to write
and Antiquities of Ireland, whose bookes, if they were not s
with falsehoods and slanderings of the Irish nation, would prod
but bookes of white paper.

I referre the impartial reader to Dr. Keating's Chronicle

how he answers and learnedly confutes them all, by their owne writeings, and makes them fall together by the eares in contradicting one another.

Haveing so long disgressed from my intended purpose, let us now pursue the valiant knights, and first of the Whyte Knight, because both by birth and right he deserves the superiority, the others being thereby nothing the worse, at which no impartial reader will take exception; for I find in all the Antiquities and Genealogies of the Geraldines, when they come to speake of these knights, that alwayes they begin with the Whyte Knight, as old Donogh M'Craith, that was well versed in the Irish tonge, has well noted and expressed in his elegant Irish poetrie which he composed in honor of Edmond, the late Whyte Knight, for his welcome home out of England, after being committed in the Tower of London, when his adversaryes expected he should never more be seen in Ireland; but beyond theyre expectation he came over with great honor and the restitution of his estate, though not of the one halfe of what his father had.

I shall insert here onely that verse, translated the best I can at present in English:—

> "Three renowned knights of Gerald's powerfull race
> "In Ireland (well 'twas known), being stoutest had the place;
> "To distinguish each of these Gallants progenye,
> "By right of birth and worth, the White Knight bore the sway."

These four brothers (as I said before), haveing arrived to some years of perfection, though not too much discretion, and Thomas, theyre nephew, being at ease and well settled in his estayte and dignitye, called home for these youngsters, who before that time never knew themselves, nor hardly others, but were undoubtedly assured that they were the children of those fosterers who brought them up.

Now, haveing certaine knowledge, and it being perfectly given to understand whose children they were, they thought it time to employ that breeding both of literature and armes which theyre fosterers had bestowed on them. Nothing would now satisfye their aspireing thoughts but war and disturbance; wherefore, being informed of the death of their father and elder brother by Mac Cartye (as you formerly heard), they would needs pick a new quarrell with him, to exercise their vengeance on him; but before this time there was peace concluded on betweene Mac Cartye, and that familye; soe that, being dissapointed of theyre design in that, they were forced to accept of civile employments. Now to content and mitigate theire high stomachs and youthful madnesse, theyre nephew (the heyre) bestowed on them estates and employments whereon they should be occupyed. Upon Gilbert, the elder brother, he bestowed Mene, Mahawnagh, and several other lands thereabouts, and constituted him overseer of all his estate and affaires both at home and abroad.

This Gilbert married Ellean, the daughter of Mac Cartye, upon which conjunction, union and amitye was sealed for the most part ever since betweene these two familyes of the Geraldins and Clan Cartyes.

This Gilbert had issue by her two sons, viz. Maurice and Gibbon. Of this Gibbon, the younger brother, is descended the house of Mahawnagh; for the heyre of that place is ever since called Mac Gibbon of Mahawnagh, whose heyre and offspring this day is Garrett, the son of Thomas Gibbon, who died, together with his couzen German, being son of the elder brother, on the bank of the river Deele, near Mahawnagh, as

nerate from the valourous atchievements and undaunted courage of theyre noble Ancestors, smiled on them soe favorably, that, shortly after the arrivall of the Lord Justice and Earle of Desmond with theyre army in Scotland, they sufficiently approved themselves true Fitz Geralds, as in the sequel will appear; for, after some time spent in refreshment, the Irish swept on theyre march until they came within sight of the Scottish army; the King of England, with his Englishmen, coming opposite on the other side. Thus having good intelligence from one another, after giving certaine signes they advanced on, and fell upon the Scotts very early in the morning, near Edenburrough, where the battle continued equally cruele for almost the whole forenoone.

The Scotts (as the historyes of those times say), being threescore thousand strong in the feild, divided theyre forces—the one part marching towards the King of England, the other advancing against the Irish.

On the other side, the Lord Justice and Desmond, in ordering the morning fight, placed our three Gallants in the front with six thousand men, but not theyre owne regiments. Noe sooner was the word of command given, but they presently advanced forward, killing and hewing on all sides, and cleareing the way before them untill they came to the maine body of the enimye, where by that time theyre men were cut off to two thousand, and they too had been soe served, had not Desmond presently upon sight of this bloudy slaughter made, though with double cost to the enemye, come thundering downe with four thousand fresh and resolute souldiers, wherewith he fortunatly releived and brought off his kingsmen, with the loss of 5000 men. After haveing thus mightily foyled the Scottish army, they came to the body where the Lord Justice was, and there refreshed themselves by taking about three hours rest.

All this while the Kings army, on the other side, were cruelly put to it, haveing not power to releive or heare from each other. In this interval Desmond took occasion to animate his followers as followeth:—

You valliant undaunted hearts and deare fellow souldiers, your valour and great courage is already partly tryed in this mornings bloudy battle; you are now made sensible of what you ought to doe; you know the cause and condition wherein we stand now in Scotland. Let it not be recorded and cast in the teeth of our posterity that the Irish nation was put to flight in Scotland. We must fight for our lives, for flying away becometh not men of our sort; and suppose we doe run away, which way had we best take, when there is noe way secure? Ireland (you know) is too far off for our refuge, and we may be cut of before we come to the next shore; to England we cannot flye, for the Scotts on every side will stop our passage; fight it out we must; therefore be ye all stoutly resolved, and above all things call and think upon the God of Hosts, the giver of victoryes; and know for certaine that the clergye in Ireland, together with our other friends, doe continually pray for our good successe in this voyage. It is far nobler for us to dye amongst our enimyes here, in soe honorable a quarrell, before the face of our King, who is a present witnesse of our actions, than to perish sluggishly with our friends at home, and be for ever deemed noe better than dastards, cowards, and runaways. And for your part (pursued he, turning his face particularly to his three kingsmen), my deare Brothers and Kingsmen, since God and nature hath tyed us together by that inviolable knott of noble consanguinitye that made us one bloud, and gave us (as it

tion from the other two, by reason that he wore
He then also knighted the other two, namein
colours of theyre armours in which they fought
Black armour, was called the Black Knight; a
greenish azure armour, was called the Greene I

By this greate overthrowe and generall route
kingdome was subdued, and Edward Ballioll est
And on this day, being St. Margaret's eve, t
1333, Desmonds three kingsmen were knighted
borough by Edward the third, King of Englan
talkers of these times faisely report that they w
of Desmond in this field, and that he was theyre
stand with truth in severall respects; for Desmo
mission with Darcye, the Lord Justice, and was
though I cannot say but he and Darcye, or eith
knights, being then chiefe commanders in the fi

But I conceive that they durst not execute t
himselfe there in person, who undoubtedly knig
appeares by severall good and credable authors.

As for the other saying, that this Maurice F
mond, was theyre father, they that know anythi
know the contrary; then I will not trouble my
Some Historyes of these times relate that in thi
Scots to the number of 35,000, and some other
ever it be, let them agree amongst themselves.

This terrible and bloudy day being now neare
ing lodged his armye in good postures, it is time
solitary Ladyes, who remained all this afternoo
consolate, knoweing not what course to take, bu
and the faithfull promise of an honorable comma
morning been theyre enemye, in the evening
dearest friend. Noe sooner had he payd his r
foarthwith, being myndfull of the Ladyes and h
mantled himselfe of all his martiall attire; and
comely courtier, goes in all haste to the Pr
all besett with sorrow and heavynesse. But pres
the person from whome she had received the f
discreetely welcomed him with such gestures a
as somewhat betrayed both her feare and love.

He, being sensible of her condition, comfo
until at length, groweing by degrees more and r
if she would be pleased to partake with him of
tunes—declareing, farther, that his former vi
greater satisfaction than what it had by being t
her devoted captive.

She, presently apprehending his meaning, a
good earnest, modestly replied—True it is, n
never was more freely at my owne comman
though youre Captive; yet I hope you will pa
tender sex, if I desire some farther considerati
that it were not consistent with modesty for m
soe deserving a person, or soe suddainly to m

without the consent of some few friends whom I understand to be still liveing; nor can you blame me, sure, for this request, which I make with the more confidence because your approved goodnesse hath already promised that you will not have me doe anything which might be prejudiciall to my honor, which to me is dearer than my life. Madam, replyed he, far be it from my thoughts to suffer any the least disfoul to be done unto you, much lesse to be the author of it myselfe; nor would I soe soone have discovered my desires unto you, were I not confident that my stay here cannot be long. Neither can I tell (if I should deferr it), but to-morrow I might be drawne from your presence. Think not, I pray, that I would be thus earnest, knoweing how unworthy I am of you, did I not really think that my estate is sufficient to maintaine you honorably; nor am I of such meane birth as could vilifie your Royal bloud. My descent is well known to be from the greatest Princes. Pardon my arrogance, if, to satisfye you of my birth, I say that of a subject I am inferior to none, but some of my owne race, to whom I am bound to yield superioritye, being the Earle of Desmond, my neare relation. My request therefore is, Madam, that you will be pleased to resolve me in the morning; and, if you think fitt, I will have our proceedings intimated to the King of England, and your couzen, the King of Scotland, whose Royall presence to these affaires will be a forcible addition to our perpetual honour.

To this she modestly replyed, that whatsoever their pleasure was on her behalfe she would willingly consent to at his returne.

Hereupon he tooke his leave of her for that night, and repaired to the Lord Justice and Desmond, whom he acquainted with all the circumstances.

They not long after informed the King thereof, and brought it soone after to the King of Scotland's heareing.

By these meanes a conclusion was made on all sides, and the Ladyes consent obtained; whereupon with great joy the marriage was sumptuously solemnized in the King's palace, both the Kings of England and Scotland being present. They were joyned in marriage by one James Comorton, a Doctor of Dyvintye, of the Citty of Waterford, who was the Earle of Desmond's Chaplin, and wrote all the passages of that voyage. This Lady was the sister of the conquered King[1]—her name was Katherine. This Maurice, the White Knight, brought along with her into Ireland, as a memoriall of this victorye obtained in Scotland, three severall monuments, which continually remained with the White Knights ever since until the days of Queene Elizabeth, at which time, by reason of wars and troubles, they were lost, being somewhere hidden in the ground by Meene, being left there by some that were slayne in the wars.

Each of the other two Knights brought with them also several monuments, of which I cannot find any account, but that one of them, which belonged to the Knight of the Glin, was lost at Glin's Castle, when the Lord Forbush destroyed the same, about the beginning of the late wars, in Ano 1642.

After that this victory was obtained in Scotland, and Edward Balioll there established King, and all those affairs well settled, John Darcy came back into Ireland, Lord Justice; and the Earle of Desmond, together with

[1] Edward Bruce.

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